

History of the Freedom Movement in the Punjab

(VOLUME III)

MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH CORRESPONDENCE

edited by
GANDA SINGH



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CONTENTS

Preface	v
Letters arranged writer-wise	vii
Letters arranged addressee-wise	xv
Summaries of Letters	xxiii
Introduction	[1-108]
Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence	1
Appendices :	
A The Sale of the Maharaja's Estate in England	617
B Treaties with the British Government	641
C A Few Extracts from contemporary writings	676
D Ancestors of Maharaja Duleep Singh	679
E Maharaja Duleep Singh and His Descendants	680
F Some Prominent Persons mentioned in the text	682
G Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia and his descendants	688
H Chronology	689
I Bibliography	697
Index	711

PREFACE

The initiative for the compilation of a history of the freedom movement in India originally came from Dr R.C. Majumdar who, at the twenty-fourth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Jaipur in February 1948, proposed "that an attempt be made to compile a list of important records, both published and unpublished, bearing upon the national struggle for freedom." This was accepted under Resolution X as a recommendation of the Indian Historical Records Commission to the Government of India. The Ministry of Education, however, could make a concrete start only in 1952 and set up on December 30 a Board of Editors for the compilation of the History of Freedom Movement in India. It was at this time that the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union and the East Punjab governments established their own committees for the collection of material in their respective States. The PEPSU Committee was headed by Shri Ram Saran Chand Mittal, then Speaker of the State Legislative Assembly. I, as Director of Archives, happened to be associated with it as Secretary. We undertook extensive tours of constituent Princely States. We also explored their records assembled in the Directorate of Archives at Patiala. The East Punjab Committee, with Shri Feroz Chand as Chairman and Shri V.S. Suri, Director of the East Punjab Archives, as Secretary, concentrated their attention on the record centres in its own area.

On November 1, 1956, the East Punjab and the PEPSU were amalgamated into the present Punjab, and a year later the two committees were merged. The first meeting of the joint Punjab State Committee for History of Freedom Movement was held at Simla on November 7, 1957. The Chairman Shri Feroz Chand's office being in Delhi, an extensive search for relevant records was made in the Home, Foreign, Political and Judicial departments' files in the National Archives of India which yielded splendid results. Efforts were at the same time made to collect material from the old files of *The Tribune*, Lahore, which had during the partition days of 1947 been shifted to Ambala. To these were added the microfilm copies of records brought from England by Dr Kirpal Singh.

The material thus collected was arranged chronologically and divided into five volumes which were allocated in the Committee's meeting of February 19, 1961, to the following for editing :

I 1857-62	Shri Feroz Chand
II 1862-85	Sardar Nahar Singh
III 1885-1905	Dr Ganda Singh
IV 1905-19	Shri V.C. Joshi

No Editor was named for the 1919-1947.

At this stage was also introduced at the instance of the Government of India, as a supplement to this History, the project of bringing out a *Who's Who* of all persons who took part in the movements for independence. But before the work could make any appreciable progress, the Punjab Government by their Notification No. Ed. IV-2E-45 (2) 61/33394 of December 1962 dissolved the State Committee saying that the unfinished work would be done departmentally through the Directorate of Archives. This brought the whole work to a standstill.

In the meantime, the Punjabi University, Patiala, had come into being and it had established a Department of Punjab Historical Studies. At the instance of this Department, the Vice-Chancellor Dr Bhai Jodh Singh suggested to the Punjab Government in his D.O. Letter No. 1488-VC/63 of October 18, 1963, that "the project of the publication of the above five volumes may be transferred to the Punjabi University." His successor Sardar Kirpal Singh Narang pursued the project with his characteristic vigour. Through his personal efforts the project was entrusted to the Punjabi University in 1967. The present volume III containing the source material on Maharaja Duleep Singh's struggle is a part of this project.

While the volume was in press, efforts for the collection of further material from private and official sources in England were continued with the result that some very important original documents bearing on the sale of the Maharaja's estate in England—Elveden Hall, Thetford—and on the financial difficulties of his descendants were discovered through the efforts of Mr. Devinder Singh Parmar of London in December 1969. Some documents were discovered by the Editor in the India Office Library, London, in May 1972. These have been of great help in giving final touches to the story of the Duleep Singh struggle which ended with the death of his eldest and last surviving daughter Princess Bamba Sutherland at Lahore on March 10, 1957.

I am highly thankful to Sardar Kirpal Singh Narang, Vice-Chancellor, Punjabi University, whose enthusiastic interest and help have made this project come to fruition and have made this and other volumes of the plan see the light of day. I also owe my thanks to Dr Fauja Singh, the present Director of the Punjab Historical Studies and Head of the Department of History, for the help I received from him, and to Shri Raj Kumar Sharma and Shri Devinder Kumar Verma, Technical Assistants in the project, and to Shri Jawahar Singh, Assistant, for their conscientious devotion to their work in the preparation of the press-copy and in reading most of the proofs at different stages.

Patiala,
December 18, 1975

GANDA SINGH

LETTERS ARRANGED WRITER-WISE

- Aitchison, Sir C., to H.M. Durand, 174
- Ali Mohammad, Pondicherry, to Foreign Secretary, Simla, 455, 457
- Amar Singh, Raja, to Resident of Kashmir, 616
- A.S., Cairo, Letters, 541, 542, 543, 544
- Ata-ula-Khan, Lieut.-Col., Agent at Paghman, 561
- Aziz-ud-Din, Munshi, to Sir E. Baring (Egypt), 535
—Foreign Secretary, 537
- Baring, E., Cairo, to Viceroy, 647
- Barnard, A.B., to H.M. Durand, 451
—Col. P.D. Henderson, 498
- Barnes, H.S., Deputy Secretary, Foreign, to Chief Secretary, N.W. Provinces, 648
—Secretary, Bombay, 646
- Belgian King, to Queen Victoria, 1
- Bombay Government, 261
- Bombay, Political, to Foreign, Simla, 291, 392
—Viceroy's Camp, Foreign, 197
- Bowring, L., to Sir John Login, 124
- Budh Singh, Statements, 413, 521
- Burn, Major H.P., to John Spencer Login, 64, 65
- Burnby, Major R.B., Chunar, to Maharaja Duleep Singh, 475
—H.M. Durand, 474
- Burne, Col. Sir O.T., to Maharaja Duleep Singh, 224, 252
—Interview with Maharaja Duleep Singh, 245
—H.M. Durand, Secretary, 171, 194, 204, 210, 244, 247, 257, 277
—Secretary, Government of India, F.D., 192, 223, 403
- Campbell, Captain J., Report to Government, 71
- Chief Secretary, Bhagalpur, Bengal, to Foreign Secretary, Simla, 449
- Chief Secretary, Bombay, to Foreign Secretary, 271
- Chief Secretary, Mahableshwar, to Foreign Secretary, Benaras, 266
- Chief Secretary, N.W. Provinces, to Foreign Secretary, 649
- Christie, L.T., A.I.G., Police, to Inspector General of Police, Punjab, 625
- Churchill, Lord Randolph, to Maharaja Duleep Singh, 186, 191, 202
- Coldstream, W., to Elsmie, 201
- Cotton, H.J.S., to H.M. Durand, 448
- Coutts & Co., 239
- Crawford, Arthur, Poona, to Durand, G.I., F.D., 329
—Foreign, Simla, 296

- Cunningham, W.J., Officiating Secretary, G.I., to Chief Secretary, Punjab, 650, 652
- Commandant of Fort, Allahabad, 589
 - A. Mackenzie, 638
 - James Montcath, 633, 637
 - Lieut.-Col., E.P. Nisbet, 590
- Currie, Sir Frederick, to Lord Dalhousie, 49
- Maharaja Duleep Singh, 92
- Currie, Sir P.W., 562
- Dalhousie, Lord, to Sir George Couper, 67, 72, 73, 76, 77, 79, 88, 99, 101, 104, 107, 117
- Sir Frederick Currie, 39, 41, 50
 - Maharaja Duleep Singh, 75, 78, 82, 84, 91, 96, 100
 - Sir John Hobhouse, 38, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 51, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61
 - Dr Login, 81, 83, 86, 90, 93, 97, 103, 109
 - Brig. Mountain, 53
 - Queen Victoria, 43, 57, 66
- Delhi, Commissioner, to Thuggee, Simla, 487
- Dickenson, J.D., to Sir John Login, 119
- Djamal-ed-Din, Sheikh, Memo., 439
- Dufferin, Lord, to Viscount Cross, 445, 519, 527, 528, 546, 550, 577
- Duleep Singh, Maharaja, Affairs, 206
- Ancestral Estates, 164 A to 164 K
 - Appeal to His Countrymen, 253
 - Col. Sir O.T. Burne, 220, 246, 254
 - Claims, 212, 216,
 - Court of Directors, 112
 - Lord Randolph Churchill, 182, 189, 193, 203
 - Earl of Dufferin, K.P., 339, 368
 - Marquis of Hartington, 150, 154
 - Earl of Kimberley 164, 166, 170, 173, 221, 226, 241
 - Emperor of Russia, 428
 - John Login, 68, 70, 85, 95, 110, 127-8, 130, 132, 136, 141, 143
 - Lady Login, 120, 122, 133, 148, 149, 163, 586, 627, 642
 - Memorandum by Sir O.T. Burne, 245
 - Memorandum by P.D. Henderson, 516
 - Memo. on Intrigues, 512
 - Memorandum to Lady Login, 145
 - Queen Victoria, 157
 - Prince Victor Duleep Singh, 430, 431
 - Robert Watson, 404
 - Payments or Allowances, 165A to 165C
 - Sir Robert Montgomery, 416

- Sardar Sant Singh, 183, 232
- Sardar Sarup Singh, 176
- Secretary, East India Company, 118
- Secretary of State for India, 213
- The *Times*, 151, 153
- Viceroy, Simla, 300, 303, 311, 316, 322, 333, 336, 341, 367, 380, 382
- Wood, Sir C., 125

Dhumketu, Extract, 441

- Durand, H.M., to Col. Sir E. Bradford, 454, 482
- Sir E.R.C. Brandford, 607
 - Col. Sir O.T. Burne, 372, 388, 393
 - Lient. J.R. Dunlop Smith, 177
 - J. Ware Edgar, 456, 500
 - C. Girdlestone, 465
 - Political Resident, Aden, 279
 - Col. Mackinnon, 207
 - D. McCracken, 458
 - Private Secretary, Lieut. Govr., Punjab, 198
 - Secretary, N.W.P., 467
 - C.L. Tupper, 613
 - W.M. Young, 294, 351

Durand, Sir Mortimer, to G.S. Forbes, 605

—C.L. Tupper, 606

Edgar, J. Ware, Bhagalpur, to H.M. Durand, 450, 484

Edward Albert, Prince of Wales, to Maharaja Duleep Singh, 111

Ellenborough, Lord, to Duke of Wellington, 2

Elliot, Sir Henry, to Dr Login, 74

—Government Punjab, 63

Fanshawe, H.C., Officiating Secretary, Punjab, to Foreign, Secretary, 651

Farrer & Co., to Treasurer, India Office, 238

Forbes, C.S., GOI, F.D., to J.B. Richey, Chief Secretary, Bombay, 267

Forbes, G.C., to Secretary, Govt. Punjab, 418

Forbes, G.S., to J.M. Macpherson, 264

—Gen. Supdtt. Thuggee and Dacoity, Calcutta, 601

—C.L. Tupper, 187

—W.M. Young, 293, 370, 396

Foreign Department, Calcutta, to Chief Secretary, Madras, 250

—Thuggee, Ajmer, 632

Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, to Chief Secretary, Madras, 588, 604

Foreign Secretary, Simla, to Lieut. Govr., Lahore, 342

Foreign, Indore, to Political, Bombay, 196

Foreign Office, Telegram, 450

Foreign, Simla, to Arthur Crawford, 292

—Bombay, 274

—Bombay, Mahableshwar, 284

—Madras, Ootacumund, 270, 283

—Punjab, Lahore, 275, 349

—Political Resident, Aden, 272, 282, 286, 304

—Sardar Thakur Singh, Delhi, 309, 355

Ganda Singh, Statement, 410

Godley, to Coutts & Co., 255

Governor-General of India, Minute, September 30, 1848, 47

Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia, to Secretary, India, F.D., 534

—W.M. Young, Secretary, Punjab, 504

Hamilton, Major J., to Col. P.D. Henderson, 497, 506

Hardinge, A., Report, 563

Hardinge, Lord Henry, to Sir Frederick Currie, 18

—Lord Ellenborough, 16

—H.M. Elliot, F.D., 32

—Sir John Hobhouse, 11, 21, 23, 28, 34, 35

—Sir James Hogg, 13

—Col. Henry Lawrence, 30, 33

—Earl Ripon, 9, 20

—Queen Victoria, 8, 22

Hari Singh, Statement, 522

Hartington, Marquis, to Maharaja Duleep Singh, 155

Harnstedt, W.M., Vice-Consul, Moscow, to Sir R. Morier, Petersburg, 453

—J. Michell, 530, 531, 532

Harrison, H.L., to F.B. Peacock, 424

Hassan Ali Khan, to Brig. C.S. MacLean, 591, 593, 594, 595

Henderson, Col. P.D., to A.B. Barnard, 489

—B. Colvin, 513

—W.J. Cunningham, 639

—H.M. Durand, 460, 466, 472, 476, 480

—Major L. Hamilton, 490

—A.P. Howell, 566, 570, 571, 572

—Resident, Hyderabad, 565, 568

—W. Merk, 479

—C.L. Tupper, 538, 567

—W.M. Young, 505, 508, 515, 517

Hogg, Brigadier A.S.T., to H.M. Durand, 315, 359

Howell, A.P., to H.M. Durand, 610

Hyderabad, Abstract of Intelligence, 564

- India Government, to Secretary of State for India, 373, 394, 624
 India Office, to Foreign Office, 630
 Irwin, G.R., Under Secretary, India, F.D., to Chief Secretary,
 Fort, St. George, 645
 —C.L. Tupper, 612
 Isar Singh and Hari Singh, Statement, 411
 Jind Kaur, Bibi, to Lawrence, 25, 26, 27
 Jiwan Singh, Sardar, Appeal to Govt. of India, 37
 Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh, Memorandum on, 580
 Jowala Singh, Confession, 511
 Kesar Singh, Statement, 523
 Kimberley, Earl, to M. Duleep Singh, 169, 172, 230, 242
 —Note, 219
 Lansdowne, Lord, to Lord Cross, 608, 614, 619, 622, 623, 628
 Lawrence, Henry, to Sir Frederick Currie, 17
 —Lord Hardinge, G.G., 29, 31
 —Report, 19
 Lawrence, Sir John, to Sir John Login, 135
 Lister, T.V., Secretary, F.A., to Secretary of State, 452
 Login, Sir John, to Sir Charles Phipps, 134, 138
 —Sir Charles Wood, 123
 —Lord Dalhousie, 80, 94, 106
 —Maharaja Duleep Singh, 126, 142
 Login, Lady Lena, to Queen Victoria, 121
 Ludlow, Col. E.S., to G.S. Forbes, 598
 MacDonnel, A.P., to Secretary, Punjab, 435
 Mackinnon, W.H., to H.M. Durand, 208
 Mackworth, Young W., to G.S. Forbes, 379
 MacLean, General Mashed, to H.M. Durand, 553
 Extracts of News Reports, 596
 Foreign Secretary, Simla, 545, 548, 549, 552, 560, 578, 582
 —Malik Marwarid, Khaf, 555, 557
 Macpherson, J.M., to G.S. Forbes, 265
 Madras Government, to Foreign Secretary, 268
 Malan, wife of Pholo Mal, to Viceroy, 620
 Manners, Henry, to M. Duleep Singh, 214
 Marwarid, Malik, to General MacLean, 554, 556
 Mayhew, Major W.A.G., to Brig. Gen. T. Palmer, 98
 McAndrew, J.W., to Col. Menzies, 179
 McCracken, D.M., to Col. P.D. Henderson, 468, 469, 477, 478, 483, 495,
 503, 507, 508
 —H.M. Durand, 178, 461
 —A.P. Howell, 575, 600

- W. Lee Warner, 576
- Meel, Edmund, to H. Mortimer Durand, 621
- Melville, James C., Secretary Court of Directors, to M. Duleep Singh, 114
- Menzies, Col. O., to J.P. Warburton, 471
 - P.D. Henderson, 481
 - 473
- Merk, W., Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, to P.D. Henderson, 488, 492, 496
 - D. McCracken, 485, 493, 501
- Miller, J.O., to H.M. Durand, 486
- Monteath, James, to W.J. Cunningham, 634
- Mool Raj, Proclamation, to the *Khalsa*, 44
- Morier, Sir R.B.D., to Marquis of Salisbury, 423, 426, 429, 440, 444, 446, 494, 524, 579, 631
- Moti, External examination of the body, 559
- Nisbet, Col. R.P., to H.S. Barnes, 615
- Panncefote, J.P., Secretary, F.A., to Secretary of State, India, 422
- Partap Singh, Statement, 529
- Peel, Robert, to Queen Victoria, 3
- P. & O. Company, Chairman, to O. Burne, 258
- Phipps, C.B., to John Login, 131, 139, 140
- Phipps, Charles, to J.S. Login, 137
- Pohlo Mal, Statement, 414
 - Petition, 618
- Political & Secret Department, to Secretary, India, F.D., 188
- Ponsonby, Sir Henry, to Lady Login, 156, 551, 643
- Private Secretary, to Viceroy, 295
- Private Secretary, Punjab, to Foreign, 199, 280
- Punjab Government, to Foreign Secretary, 229, 420
 - Foreign, Simla, 350
 - Secretary, G.O.I., F.D., 539
 - Opinion, 514
- Punjab Governor, Lahore, to Foreign Secretary, Simla, 343
- Punjab Police Political Intelligence (No. 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, etc.), 233, 237, 248, 269, 285, 305, 325, 331, 347, 359, 391, 395, 397, 398
- Rab Nawaz Khan, Jamadar, to Foreign Secretary (Extract), 617
- Ramzan Ali Khan, Statement, 558
- Resident, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla, 281, 312, 318, 323, 327, 328, 330, 334, 338, 352, 360, 363, 369, 375, 377, 384, 387
- Resident, Bolaram, to Thuggee, Simla, 569
- Resident, Hyderabad Deccan, to Thuggee, Calcutta, 603
- Ripon, Lord, to Prince Albert, 15
 - Lord Hardinge, 14
 - Earl of Kimberley, 161

- Robert, Frederick, to Duke of Cambridge, K.G., 374, 491, 611
 —Lord Dufferin, 421
 —H.M. Durand, Foreign Secretary, Simla, 437
 —Earl of Northbrook, 518
 Secretary, Foreign, Calcutta, to Chief Secretary, Madras, 588, 604
 —Sir Evelyn Baring, Cairo, 597
 Secretary, G.G., to Sir Henry Lawrence, Resident, Lahore, 24
 Secretary, Punjab, to Foreign Secretary, 420
 Secretary, Foreign, Simla, to Lieut.-Govr., Lahore, 342
 —General MacLean, Mashed, 547
 Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, India, 167, 185, 190, 195, 205, 215, 218, 235, 240, 243, 251, 256, 307, 361, 417, 433, 583, 629
 Sohan Lal, Statement, 525
 Stephenson, E.J., to Col. E.S. Ludlow, 581, 584, 585, 587
 Thakur Singh, Sandhanwalia, to M. Duleep Singh, 162
 —Foreign Secretary, Simla, 324
 —Secretary, Govt. of India, 308, 313
 Thuggee, Bombay, to Foreign Department, 636
 Thuggee, Calcutta, to Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, 459, 635
 —Foreign Secretary, Simla, 464
 —Secretary, Bombay Government, Political Deptt., 573, 574
Times, August 31, 1882, 152
Tribune, August 11, 1883, 158
 —April 3, 1886, 260
 —April 17, 1886, 290
 —May 8, 1886, 332
 —May 15, 1886, 334
 —June 26, 1886, 399
 —July 3, 1886, 400, 401
 —June 8, 1887, 436
 —July 2, 1887, 443
 —July 23, 1887, 447
 —Sept. 24, 1887, 499
 —Nov. 9, 1887, 520
 —Nov. 19, 1887, 526
 —Oct. 22, 1889, 626
 —Sept. 3, 1889, 644
 —Dec. 10, 1890, 653
 —March 12, 1892, 654
 —Oct. 25, 1893, 655
 Tupper, C.L., to H.M. Durand, 209, 211
 —Mortimer Durand, 609
 —Secretary, 181

- Tupper, C.P., to H.M. Durand, 180
Underwood, T.O., to H.M. Durand, 389
Viceroy, India, to Government of Bombay, 259, 288
 —Government of India, Foreign Department, 348
 —M. Duleep Singh, Aden, 301, 319, 340, 381
 —Punjab, Lahore, 225, 229
 —Resident, Aden, 276, 310, 317, 326, 335, 337, 345, 353, 376, 383
 —Secretary, Calcutta, Foreign, 227, 231
 —Secretary of State, London, 159, 160, 184, 200, 217, 228, 234, 236, 249, 273, 278, 302, 306, 320, 362, 386, 390, 434
Victoria, Queen, to King of Belgians, 55
 —Earl Clarendon, 115, 116
 —Lord John Russel, 62
 —Marquis of Dalhousie, 54, 102, 105, 108
 —Memorandum, 113
 —Sir Henry Hardinge, 10, 12
 —Lady Login, 599
 —Sir Robert Peel, 4
Waddington, H., to Col. Oliphant, 144
Wallace, D. Mackenzie, to M. Duleep Singh, 365
 —H.M. Durand, 263, 287, 289, 354, 366, 371, 385, 425
Warburton, J.P., to D. McCracken, 502
Watson, Robert D., to M. Duleep Singh, 405
 —Sir Henry Ponsonby, 408, 409
 —Private Secretary to the Queen's Majesty, 407
 —Queen, 406
 —Viscount Cross, 412, 415
Weber, A., Vice-Consul, Moscow, to C.T. Cooke, St. Petersburg, 427
Weitbrecht, to Charles Aitchison, 175
Wood, Sir, C., to M. Duleep Singh, 146
Young, W.M., to H.M. Durand, 222, 314, 346, 356, 358, 378, 432, 463, 510
 —Col. P.D. Henderson, 470
 —Officiating Secretary, Govt. of India, 442
 —Secretary, Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., 419
Zobair Pasha, to Abdul Rasul, 640, 641

LETTERS ARRANGED ADDRESSEE-WISE

- Abdul Rasul, from Zobair Pasha, 640, 641
- Aden, Resident, from Foreign, Simla, 272, 282, 286, 304
 —Viceroy, Simla, 276, 310, 317, 326, 335, 337, 345, 353, 376, 383
 —D. Mackenzie Wallace, 364
- Aitchison, Sir Charles, from Mr. Weitbrecht, 175
- Albert, Prince, from Lord Ripon, 15
- A.S., Cairo, Letters, 541, 542, 543, 544
- Ata-ula-Khan, Lieut.-Col., Letter, 561
- Baring, Sir E., from Munshi Aziz-ud-Din, 535
 —Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, 597
- Barnard, A.B., from Col. P.D. Henderson, 489
- Barnes, H.S., from Col. R.P. Nisbet, 615
- Belgians, King of, from Queen Victoria, 55
- Bombay Govt., 261
- Bombay Government, Political Department, from H.S. Barnes, 646
 —Foreign, Indore, 196
 —Foreign, Simla, 274, 284
 —Thuggee, 573, 574
 —Viceroy, 259, 288
- Bradford, Col. Sir Edward, from E.M. Durand, 454, 482
- Brandford, Sir E.R.C., from H.M. Durand, 607
- Budh Singh, Statement, 413, 521
- Burne, Col. Sir O.T., from M. Duleep Singh, 220, 246, 254
 —H.M. Durand, 372, 388, 393
 —P. & O. Company, 258
 —Memorandum, 245
- Cambridge, Duke of, from Frederick Roberts, 374, 491, 611
- Chairman, Court of Directors, from M. Duleep Singh, 112
- Chief Secretary, Madras, from Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, 588, 604
 —Foreign, Calcutta, 250
- Chief Secretary, Panjab, from W.J. Cunningham, 650, 652
- Churchill, Lord Randolph, from M. Duleep Singh, 182, 189, 193, 203
- Clarendon, Earl of, from Queen Victoria, 115, 116
- Colvin, B., from Col. P.D. Henderson, 513
- Commandant, Fort, Allahabad, from W.J. Cunningham, 589
 —Pohlo Mal, 618
- Cooke, C.T., from A. Weber, 427
- Couper, Sir George, from Lord Dalhousie, 67, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 88, 89, 99, 101, 107, 117

- Coutts & Co., from Mr. Godley, 255
Crawford Arthur, from Foreign, Simla, 292
Cross, Lord, from Lord Dufferin, 445, 519, 527, 528, 546, 550, 577
—Lord Lansdowne, 608, 614, 619, 622, 623, 628
—R.D. Watson, 412, 415
Cunningham, W.J., from Col. P.D. Henderson, 639
—James Monteath, 634
Currie, Sir Frederick, from Lord Dalhousie, 39, 41, 50
—Lord Hardinge, 18
—Henry Lawrence, 17
Currie, Sir P.W., 562
Dalhousie, Lord, from Sir Frederick Currie, 49
—Dr Login, 80, 94, 106
—Queen Victoria, 54, 102, 105, 108
Djamal ed-Din, Memo. on, 439
Dufferin, Lord, from M. Duleep Singh, 339, 368
—Frederick Roberts, 421
Duleep Singh, Maharaja, from Major R.B. Burnby, Chunar, 175
—Col. Sir O.T. Burne, 224, 252
—Lord Randolph Churchill, 186, 191, 202
—Sir Frederick Currie, 92
—Lord Dalhousie, 75, 78, 82, 84, 87, 91, 96, 100
—Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, 111
—Marquis of Hartington, 155
—Earl of Kimberley, 169, 172, 230, 242
—Sir John Login, 126, 142
—Mr Henry Manners, 214
—James C. Melvill, 114
—Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, 162
—Viceroy, 301, 319, 340, 381
—D. Mackenzie Wallace, 365
—Robert D. Watson, 405
—Sir C. Wood, 146
Duleep Singh, Prince Victor, from M. Duleep Singh, 430, 431
Dunlop Smith, Lieut. J.R., from H.M. Durand, 177
Durand, H.M., from C.V. Aitchison, 174
—A.B. Barnard, 451
—Major R.B. Burnby, 474
—Col. Sir O.T. Burne, 171, 194, 204, 210, 244, 247, 257, 277
—H.J.S. Cotton, 448
—Arthur Crawford, 329
—J. Ware Edgar, 443, 484
—Col. P.D. Henderson, 460, 466, 472, 476, 480

- Brig. Gen. A.S.T. Hogg, 315, 359
- A.P. Howell, 610
- Lieut., Col. W.H. Mackinnon, 208
- Gen. C.S. MacLean, 553
- D.M. McCracken, 178, 461
- J.O. Miller, 486
- Frederick Roberts, 437
- C.L. Tupper, 209, 211
- C.P. Tupper, 180
- Col. T.O. Underwood, 389
- D. Mackenzie Wallace, 263, 287, 289, 354, 366, 371, 385, 425
- W.M. Young, 222, 314, 346, 356, 358, 378, 432, 463, 510
- Durand, Sir Mortimer, from Edmund Meel, 621
 - C.L. Tupper, 609
- East India Company, Secretary, from M. Duleep Singh, 118
- Edgar, J. Ware, from H.M. Durand, 456, 500
- Ellenborough, Lord, from Lord Hardinge, 18
- Elliot, H.M., from Lord Hardinge, 32
- Elsmie, from W. Coldstream, 201
- Forbes, G.S., from Col. E.S. Ludlow, 598
 - J.M. Macpherson, 265
 - Sir Mortimer Durand, 605
 - W.M. Young, 379
- Foreign, Government of India, from Resident, Aden, 297, 298, 299
 - Ali Mohammad, Pondicherry, 455, 457
 - Munshi Aziz-ud-Din, 537
 - Bombay, 291
 - Political, Bombay, 392
 - Chief Secretary, Bombay, 271
 - Chief Secretary, Bengal, Bhagalpur, 449
 - Chief Secretary, Mahabaleshwar, 266
 - Chief Secretary, Madras, 588, 604
 - Arthur Crawford, 296
 - H.M. Durand, 279
 - H.C. Fanshawe, 651
 - India Office, 630
 - Lieut.-Governor, Lahore, 343
 - Government of Madras, 268
 - Gen. MacLean, 545, 548, 549, 552, 560, 578, 582
 - Political & Secret Department, 188
 - Private Secretary, Punjab, 199, 280
 - Jamadar Rab Nawaz Khan, 617
 - Frederick Roberts, 437

- Secretary, Punjab Govt., 229, 350, 420
- Telegram, 540
- Thuggee, Calcutta, 459, 464, 635, 636
- Foreign Viceroy's Camp, 227, 231
- Ganda Singh, Statement, 410
- Girdlestone, C., from H.M. Durand, 465
- Government of India, from Captain J. Campbell's Report, 71
 - Chief Secretary, N.W.P., 649
 - H.C. Fanshawe, 651
 - T.V. Lister, 452
 - Minute, September 30, 1848, 47
 - Sir J.P. Panncefote, 422
 - Secretary of State for India, 240, 251, 629
- Government of Fort St. George, Madras, from G.R. Irwin, 645
- Governor-General, Lahore, from Foreign Secretary, Simla, 342
- Hamilton, Major J., from Col. P.D. Henderson, 490
- Hardinge, A., Report, 563
- Hardinge, Sir Henry, from H.M. Lawrence, 29, 31
 - Lord Ripon, 14
 - Queen Victoria, 10, 12
- Hari Singh, Statement, 522
- Hari Singh and Isar Singh, Statement, 411
- Hassan Ali Khan, Nawab, Letter, 592
- Hartington, Marquis of, from M. Duleep Singh, 150, 154
- Henderson, Col. P.D., from A.B. Barnard, 498
 - Memorandum on Duleep Singh's intrigues, 516
 - Major Hamilton, 497, 506
 - Donald McCracken, 468, 469, 477, 478, 483, 495, 503, 507, 509
 - Col. O. Menzies, 481
 - W. Merk, 488, 492, 496
 - W.M. Young, 470
- Hobhouse, Sir J.C., from Lord Dalhousie, 38, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 51, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61
 - Lord Hardinge, 11, 21, 23, 28, 34, 35
- Hogg, Sir James, from Lord Hardinge, 13
- Howell, A.P., from Col. P.D. Henderson, 566, 570, 571, 572
 - D. McCracken, 575, 600
- Hyderabad, Abstract of Intelligence, 564
- Hyderabad, Resident, from Col. P.D. Henderson, 565, 568
- India Government, F. D., from Sir O.T. Burne, 192, 223, 403
 - Sardar Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia, 534
 - Government of India, 373, 394, 624
 - Sardar Jiwan Singh's Appeal, 37

- Assistant Secretary, 188
- Officiating Junior Secretary, Punjab Govt., 539
- Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, 308, 313
- Viceroy, 348
- W.M. Young, 419, 422
- India Office, Treasurer, from Farrer & Co., 238
- Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, from L.T. Christie, 625
- Isar Singh and Hari Singh, Statement, 411
- Jiwan Singh *alias* Karam Singh, Memorandum, 580
- Jowala Singh, Confession, 511
- Kashmir, Resident, from Raja Amar Singh, 616
- Kesar Singh, Statement, 523
- Kimberley, Earl of, from M. Duleep Singh, 164, 166, 170, 173, 221, 226, 241
 - Note, 219
 - Lord Ripon, 161
- Lahore, Lieut.-Governor, from Foreign Secretary, Simla, 342
- Lawrence, Henry Hardinge, 30, 33
 - Bibi Jind Kaur, 25, 26, 27
 - Secretary, G.G., 24
 - Report, 19
- Login, Lady, from M. Duleep Singh, 120, 122, 133, 145, 148, 149, 163, 586, 627, 642
 - Sir Henry Ponsonby, 156, 551, 643
 - Queen Victoria, 599
 - Sir C. Wood, 146
- Login, J.S., from Major H.P. Burn, 64, 65
 - L. Bowring, 124
 - Lord Dalhousie, 81, 83, 86, 90, 93, 97, 103, 109
 - J.D. Dickenson, 119
 - Maharaja Duleep Singh, 68, 69, 70, 85, 95, 110, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 136, 141, 143
 - Sir John Lawrence, 135
 - Sir Henry Elliot, 74
 - Sir Chalmers Phipps, 131, 137, 139, 140
- Ludlow, Col. E.S., from E.J. Stephenson, 581, 584, 585, 587
- MacLean, General (Mashed), from Foreign Secretary, Simla, 547
 - Nawab Hassan Ali Khan, 591, 593, 594, 595
 - Malik Marwarid, 554, 556
 - News-Reports, 596
- Madras, Ootacamund, from Foreign, Simla, 270, 283
- Mackenzie, A., from W.J. Cunningham, 638
- Macpherson, J.M., from G.S. Forbes, 264
- Mackinnon, Col., from H.M. Durand, 207

- Marwarid, Malik, from Brig. C.S. MacLean, 555, 557
- McCracken, D., from H.M. Durand, 458
 —W. Merk, 485, 493, 501
 —J.P. Warburton, 502
- Menzies, Col. O., from J.W. McAndrew, 179
- Merk, W., from Col. P.D. Henderson, 479
- Michell, J., from R.W. Hornstedt, 530, 531, 532
- Mool Raj, Proclamation, 44
- Monteath, James, from W.J. Cunningham, 633, 637
- Montgomery, Sir Robert, from M. Duleep Singh, 416
- Morier, Sir R., from H.M. Harnstedt, 453
- Moti, Examination of body of, 559
- Mountain, Brig., from Lord Dalhousie, 53
- Nisbet, Col. E.P., from W.J. Cunningham, 590
- Northbrook, Earl of, from Frederick Roberts, 518
- N.W.P. Government, from H.S. Barnes, 468
 —H.M. Durand, 467
- Oliphant, Col., from H. Waddington, 144
- Palmer, Brig. T., from Major W.A.G. Mayhew, 98
- Partab Singh, Statement, 529
- Peacock, F.B., from H.L. Harrison, 424
- Peel, Robert, from Queen Victoria, 4
- Phipps, Sir Charles, from Sir John Login, 134, 138
- Pohlo Mal, Statement, 414
- Political Resident, Aden, from H.M. Durand, 279
 —Foreign, Simla, 272, 282, 286, 304
- Ponsonby, Sir Henry, from Robert D. Watson, 408, 409
- Punjab Government, Lahore, from W.J. Cunningham, 650, 652
 —H.M. Durand, 198
 —Sir Henry Elliot, 63
 —G.C. Forbes, 418
 —Foreign, Simla, 225, 275, 342, 349
 —A.P. MacDonnel, 435
 —Opinion, 514
- Punjab Police, Political Intelligence (No. 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, etc.), 233, 237, 248, 269, 285, 305, 325, 331, 347, 357, 391, 395, 397, 398
- Ramzan Ali Khan, Statement, 558
- Richey, J.B., from C.S. Forbes, 267
- Ripon, Lord, from Lord Hardinge, 9, 20
- Russel, Lord John, from Queen Victoria, 62
- Russia, Emperor of, from M. Duleep Singh, 428
- Salisbury, Marquis of, from Sir R.B.D. Morier, 423, 426, 429, 440, 444, 446, 494, 524, 579, 631

- Sant Singh, from M. Duleep Singh, 183, 232
 Sarup Singh, from M. Duleep Singh, 176
 Secretary of State for India, from M. Duleep Singh, 213
 Secretary of State, India Office, London, from Viceroy, Calcutta, 234, 236, 249
 —Viceroy, Simla, 159, 160, 168, 184, 200, 217, 228, 273, 278, 302, 306, 320, 362, 386, 390, 434
 —Sir P.W. Currie, 562
 —T.V. Lister, 452
 —Sir J.P. Panncefote, 422
 Sohan Lal, Statement, 525
 Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, from Foreign, Simla, 309, 355
 Thuggee, Ajmer, from Foreign, Calcutta, 632
 Thuggee, Simla, Calcutta, etc., from Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, 487
 —G.S. Forbes, 601
 —Resident, Bolaram, 569
 —Resident, Hyderabad, 603
Times, from M. Duleep Singh, 151, 153
 Tupper, C.L., from H.M. Durand, 613
 —G.S. Forbes, 187
 —Col. P.D. Henderson, 538, 567
 —G.R. Irwin, 613
 —Sir Mortimer Durand, 606
 Viceroy, India, from Sir E. Baring, 647
 —Political, Bombay, 197
 —M. Duleep Singh, Aden, 300, 303, 311, 316, 322, 333, 336, 341, 367, 380, 382
 —Malan wife of Pholo Mal, 620
 —Private Secretary, 295
 —Resident, Aden, 281, 312, 318, 323, 327, 328, 330, 334, 338, 352, 360, 363, 369, 375, 377, 384, 387
 —Secretary of State, London, 167, 185, 190, 195, 205, 215, 218, 235, 243, 256, 307, 361, 417, 433, 583
 Victoria, Queen, from King of Belgians, 1
 —Lord Dalhousie, 43, 57, 66
 —M. Duleep Singh, 157
 —Sir Henry Hardinge, 8, 22
 —Lena Login, 121
 —Sir Robert Peel, 3
 —Robert D. Watson, 406, 407
 Warburton, J.P., from Col. O. Menzies, 471
 Warner, W. Lee, from D. McCracken, 576
 Waston, Robert, from M. Duleep Singh, 404

Wellington, Duke of, from Lord Ellenborough, 2

Wood, Sir Charles, from M. Duleep Singh, 125

—Sir John Login, 123

Young, W.M. from, H.M. Durand, 294, 351

—G.S. Forbes, 293, 370, 396

—Sardar Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia, 504

—Col. P.D. Henderson, 505, 508, 515, 517

SUMMERIES OF LETTERS

<i>Letter No./page</i>	<i>Summary of the Letters</i>
1/1 1840, Oct. 2.	<i>King of Belgians to Queen Victoria</i> —Ranjit Singh's Kingdom facing destruction.
2/1 1843, Nov. 20.	<i>Ellenborough to Willington</i> —Hira Singh's end coming near—Duleep Singh's mother a woman of courage, at Lahore—Fear of separation of Hills.
3/2 1844, April 23.	<i>Robert Peel to Queen Victoria</i> —Court resolve on recall of Ellenborough.
4/2 1844, April 23.	<i>Queen Victoria to Robert Peel</i> —Sorry on recall of Ellenborough.
5/2 1845.	<i>Introductory note (Letters of Queen Victoria, Vol. II,) to Chapter XIV</i> —The Sikhs defeated Moodkee and Ferozshahar.
6/2 1845, Sept. 26.	<i>Pledge of the Sikh Army</i> —British Army moving towards Ferozepur.
7/3 1846.	<i>Introductory note (Letters of Queen Victoria, Vol. II,) to Chapter XV</i> —The Sikhs defeated at Aliwal and Sobraon...Peace signed on March 8, 1846.
8/3 1846, Feb. 18.	<i>Henry Hardinge to Queen Victoria</i> —Gholab Singh to get Kashmir.
9/4 1846, Feb. 19.	<i>Hardinge to Ripon</i> —Maharaja Duleep Singh at Lahore to meet G.G. at Lulleancee.
10/6 1846, March 4.	<i>Queen Victoria to Hardinge</i> —Admires his success.
11/6 1846, April 5.	<i>Hardinge to Hobhouse</i> —Lena Singh appointed tutor to Duleep Singh.
12/7 1846, April 6.	<i>Queen Victoria to Hardinge</i> —Satisfied with result of work.
13/7 1846, April 17.	<i>Hardinge to Hogg</i> —Maharaja asked pardon for offence of Government.
14/7 1846, April 24.	<i>Ripon to Hardinge</i> —No danger in near future.
15/8 1846, June 4.	<i>Ripon to Prince Albert</i> —Rani Jind Kaur ill.

- 16/8 1846, June 7. *Hardinge to Ellenborough*—Rani's desire to make Lal Singh minister.
- 17/8 1846, June 16. *Henry Lawrence to Frederick Currie*—Rani feeling better.
- 18/9 1846, Dec. 10. *Hardinge to Currie*—Effort to reduce Rani's power.
- 19/9 1846, Dec. 17. *Henry Lawrence's Report*—Rani tried to win over Sirdars.
- 20/9 1846, Dec. 21. *Hardinge to Ripon*—British Government to govern Panjab (during Maharaja's minority).
- 21/10 1847, June 9. *Hardinge to Hobhouse*—Rani to be exiled if found conspiring
- 22/10 1847, July 27. *Hardinge to Queen Victoria*—G.G.'s expectation of peace in India.
- 23/11 1847, Aug. 14. *Hardinge to Hobhouse*—Tej Singh made Raja—Instructions to deprive Rani of power.
- 24/13 1847, Aug. 16. *Secretary, Governor General to Henry Lawrence*—Not to send Rani out of Punjab.
- 25/13 Dated nil. *Jind Kaur to Lawrence*—Complains against her detention.
- 26/14 Dated nil. *Jind Kaur to Lawrence*—Rani at Shaikhupura.
- 27/15 1847, Aug. 30. *Queen Moter to Lawrence*—Grievances of Jind Kaur.
- 28/16 1847, Sept. 5. *Hardinge to Hobhouse*—Rani's complaint.
- 29/17 1847, Aug. 12. *Lawrence to Hardinge*—Separate mother from son—former to Gujranwala.
- 30/18 1847, Aug. 14. *Hardinge to Lawrence*—Justified Rani's separation from her son.
- 31/18 1847, Aug. 10. *Lawrence to Hardinge*—Maharaja to Shalimar, Rani accross Ravee.
- 32/19 1847, Aug. 27. *Hardinge to Elliot*—Rani wishes her son to be restored to her.
- 33/20 1848, Oct. 23. *Henry Hardinge to Henry Lawrence*—Panjab never intended to be independent again.
- 34/20 1847, Sept. 20. *Hardinge to Hobhouse*—Maharaja at his country palace.
- 35/21 1847, Dec. 23. *Hardinge to Hobhouse*—Separation of mother from son.
- 36/21 1848. *Introductory note (Letters of Queen Victoria) Chapter XVII—Murder of two Englishmen.*

- 37/21 1848, Feb. 23. *S. Jiwan Singh's appeal to the Secy., G.O.I.*
- 38/22 1848, March 8. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Govt. refused to recognise Rani's Agent.
- 39/23 1848, May 15. *Dalhousie to Frederick Currie*—Suggests Rani's removal to British territory.
- 40/23 1848, June 2. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Removal of Rani to British territory—Benaras-Chunar.
- 41/25 1848, May 28. *Dalhousie to Currie*—Removal of Rani.
- 42/25 1848, June 9. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Maharani removed.
- 43/25 1848, July 3. *Dalhousie to Queen Victoria*—Bhai Maharaj Singh driven away.
- 44/26 Dated Nil. *Mul Raj's Proclamation to Khalsa.*
- 45/27 1848, Aug. 15. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Annexation of Panjab will follow soon.
- 46/28 1848, Sept. 20. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Reduction in Maharani's privy purse.
- 47/28 1848, Sept. 30. *Minute by Governor General*—Arrangements for future of the Panjab.
- 48/29 1848, Oct. 8. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Revolt at Multan.
- 49/30 1848, Oct. 12. *Frederick Currie to Dalhousie*—Suggests annexation.
- 50/31 1848, Nov. 3. *Dalhousie to Frederic Currie*—Subsequent destiny of the Sikh dynasty.
- 51/31 1848, Dec. 22. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Lord Auckland should rest his foot in the Panjab.
- 52/32 1849. *Introductory note to the (Letters from Queen Victoria) Chapter XVIII*—Multan besieged... Annexation, March 29, 1849... *Koh-i-noor* to be presented to Queen.
- 53/32 1849, Jan. 31. *Dalhousie to Brig. Mountain*—Rani a woman of manly understanding.
- 54/33 1849, Feb. 6. *Queen Victoria to Dalhousie*—Laments loss of Cureton and Havelock.
- 55/33 1849, March 6. *Queen Victoria to King of Belgians*—Napier to be sent to India.
- 56/33 1849, March 24. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Rani's letters—Chuttar Singh and Moolraj to be shut up in Chunar.
- 57/34 1849, March 24. *Dalhousie to Queen Victoria*—Sikhs surrender at Rawalpindi... Gilbert seized Attock.

- 58/35 1849, April 4. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Elliot's conference at Lahore.
- 59/36 1849, May 2. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Rani escapes from Chunar—She goes to Nepal.
- 60/38 1849, May 11. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Rani arrived near Kathmandu.
- 61/39 1849, May 25. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*—Rani reached Kathmandu.
- 62/39 1849, May 26. *Queen Victoria to John Russell*—Queen approves the annexation of the Panjab.
- 63/39 1849, Dec. 11. *Elliot to Board of Administration*—M. Duleep Singh to be sent to Futtehgarh...Maharani at Kathmandu.
- 64/42 1849, Dec. 21. *H.P. Burn to Login*—Safety of M. Duleep Singh during journey to Futtehgarh.
- 65/43 1849, Dec. 23. *H.P. Burn to Login*—Dr John Login marching towards Futtehgarh.
- 66/44 1850, May 15. *Dalhousie to Queen Victoria*—The *Medea* sailing to England with Koh-i-noor.
- 67/44 1850, Dec. 1. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS sending his own armour to the Prince of Wales.
- 68/45 1850, Dec. 2. *M. Duleep Singh to Dr Login*—Duleep Singh asked for the Bible.
- 69/45 1850, Dec. 7. *M. Duleep Singh to Dr Login*—Mrs. Login in Calcutta—Duleep Singh started reading Bible.
- 70/45 1850, Dec. 9. *M. Dhuleep Singh to Dr Login*—DS decides to embrace Christianity.
- 71/45 1850, Dec. 20. *Captain J. Campbell's Report to the Government*—Regarding Duleep Singh's intention to embrace Christianity.
- 72/46 1851, March 3. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS intention to become Christian.
- 73/47 1851, June 8. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—The Court's sanction regarding Duleep's Christianization.
- 74/47 1851, July 23. *Henry Elliot to Dr Login*—Sheo Deo Singh's expectations.
- 75/47 1851, Aug. 2. *Dalhousie to M. Duleep Singh*—DS desire to visit Agra and Delhi.
- 76/48 1851, Aug. 11. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS pleased being allowed to become Christian.

- 77/48 1851, Dec. 8. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—Court agrees to Duleep Singh's initiation to Christianity.
- 78/49 1851, Dec. 24. *Dalhousie to Duleep Singh*—Will meet Duleep Singh at Futteharh.
- 79/49 1851, Dec. 26. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS becoming more European.
- 80/50 1852, May 10. *Dr Login to Lord Dalhousie*—DS living near Mussoorie.
- 81/52 1852, June 7. *Dalhousie to Dr Login*—DS seems very judicious.
- 82/52 1852, July 17. *Dalhousie to M. Duleep Singh*—Going to Burmah...also many Panjabis.
- 83/53 1852, Sept. 24. *Dalhousie to Login*—Advocate's DS going to England...Suggests marriage of DS to Princess of Coorg.
- 84/55 1852, Sept. 24. *Dalhousie to M. Duleep Singh*—Sikh regiments going to Burmah...Sher Singh Attareewalah confined in Fort William—Not permitted to go to Burma.
- 85/56 1853, Feb. 8. *Maharaja Duleep Singh to Login*—DS desires to be baptized.
- 86/56 1853, Feb. 15. *Dalhousie to Login*—Agrees to DS baptism.
- 87/56 1853, Feb. 15. *Dalhousie to M. Duleep Singh*—Agrees to baptism.
- 88/57 1853, March 3. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS is to be quietly baptized.
- 89/57 1853, March 12. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS baptized.
- 90/58 1853, March 16. *Dalhousie to Login*—Baptism of DS.
- 91/58 1853, March 16. *Dalhousie to Duleep Singh*—Acknowledges letter regarding baptism.
- 92/59 1853, April 11. *Currie to M. Duleep Singh*—Congratulation on baptism.
- 93/60 1853, Aug. 4. *Dalhousie to Login*—DS visit to England.
- 94/61 1853, Aug. *Dr. Login to Dalhousie*—DS wishes to keep Sheo Deo Singh with him.
- 95/62 1853, Aug. *Duleep Singh to Login*—Wishes to go to England.
- 96/62 1854, Jan. 31. *Dalhousie to M. Duleep Singh*—Permission to go to England for education.
- 97/63 1854, Jan. 31. *Dalhousie to Login*—Re. Court's permission for Duleep Singh's visit to England.

- 98/63 1854, March 11. *Major Mayhew to T. Palmer*—DS halt at Cawnpore.
- 99/63 1854, April 8. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS living in Barrackpore—also Sheo Deo Singh.
- 100/64 1854, April 18. *Dalhousie to M. Duleep Singh*—Gift of Nisbet's Bible.
- 101/64 1854, April 30. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—Discourage Duleep Singh's going to public meetings.
- 102/64 1854, July 26. *Queen Victoria to Dalhousie*—Sympathy and regard for Maharaja.
- 103/65 1854, Aug. 10. *Dalhousie to Login*—Lena Singh died at Benaras.
- 104/66 1854, Sep. 9. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—Improvement of the Army.
- 105/67 1854, Oct. 2. *Queen Victoria to Dalhousie*—Future of the Indian Princes—Queen's regards for DS pension-provision for his children and descendants.
- 106/68 1854, Oct. *Login to Dalhousie*—Seeks clarification of treaty with DS re. four lakh fund.
- 107/69 1854, Oct. 22. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—Re. attention to DS.
- 108/69 1854, Nov. 24. *Queen Victoria to Dalhousie*—Suggestion DS marriage with Princess of Coorg.
- 109/70 1855, Jan. *Dalhousie to Login*—Congratulation re. DS education.
- 110/70 1856, June 30. *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—Asks for the 'Treasury of Histories.'
- 111/71 1856, July, 16. *Prince of Wales to Duleep Singh*—Camp at Aldershot.
- 112/71 1856, Dec. 9. *M. Duleep Singh to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of Court of Directors of East India Company*—Re. future settlement.
- 113/72 1856, Dec. 15. *Memorandum by Queen Victoria*—Urges sympathetic treatment to DS, restrictions on residence.
- 114/73 1857, Feb. 19. *J.C. Melvill to M. Duleep Singh*—Relieving of residential restrictions.
- 115/73 1857, Sept. 23. *Queen Victoria to Earl of Clarendon*—DS state of mind.

- 116/74 1857, Sept. 28. *Queen Victoria to Earl of Clarendon*—Suspicion re. DS attitude towards mutiny.
- 117/74 1858, Jan. 7. *Dalhousie to George Couper*—DS wishes end of guardianship—with Login to Italy—*Koh-i-noor*.
- 118/76 1858, Feb. 26. *M. Duleep Singh to Secretary, East India Company*—Duleep Singh appreciates Login's services—allowance for him.
- 119/76 1858, March 10. *J.D. Dickenson to John Login*—Allowance not approved.
- 120/77 1859, July 6. *Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Lady Login to take charge of Coorg Princess.
- 121/77 1859, March 31. *Lena Login to Queen Victoria*—Maharajah met Princess Gouramma.
- 122/79 1859, July 9. *M. Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Acted according the advice of John Login.
- 123/80 1859, July. *Login to Charles Wood*—Settlement of Duleep Singh's future still under consideration.
- 124/82 1860, Jan. 8. *Bowring to Login*—No objection to DS visiting India—marriage to daughter of Shamgarh Sardar not good.
- 125/82 1860, March 31. *M. Duleep Singh to Charles Wood*—Login guardianship end.
- 126/83 1861, Jan. 18. *J. Login to Duleep Singh*—Government objection to his acting as agent.
- 127/84 1861, Feb. *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—DS and mother to return to England.
- 128/85 1861, Feb. *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—DS at Calcutta—power of attorney to Login.
- 129/85 1861, July *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—To act for Duleep Singh in settling affairs with the Government.
- 130/86 1861, July *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—Wishes to talk regarding private property in Panjab and *Koh-i-noor*.
- 131/86 1861, Aug. 4. *C.B. Phipps to Login*—DS may submit his claims to impartial person—Rani in England a misfortune.
- 132/87 1861, Sept. 22. *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—DS finds difficult to lead Christian life.

- 133/87 1861, Sept. *M. Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Advice regarding a likeness of mother.
- 134/87 1861, Dec. 30. *John Login to Charles Phipps*—Maharaja's affairs.
- 135/89 1861. *Lawrence to Login*—Rani is better out of India.
- 136/89 1861. *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—Mother has allowed Duleep Singh to marry an English lady.
- 137/89 1862, Jan. 4. *Charles Phipps to Login*—Prevent mother's influence over DS.
- 138/89 1862, Jan. 8. *Login to Charles Phipps*—Re. case.
- 139/90 1862, April 13. *Charles Phipps to Login*—Latter's interest in DS.
- 140/91 1862, June 16. *C.B. Phipps to Login*—To prevent mother's influence over DS.
- 141/91 1862, June. *Duleep Singh to Login*—Arranges mother's return to India.
- 142/91 1862. *Login to M. Duleep Singh*—Advises Duleep Singh to stay in England and marry.
- 143/92 1862, Aug. 1. *M. Duleep Singh to Login*—Re. purchase in Gloucestershire.
- 144/93 1863, April 8. *H. Waddington to Colonel Oliphant*—Steps required for DS to enable him to enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects.
- 145/93 1863, Nov. 15. *Maharaja Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Memorandum from Maharaja Duleep Singh.
- 146/93 1864, Jan. 13. *C. Wood to M. Duleep Singh*—Permission to Duleep Singh to visit India for last rites of his mother.
- 147/94 1864, June 7. *Duleep Singh's marriage*.
- 148/95 1866, Feb. 26. *Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Condolence.
- 149/95 1876, Dec. 29. *M. Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Condolence on Edwy's death.
- 150/96 1882, July 21. *M. Duleep Singh to Hartington*—Feels free from residential restrictions as a naturalized Englishman.
- 151/96 1882, Aug. 21. *M. Duleep Singh to Editor Times*.
- 152/101 1882, Aug. 31. *The Times Editorial*.
- 153/105 1882, Sept. 6. *M. Duleep Singh to the Editor of The Times*—Re. his claims.

- 154/108 1882, Sept. 15. *M. Duleep Singh to Hartington*—Enquires whether there is any legal difficulty in going to the Panjab.
- 155/108 1882, Oct. 23. *Hartington to M. Duleep Singh*—Permitted to visit India—movements according to instructions of Viceroy.
- 156/109 1883, July 25. *Henry Ponsonby to Lady Login*—Queen Victoria much occupied by DS movements.
- 157/109 *M. Duleep Singh to Queen Victoria*—DS claims his estates in Panjab...Lady Login's observations.
- 158/113 1883, Aug. 11. *'The Tribune'*—"India for the Indians only"—*Duleep Singh Ki Jai*.
- 159/113 1883, Aug. 15. *Viceroy to Secretary of State*—DS visit to the Panjab not to be allowed.
- 160/114 1883, Aug. 16. *Viceroy to Secretary of State*—Letters circulated in Amritsar and Lahore about DS visit.
- 161/114 1883, Aug. 17. *Lord Ripon and Six others to Kimberley*—DS visit to India undesirable—to Panjab not permitted.
- 162/117 1883, Nov. 9. *Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia to M. Duleep Singh*—Information re. private estates.
- 163/124 1884, July 25. *M. Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Resolved to visit India.
- 164/124 1885, March 10. *M. Duleep Singh to Kimberley*—Details of private estates.
- 165/157 *Observations on Payments or allowances to M. Duleep Singh*—Situation in 1849—Treaty.
- 166/171 1885, April 21. *M. Duleep Singh to the Kimberley*—Offer to join British army against Russian attack.
- 167/172 1885, April 29. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, Simla*—DS to move in India as Viceroy desire
- 168/172 1885, May 5. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—DS's offer not acceptable—Visit to India undesirable.
- 169/172 1885, May 7. *Kimberley to M. Duleep Singh*—DS not allowed to visit India or to join army.
- 170/173 1885, May 7. *M. Duleep Singh to Kimberley*—War with Russia averted—claims restrictions on residence already removed.

- 171/174 1885, May 8. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—Copy of Correspondence.
- 172/174 1885, June 4. *Kimberley to M. Duleep Singh*—Restriction on M. Duleep Singh are no longer in force.
- 173/175 1885, June 8. *M. Duleep Singh to Kimberley*—Narrates grievances.
- 174/176 1885, Aug. 8. *Aitchison to H.M. Durand*—regarding Evens Bell's book.
- 175/176 1885, Aug. 1. *Weitbrecht to C.V. Aitchison*—Sardar Sarup Singh's letter to Duleep Singh.
- 176/177 1885, June 28. *Duleep Singh to Sarup Singh*—Intention to return to India.
- 177/177 1885, Aug. 21. *H.M. Durand to J.R. Dunlop Smith*—Asks for information re. DS activities.
- 178/178 *D.M. McCrackan to H.M. Durand*—*Kohinoor* paper dated Aug. 25, 1885 —M. Duleep Singh sent money to Golden Temple Amritsar.
- 179/178 *McAndrew to Menzies*—Thakur Singh returned to India, will visit Hydrabad.
- 180/178 1885, Oct. 6. *C.P. Tupper to H.M. Durand*—*Pioneer*—Maharaja postponed his departure—Jamiyat Rai received letter from Maharaja—Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia had gone to Apchal Nagar Nander (Hydrabad).
- 181/180 1885, Oct. 6. *C.L. Tupper to Secretary*—Maharaja's desire to settle in Panjab.
- 181A/182 1885, Oct. 8. *Office Note*—Maharaja's attempt to visit India.
- 182/183 1885, Oct. 7. *M. Duleep Singh to Randolph Churchill*—Leaving England on Dec. 16.
- 183/184 1885, Oct. 7. *M. Duleep Singh to S. Sant Singh*—Proposes to live at Delhi.
- 184/184 1885, Oct. 12. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secy. of State, London*—DS name in P. and O. list.
- 185/184 1885, Oct. 14. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, Simla*—Re. M. Duleep Singh residence in India.
- 186/185 1885, Oct. 15. *Randolph Churchill to M. Duleep Singh*—In India, M. Duleep Singh can travel with H.E. permission.

- 187/186 1885, Oct. 16. *G.S. Forbes to C.L. Tupper*—Duleep Singh visit to India.
- 188/187 1885, Oct. 16. *Asst. Secretary, Pol. and Secret Depts. to the Secy., G.O.I.*—DS intention to visit India.
- 189/188 1885, Oct. 20. *M. Duleep Singh to Randolph Churchill*—Asks if force will be used against him.
- 190/189 1885, Oct. 26. *Secy. of State, London, to Viceroy*—To decide measures.
- 191/189 1885, Oct. 26. *Randolph to M. Duleep Singh*—Viceroy to decide about his measures.
- 192/189 1885, Oct. 30. *O.T. Burne to the Secy. Govt. of India*—Regarding Duleep Singh intended visit.
- 193/190 1885, Nov. 2. *M. Duleep Singh to Lord R. Churchill*—Intended action against Duleep Singh in India—Claims of DS.
- 194/191 1885, Nov. 6. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—Copy of DS letter regarding his visit to India.
- 195/191 1885, Nov. 9. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy*—DS propose going to Delhi.
- 196/191 1885, Nov. 14. *Foreign, Indore, to Political, Bombay*—Enquires about Steamer.
- 197/191 1885, Nov. 14. *Political, Bombay, to Foreign, Viceroy's Camp, Indore*—Leaving London Dec. 12.
- 198/192 1885, Nov. 19. *H.M. Durand to Private Secy., Govt. Punjab*—DS not to be permitted to visit Panjab—at Ootacamand or near Madras.
- 199/192 1885, Nov. 19. *Punjab (Private Secy.) to Foreign*—DS to be treated with respect.
- 200/192 1885, Nov. 27. *Viceroy, Agra, to Secy. of State, London*—DS to live at Ootacamand.
- 201/193 1885, Nov. 28. *W. Coldstream to Elsmie*—Sarup Singh showed two letters of Maharaja to him.
- 202/194 1885, Nov. 30. *Randolph Churchill to M. Duleep Singh*—DS to live at Ootacamand.
- 203/194 1885, Dec. 2. *M. Duleep Singh to Randolph Churchill*—Maharaja's firm decision to settle at Delhi—visit postponed.
- 204/195 1885, Dec. 4. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—DS contemplated visit to India.

- 205/196 1885, Dec. 4. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy*—New date of Maharaja's departure is 20th Jan.
- 206/197 1885, Dec. 4. *Affairs of M. Duleep Singh.*
- 207/204 1885, Dec. 8. *H.M. Durand to Mackinnon*—Duleep Singh must settle in Madras.
- 208/204 1885, Dec. 11. *W.H. Mackinnon to Durand*—Kodaikanal suggested for DS.
- 209/204 1885, Dec. 12. *C.L. Tupper to Durand*—Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia's mission to Hyderabad.
- 210/206 1885, Dec. 18. *O.T. Burne to Durand*—Confidential memo re. DS.
- 211/207 1885, Dec. 28. *C.L. Tupper to H.M. Durand*—Panjabi translation of the *Annexation of the Panjab and the Maharaja DS*—Thakar Singh.
- 212/213 Pensionary claims of Maharaja Duleep Singh.
- 213/216 1886, Jan. 16. *M. Duleep Singh to the Secy. of State for India*—Private estates.
- 214/224 1886, Jan. 25. *Henry Manners to M. Duleep Singh*—Appeal not accepted.
- 215/225 1886, Jan. 28. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, Calcutta*—DS deferred departure till 17th Feb.
- 216/225 1886, Jan. 29. *Memo of Conversation between M. Duleep Singh and Owen Burne*—Claims of DS.
- 217/229 1886, Feb. 1. *Viceroy to the Secy. of State*—Enquires about DS departure.
- 218/229 1886, Feb. 2. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, Calcutta*—Warning not delivered.
- 219/230 1886, Feb. 8. *Note by Earl of Kimberley*—Maharaja's interview with Earl of Kimberley—Injustice British Govt.—Claims to property—DS agreed to reside at Ootacamand.
- 220/231 1886, Feb. 9. *M. Duleep Singh to O.T. Burne*—Requests for living cheap house at Ootacamand—Departure put-off to 10th March.
- 221/231 1886, Feb. 10. *M. Duleep Singh to Kimberley*—Object of DS coming to India is to lay by money for his family.
- 222/232 1886, Feb. 11. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—Visit postponed, reasons for return to India—His claims.

- 223/234 1886, Feb. 12. *O.T. Burne to Secy., GOI*—Copy of Corres. relative to DS.
- 224/237 1886, Feb. 11. *O.T. Burne to M. Duleep Singh*—Maharaja's intended visit and hiring of house is communicated to Govt. of India.
- 225/238 1886, Feb. 14. *Foreign, Viceroy's Camp to Punjab, Lahore*—DS claims salt mines.
- 226/238 1886, Feb. 19. *M. Duleep Singh to Kimberley*—His claims.
- 227/239 1886, Feb. 21. *Foreign, Viceroy's Camp to Foreign Under Secy., Calcutta*—Circulate case to council for opinion.
- 228/239 1886, Feb. 21. *Viceroy to Secretary of State, London*—Limit of pecuniary concession.
- 229/239 1886, Feb. 22. *Punjab Government to Foreign Secretary*—Claims—grants, advances.
- 230/244 1886, March 2. *Kimberley to M. Duleep Singh*—No interference with Viceroy's decision.
- 231/245 1886, March 2. *Foreign, Viceroy's Camp to Foreign, Under Secy., Calcutta*—MDS papers.
- 232/245 1886, March 9. *M. Duleep Singh to S. Sant Singh*—Informs about visit.
- 233/245 1886, March 13. *Extract from Abstract of Pol. Intelligence, Pb. Police 10*—Thaker Singh and Chiragh-ud-Din received letters from D.S.
- 234/246 1886, March 18. *Viceroy, Calcutta, to Secy. of State, London*—Enquires about intention of Maharaja.
- 235/246 1886, March 18. *Secy. of State, London, to Viceroy, Calcutta*—DS leaving on 31st March.
- 236/247 1886, March 18. *Viceroy, Calcutta, to Secy. of State, London*—Offers grant of £ 50,000.
- 237/247 1886, March 20. *Extract from Abstract of Political Intelligence, Panjab Police No. 11*—M. Duleep Singh expected in India in April—Regarding embracing the Sikhism—*Path-bhog* at Golden Temple.
- 238/248 1886, March 22. *Messrs. Farrer & Co., to Treasurer, India Office*—Duleep Singh starting on 31st March.
- 239/248 1886, March 22. *Messrs. Coutts & Co.*—Monthly stipend of Maharaja to be credited to his account with Messrs. Coutts & Co.

- 240/248 1886, March 25. *Secretary of State for India, to Govt. of India*—Thakur Singh is being allowed to meet His Highness on his arrival.
- 241/249 1886, March 11. *M. Duleep Singh to Kimberley*—Request of meeting S. Thakur Singh.
- 242/249 1886, March 16. *Kimberley to M. Duleep Singh*—Thakur Singh may meet Maharaja.
- 243/249 1886, March 25. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, Calcutta*—British Govt. warning to Maharaja about the consequences to him in India.
- 244/251 1886, March 26. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—Corres.
- 245/251 1886, March 24. *Memorandum by O.T. Burne*—Re. interview with Maharaja.
- 246/253 1886, March 24. *M. Duleep Singh to O.T. Burne*—Refuses the offer.
- 247/254 1886, March 26. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—Copy of correspondence re. D.S.
- 248/255 1886, March 27. *Extract from Abstract of Political Intelligence*, Pb. Police No. 12—Pohlo Mal's statement—DS telegram to Jamiat Singh.
- 249/255 1886, March 30. *Viceroy, Calcutta, to Secretary of State, London*—DS to be sent to Kudai-kanal.
- 250/255 1886, March 30. *Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, to Chief Secy., Madras*—Secure accommodation for DS.
- 251/256 1886, March 31. *Secy. of State for India to Govt. of India*—DS rejects grant—Leaves for India.
- 252/257 1886, March 30. *Owen Burne to M. Duleep Singh*—Enquires about letter to press.
- 253/257 1886, March 25. *Duleep Singh's Appeal to His Countrymen*.
- 254/258 1886, March 30. *M. Duleep Singh to Owen Burne*—Letter genuine.
- 255/258 1886, March 30. *Godley to Messrs. Coutts & Co.*—Payments of stipend of Maharaja will be made.
- 256/258 1886, March 31. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy's Camp*—DS left for Bombay with family—Intention of embracing Sikh faith.
- 257/260 1886, April 2. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—Maharaja's departure.
- 258/260 1886, March 31. *Chairman, P. & O. Company to O. T. Burne*—DS. and family left England to-day.

- 259/260 1886, April 2. *Foreign, Viceory's Camp Chakia, to Political, Bombay*—Enquires about steamer's arrival at Bombay.
- 260/261 1886, April 3. *The Tribune*—Surprised at DS. residence at Ootacamand, treated cruelly.
- 261/261 1886, April 5. *Bombay Government—Verona* expected on April 27.
- 262/261 1886, April 5. *Foreign Secretary, Benaras*—Ask for warrant for DS detentions at Kudai-kanal.
- 263/262 1886, April 6. *D.M. Wallace to H.M. Durand*—Thakur Singh is not permitted to meet Maharaja—Temporary accommodation at Kotagiri.
- 264/262 1886, April 6. *G.S. Forbes to J.M. Macpherson*—Whether DS should be stopped at Aden.
- 265/262 1886, April 6. *J. M. Macpherson to G.S. Forbes*—Maharaja can be arrested at Aden.
- 266/265 1886, April 7. *Chief Secy., Mahableshtar, to Foreign Secretary, Benaras*—Telegram re. Maharaja.
- 267/265 1886, April 8. *G.S. Forbes to J.B. Richey*—Warrants against DS and his family.
- 268/266 1886, April 9. *Govt. of Madras to Foreign Secretary*—Recommended Duleep Singh's stay at Kotagiri.
- 269/266 1886, April 10. *Extract from the Abstract of Political Intelligence Pb. Police No. 14*—Claims of Maharaja's to the estates in the Panjab.
- 270/266 1886, April 12. *Foreign, Simla, to Madras, Ootacamund*—Accommodation at Kotagiri.
- 271/267 1886, April 13. *Chief Secretary, Bombay, to Foreign Secretary*—Warrants to be used if DS refuses.
- 272/268 1886, April 15. *Foreign, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—Duleep Singh and family at Aden...May go back to England.
- 273/268 1886, April 15. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—Duleep Singh address to Sikhs genuine.
- 274/269 1886, April 15. *Foreign, Simla, to Bombay*—Detain DS at Aden.
- 275/269 1886, April 15. *Foreign, Simla, to Panjab*—Orders to detain DS at Aden.
- 276/269 1886, April 15. *Viceroy, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—DS not to communicate with outside world.
- 277/269 1886, April 16. *O.T. Burne to H.M. Durand*—Memo. re. DS.

- 278/276 1886, April 16. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—DS return to India undesirable—Can go back.
- 279/276 1886, April 16. *H.M. Durand to Resident, Aden*—Warrants for DS.
- 280/277 1886, April 16. *Private Secretary, Lieut.-Governor, Pb., to Foreign*—DS not to come to India.
- 281/280 1886, April 17. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—Instructions will be carried out.
- 282/280 1886, April 17. *Foreign, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—DS may represent case.
- 283/281 1886, April 17. *Foreign, Simla, to Madras*—Maharaja to be stopped at Aden—Ootacmund accommodation not required.
- 284/281 1886, April 17. *Foreign, Simla, to Bombay, Mahableshwar*—Send Crawford to Aden.
- 285/281 1886, April 17. *Political Intelligence, Pb. Police No. 15*—Akhand Path at Tarn Taran temple.
- 286/281 1886, April 17. *Foreign, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—DS may represent his case.
- 287/282 1886, April 17. *D.M. Wallace to H.M. Durand*—Circulation of DS proclamation.
- 288/282 1886, April 17. *Viceroy to Govt., Bombay*—Detention of Maharani and girls.
- 289/282 1886, April 17. *D.M. Wallace to H.M. Durand*—DS return to India undesirable.
- 290/283 1886, April 17. *The Tribune*—DS letter reaction.
- 291/283 1886, April 18. *Bombay to Foreign, Simla*—Crawford proceeding to Simla.
- 292/283 1886, April 19. *Foreign, Simla, to Crawford*—Crawford placed under Viceroy.
- 293/284 1886, April 19. *G.S. Forbes to W.M. Young*—DS wired friends in Panjab.
- 294/284 1886, April 19. *H.M. Durand to W.M. Young*—DS detention at Aden.
- 295/285 1886, April 19. *Private Secretary to Viceroy*—DS and Maharani at Aden.
- 296/285 1886, April 20. *Crawford to Foreign, Simla*—Leaving for Simla.
- 297/286 1886, April 21. *Resident, Aden, to Foreign, Simla*—DS and party at Aden.

- 298/286 1886, April 21. *Resident, Aden, to Foreign, Secretary*—DS wishes to go to Egypt.
- 299/286 1886, April 22. *Resident, Aden, to Foreign*—May DS wires to Grindlay.
- 300/286 1886, April 22. *M. Duleep Singh, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—Permission to Corres. with friends in London.
- 301/287 1886, April 22. *Viceroy, Simla, to M. Duleep Singh, Aden*—To be treat with respect.
- 302/287 1886, April 22. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—DS family to go back.
- 303/287 1886, April 23. *Duleep Singh, Aden, to Viceroy Simla*—Salisbury correspondence published.
- 304/288 1886, April 23. *Foreign, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—DS wire to Grindlay.
- 305/288 1886, April 24. *Political Intelligence, Pb. Police No. 16*—DS—Sikh favour his initiation—Russian Govt. friendly and have secret understanding with MDS
- 306/288 1886, April 25. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—Urges early settlement.
- 307/289 1886, April 26. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy, Simla*—Programme is carried on the Viceroy's desire.
- 308/289 1886, April 27. *Thakur Singh, Delhi, to Secretary, Foreign, Simla*—Seeks permission to see DS at Bombay.
- 309/289 1886, April 27. *Foreign, Simla, to Thakur Singh*—Duleep Singh not coming to Bombay.
- 310/289 1886, April 27. *Viceroy, Simla, to Resident Aden*—BG is happy if DS settled at Cairo...Sons to refrain from political agitation.
- 311/290 1886, April 27. *M. Duleep Singh to His Excellency the Viceroy*—Publication of documents.
- 312/291 1886, April 28. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—DS return with family to Europe.
- 313/291 1886, April 28. *Thakur Singh, Delhi, to the Secretary, Foreign Deptt.*—Seeks permission to see Duleep Singh.
- 314/292 1886, April 28. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—DS name in sakhee book...Watch all communicators of DS.

- 315/292 1886, April 28. *Hogg to H.M. Durand*—DS not signing agreement...Wishes to place Maharani and girls in Germany.
- 316/293 1886, April 29. *M. Duleep Singh, Aden, to Viceroy*— Object of going to India to lay his claims before G.G.
- 317/293 1886, April 29. *Viceroy, to Resident, Aden*—Govt. promise to pay DS travelling expenses.
- 318/294 1886, April 29. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—DS thanks for pecuniary assistance.
- 319/294 1886, April 30. *Viceroy to M. Duleep Singh, Aden*—DS representation considered.
- 320/294 1886, April 30. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—DS return to Europe—No political agitation.
- 321/295 1886, May 1. *Tribune*—Duleep Singh detention at Aden.
- 322/295 1886, May 1. *M. Duleep Singh, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—Sending family to England—Himself staying at Aden.
- 323/296 1886, May 1. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Sending family to England—Himself staying at Aden.
- 324/296 1886, May 1. *Thakur Singh, Delhi, to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Awaiting reply from Govt.
- 325/296 1886, May 1. *Political Intelligence, Punjab Police*—Thakur Singh, Sikhs, etc.
- 326/297 1886, May 2. *Viceroy to Resident, Aden*—DS can live anywhere in Europe.
- 327/297 1886, May 3. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—DS not going to Europe.
- 328/298 1886, May 5. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—DS asks for full judicial investigation of his claims immediately.
- 329/298 1886, May 5. *Arthur Crawford to H.M. Durand*—DS warrants returned.
- 330/299 1886, May 6. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Maharaja and his family sailed for England.
- 331/299 1886, May 8. *Political Intelligence, Panjab Police No. 18*—The Kukas and Duleep Singh—Ram Singh's spirit—Thakar Singh, etc.
- 332/301 1886, May 8. *The Tribune*—Maharaja Duleep Singh ordered back to England.

- 333/302 1886, May 8. *M. Duleep Singh to Viceroy*—Duleep Singh's cousin at Aden.
- 334/302 1886, May 8. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Thakur Singh of Wagah at Aden.
- 335/303 1886, May 8. *Viceroy to Resident, Aden*—Duleep Singh permitted to see the two persons from India.
- 336/303 1886, May 10. *M. Duleep Singh to Viceroy*—DS requests for two Englishmen and two Indian servants.
- 337/303 1886, May 10. *Viceroy to Resident, Aden*—DS request for Englishmen rejected—Enquire about servants required.
- 338/303 1886, May 11. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Excellency's wire.
- 339/303 1886, May 11. *M. Duleep Singh to Earl of Dufferin*—Copies of letters sent.
- 340/304 1886, May 11. *Viceroy to M. Duleep Singh*—DS visit to India, not permitted.
- 341/304 1886, May 12. *M. Duleep Singh to Viceroy*—Desire to rejoin Sikhism.
- 342/304 1886, May 14. *Foreign Secretary, Simla, to Lieut.-Governor, Lahore*—DS may see Thakur Singh.
- 343/305 1886, May 14. *Govt. Panjab to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Agrees to DS embracing Sikhism.
- 344/305 1886, May 15. *The Tribune*—Return DS to Europe.
- 345/306 1886, May 15. *Viceroy to Resident, Aden*—Allow initiation—No private communication with Panjabis.
- 346/306 1886, May 15. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—Thakur Singh at Delhi.
- 347/308 1886, May 15. *Political Intelligence, Panjab Police No. 19*—Arya Samaj regret DS return to Europe.
- 348/308 1886, May 15. *Viceroy to the Secretary, Foreign Department*—Proceedings against DS.
- 349/309 1886, May 17. *Foreign, Simla, to Govt. Panjab, Lahore*—Thakur Singh in Delhi.
- 350/309 1886, May 18. *Panjab, Lahore, to Foreign, Simla*—Thakur Singh of Wagah.
- 351/309 1886, May 18. *H.M. Durand to W.M. Young*—DS case memo.
- 352/313 1886, May 18. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—Sikh servants.

- 353/314 1886, May 20. *Viceroy, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—DS can have a Hindu cook.
- 354/314 1886, May 20. *D.M. Wallace to H.M. Durand*—Servants for DS.
- 355/314 1886, May 21. *Foreign, Simla, to S. Thakur Singh, Delhi*—DS not coming to Delhi.
- 356/314 1886, May 21. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—DS not permitted to visit India—Suggestion re. Burma—Anywhere in Europe.
- 357/315 1886, May 22. *Political Abstract of Intelligence, Panjab Police*—Thakur Singh and his sons at Delhi.
- 358/316 1886, May 24. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—Re. the *Kurshid-i-Khalsa*.
- 359/321 1886, May 25. *A.S.T. Hogg to H.M. Durand*—Maharaja initiated into Sikhism.
- 360/321 1886, May 25. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Maharaja's baptism—No change in plans.
- 361/322 1886, May 26. *Secy. of State, London, to Viceroy*—Asks for information regarding DS at Aden.
- 362/322 1886, May 27. *Viceroy to Secretary of State, London*—Papers regarding DS will be sent.
- 363/322 1886, May 27. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Maharaja is ill—Watch Thakur Singh's movements.
- 364/323 1886, May 27. *D.M. Wallace to Resident, Aden*—Acknowledges DS letter.
- 365/324 1886, May 27. *D.M. Wallace to Maharaja Duleep Singh*—Acknowledge receipt of letter.
- 366/324 1886, May 27. *D.M. Wallace, to H.M. Durand*—Panjab Govt. to watch Thakur Singh.
- 367/324 1886, May 28. *M. Duleep Singh to Viceroy, Simla*—Refused to accept £ 50,000 for his claims—Asks for Public trial.
- 368/324 1886, May 28. *M. Duleep Singh to Earl of Dufferin*—Demands Public trial.
- 369/325 1886, May 28. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—Maharaja feeling better.
- 370/325 1886, May 28. *G.S. Forbes to W.M. Young*—DS re-admitted into Sikhism on 25th May—Watch Thakur Singh's movements.

- 371/325 1886, May 28. *D.M. Wallace to H.M. Durand*—'Disloyal' to be deleted.
- 372/326 1886, May 28. *H.M. Durand to O.T. Burne*—Despatch altered.
- 373/326 1886, May 28. *Govt. of India to Secretary of State for India*—Papers re. DS.
- 374/332 1886, May 28. *Frederick Roberts to Duke of Cambridge*—Maharaja inclined to remain at Aden—Govt. careful about his movements.
- 375/333 1886, May 29. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—DS wish to reside in Europe.
- 376/333 1886, May 30. *Viceroy, Simla, to Resident, Aden*—DS may go to Europe.
- 377/333 1886, May 30. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—DS wishes to telegraph Queen for Public trial.
- 378/334 1886, May 31. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—Maharaja may employ *Granthi*.
- 379/334 1886, May 31. *W.M. Young to G.S. Forbes*—Thakur Singh movements—Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia left for Allahabad.
- 380/334 1886, May 31. *M. Duleep Singh to Viceroy*—Request for judicial court re. claims.
- 381/335 1886, June 1. *Viceroy, Simla, to M. Duleep Singh, Aden*—Govt. of India has no power to promise judicial court.
- 382/335 1886, June 1. *M. Duleep Singh, Aden, to Viceroy, Simla*—Return to Europe—Resigning stipend.
- 383/336 1886, June 1. *Viceroy to Resident, Aden*,—DS stay at Aden dangerous to health—sent him immediately for Suez.
- 384/336 1886, June 1. *Resident, Aden to Viceroy*—DS intends to leave for Europe.
- 385/336 1886, June 1. *D.M. Wallace to H.M. Durand*—Arrange the 'Business.'
- 386/337 1886, June 2. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State*—DS intention to return to Europe and resign stipend.
- 387/337 1886, June 3. *Resident, Aden, to Viceroy*—DS goes to Marseilles.

- 388/337 1886, June 4. *H.M. Durand to O.T. Burne*—DS seems resolved to give trouble.
- 389/337 1886, June 4. *T.O. Underwood to H.M. Durand*—DS to come to Madras.
- 390/338 1886, June 4. *Viceroy to Secy. of State, London*—DS sailed for Europe on June 3.
- 391/338 1886, June 5. *Political intelligence, Panjab Police*—DS—Sikhs—Gift from Kashmir.
- 392/339 1886, June 10. *Political, Bombay, to Foreign, Simla*—Thakur Singh left (Aden) for Bombay.
- 393/339 1886, June 11. *H.M. Durand to O.T. Burne*—The book *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*.
- 394/339 1886, June 11. *Government of India to Secretary of State*—Corres. re. DS.
- 395/342 1886, June 12. *Political Intelligence, Punjab Police*—Circumstances which led DS leave England.
- 396/343 1886, June 14. *G.S. Forbes to W.M. Young*—Thakur Singh leaves Aden.
- 397/343 1886, June 19. *Political Intelligence, Punjab Police*—Reaction of DS return.
- 398/343 1886, June 19. *Political Intelligence, Punjab Police*—Re. Thakur Singh Kahar of Jagatpur.
- 399/344 1886, June 26. *The Tribune*—DS on way back to Europe.
- 400/344 1886, July 3. *Letter to the Times of India*—*The Tribune*.
- 401/345 1886, July 3. *The Tribune*—Detention of DS at Aden.
- 402/346 1886, July 3. *Political Intelligence*—Thakur Singh of Wagah and Jawand Singh.
- 403/347 1886, Dec. 24. *O.T. Burne to Secretary, Government of India*—Corres. re. DS.
- 404/347 1886, Dec. 7. *M. Duleep Singh to Robert D. Watson*—DS case in the Parliament.
- 405/349 1886, Dec. 9. *Robert D. Watson to M. Duleep Singh*—Ready to assist in Maharaja's difficulties.
- 406/349 1886, Dec. 9. *Robert D. Watson to Queen*—Effort to avert ruin of Maharaja.
- 407/350 1886, Dec. 16. *Robert D. Watson to Queen's Private Secretary*—British Govt. has turned DS from a friend to foe—Should satisfy Maharaja.
- 408/351 1886, Dec. 30. *Robert D. Watson to Henry Ponsonby*—As above.

- 409/352 1887, Jan. 1. *R.D. Watson to H. Ponsonby*—DS in want of money.
- 410/353 1887, Jan. 8. *Statement of Ganda Singh.*
- 411/354 1887, Jan. 11. *Statement of Isar Singh and Hari Singh.*
- 412/355 1887, Jan. 12. *R.D. Watson to Viscount Cross*—Calls for justice to Maharaja.
- 413/355 1887, Jan. 15. *Statement of Budh Singh.*
- 14/357 *Statement of Pohlo Mal.*
- 145/360 1887, Jan. 20. *R.D. Watson to Viscount Cross*—Asks for reconciliation with DS.
- 416/360 1887, Jan. 28. *M. Duleep Singh to Robert Montgomery*—Promise of Pecuniary aid from India.
- 417/365 1887, Feb. 1. *Secy. of State, to Viceroy*—DS will leave Paris soon and will go to Russia.
- 418/365 1887, Feb. 8. *G.S. Forbes to Secretary*—Enquires about native army—Watch all suspicious persons.
- 419/366 1887, Feb. 8. *W.M. Young to Secretary to G.O.I., Foreign Department*—Thakur Singh at Pondicherry.
- 420/368 1887, Feb. 8. *Secretary, Pb. Govt. to Foreign Secy.*—To arrest Thakur Singh.
- 421/369 1887, Feb. 12. *Frederick Roberts to Dufferin*—DS return or visit to Afghanistan dangerous.
- 422/369 1887, March 10. *J.P. Panncefote to Under Secretary of State, India Office*—Morier conversation with Mons. de Giers regarding DS movements.
- 423/370 1887, Feb. 24. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Rumour DS proposes visiting St. Petersburg—Rebellion against England.
- 424/371 1887, April 11. *H.L. Harrison to F.B. Peacock*—Re. Banarsi Babu, Kuku.
- 425/372 1887, April 15. *D. M. Wallace to H. M. Durand*—Banarasi Babu.
- 426/372 1887, May 4. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Duleep Singh at Moscow—DS writes to Weber.
- 427/374 1887, May 2. *A. Weber to C.T. Cooke*—Maharaja is not against reconciliation.
- 428/374 1887, May 10. *M. Duleep Singh to the Emperor of Russia*—Seeks help against British Govt.
- 429/377 1887, May 10. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Maharaja entered Russia with special permit.

- 430/378 1887, May 21. *M. Duleep Singh to Victor Duleep Singh*—Repudiated the treaty of annexation—Overthrow of British rule—Never to return to England.
- 431/379 1887, May 26. *M. Duleep Singh to Victor Duleep Singh*—Going to Moscow.
- 432/380 1887, May 27. *W.M. Young to H. M. Durand*—Banarsi Babu.
- 433/382 1887, May 28. *Secretary of State, to Viceroy*—French subsidy Maharaja of Kashmir's assistance—Feeling of the Sikhs and army.
- 434/382 1887, May 31. *Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London*—S. Thakur Singh not going to Europe—No proof of Kashmir assistance.
- 435/382 1887. *A.P. MacDonnel to Secretary Punjab*—Report, vernacular papers.
- 436/383 1887, June 8. *The Tribune*—DS design to embarrass English.
- 437/385 1887, June 9. *Frederick Roberts to H.M. Durand*—Feeling of the Sikh troops.
- 438/386 1887. *Summary of Correspondance*—Maharaja's Case.
- 439/417 *Memo. Concerning Sheikh Djamal-Ed-Din.*
- 440/418 1887, June 22. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Maharaja's reception by Russian Governor-General.
- 441/418 1887, June 25. *Article in the Dhumketu in favour of M. Duleep Singh.*
- 442/419 1887. *W. M. Young to Secretary, G.O.I.*—Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia.
- 443/421 1887, July 2. *The Tribune*—DS efforts to win Russian and Afghan support to recover his throne.
- 444/423 1887, July 6. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—General Bogdanovich helped DS into Russia.
- 445/424 1887, July 14. *Lord Dufferin to Viscount Cross*—Memo. on Duleep Singh.
- 446/426 1887, July 20. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Maharaja not received Russian G.G.
- 447/426 1887, July 23. *The Tribune*—DS in Russia.
- 448/427 1887, Aug. 5. *H.J.S. Cotton to H.M. Durand*—Arur Singh arrested.
- 449/427 1887, Aug. 7. *Chief Secretary, Bhagalpur, to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Maharaja letters to Arur Singh.

- 450/428 1887, Aug. 7. *J. Ware Edgar to H.M. Durand*—Re. Arur Singh (Partab Singh)—Letter to Princes of India and King Oudh.
- 451/435 1887, Aug. 10. *A.B. Barnard to H.M. Durand*—Re. Arur Singh's case.
- 452/435 1887, Aug. 15. *T.V. Lister to Under Secretary of State, India Office*—Regarding Sheikh Jamal-ud-din.
- 453/435 1887, July 23. *W.M. Harnstedt to R.B.D. Morier*—Seikh (Sheikh-Jamal-ed-din) in Moscow.
- 454/436 1887, Aug. 19. *H.M. Durand to Edward Bradford*—Arur Singh arrested documents.
- 455/437 1887, Aug. 20. *Ali Mohammad, Pondicherry, to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Sohan Lal of Dadri travelling with letters.
- 456/438 1887, Aug. 20. *H.M. Durand to J. Ware Edgar*—Re. Arur Singh.
- 457/438 1887, Aug. 21. *Ali Mohammad to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Jowala Singh with letters, verbal instruction and with Thakur Singh's bones left for Hardwar.
- 458/438 1887, Aug. 21. *H.M. Durand to D. McCracken*—Letters from Aziz-ud-din.
- 459/439 1887, Aug. 22. *Thuggee, Calcutta, to Foreign Secretary, Calcutta*—Arur Singh gave no information—Shift to Chunar.
- 460/439 1887, Aug. 22. *P.D. Henderson to H.M. Durand*—Arur Singh's statement.
- 461/442 1887, Aug. 22. *D. McCracken to H.M. Durand*—Re. Sohan Lal.
- 462/443 — *Aziz-ud-Din to H.M. Durand*—Sohan Lal left Pondicherry.
- 463/443 1887, Aug. 22. *W.M. Young to H.M. Durand*—Banarasi Babu gone to Nepal.
- 464/443 1887, Aug. 29. *Thugge, Calcutta, to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Re. arrest of Sohan Lal—Transfer of Arur Singh to Chunar.
- 465/443 1887, Aug. 30. *H.M. Durand to C. Girdlestone*—Banarasi Babu preaching DS visiting India.
- 466/444 1887, Sept. *P.D. Henderson to H.M. Durand*—Aziz-ud-din knew about Pondicherry case—Arrest of Sohan Lal.
- 467/445 1887, Sept. 3. *H.M. Durand to Secretary to Govt. of N.W.P. & Oudh*—Orders for Arur Singh to Chunar.

- 468/445 1887, Sept. 4. *Donald McCracken to P.D. Henderson—Re. Sohan Lal.*
- 469/446 1887, Sept. 6. *Donald McCracken to P.D. Henderson—Warburton sent to Amritsar to arrest Jowala Singh.*
- 470/446 1887, Sept. 4. *W.M. Young to P.D. Henderson—Arrest of Sohan Lal and Jowala Singh.*
- 471/446 1887, Sept. 6. *Colonel O. Menzies to J.P. Warburton—Watch Jowala Singh—Letters of Gurbachan Singh.*
- 472/447 1887, Sept. 6. *P.D. Henderson to H.M. Durand—Arrest of Jowala Singh and sent to Allahabad.*
- 473/447 1887, Sept. 8. *Colonel O. Menzies—Arrest Jowala Singh.*
- 474/448 1887, Sept. 8. *R.B. Burnby to H.M. Durand—Re. Arur Singh.*
- 475/449 1887, Sept. 8. *Major R.B. Burnby to M. Duleep Singh—Arur Singh Mukarji and his friends.*
- 476/449 1887, Sept. 9. *P.D. Henderson to H.M. Durand—Arrest Sohan Lal.*
- 477/450 1887, Sept. 8. *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson—Sohan Lal left for Dadri—Jowala Singh went to Lahore.*
- 478/450 1887, Sept. 8. *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson—Asks for orders re. Sohan Lal's arrest.*
- 479/450 1887, Sept. 9. *P.D. Henderson to W. Merk—Detention of Sohan Lal—Jowala Singh not to be arrested.*
- 480/451 1887, Sept. 9. *P.D. Henderson to H.M. Durand—Jowala Singh searched—nothing found.*
- 481/451 1887, Sept. 9. *O. Menzies to P.D. Henderson—Re. Jowala Singh.*
- 482/452 1887, Sept. 9. *H.M. Durand to E. Bradford—Re. Arur Singh—Maharani does not help DS.—A senior native Officer and several Sikh visiting Pondicherry.*
- 483/454 1887, Sept. 11. *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson—Narain Singh went to arrest Sohan Lal.*
- 484/455 1887, Sept. 11. *J. Ware Edgar to H.M. Durand—Re. DS.*
- 485/459 1887, Sept. 13. *W. Merk to McCracken—Re. confining Jowala Singh to Chunar.*
- 486/460 1887, Sept. 13. *J.O. Miller to H.M. Durand—Allahabad jail.*
- 487/460 1887, Sept. 15. *Dy. Commissioner, Delhi to Thuggee, Simla—Man to Lahore to warn friends.*
- 488/461 1887, Sept. 16. *W. Merk to P.D. Henderson—Sohan Lal gave papers to Jowala Singh—Sohan Lal arrested.*

- 489/461 1887, Sept. 16. *P.D. Henderson to A.B. Barnard*—Important connection with DS is that of the army.
- 490/462 1887, Sept. 16. *P.D. Henderson to Major L. Hamilton*—Attar Singh went to Pondicherry—Jowala Singh to Hardwar with ashes.
- 491/463 1887, Sept. 17. *Frederick Roberts to Duke of Cambridge*—DS continues to communicate with the Sikhs.
- 492/463 1887, Sept. 18. *W. Merk to P.D. Henderson*—Re. Sohan Lal.
- 493/464 1887, Sept. 18. *W. Merk to D. McCracken*—Re. Sohan Lal.
- 494/465 1887, Sept. 20. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—How DS was cheated—DS was not allowed to be educated either at Oxford, or Cambridge, though he became ardent student in the library of British Museum—Maharaja has decided to break off all relations with England and to settle in Russia.
- 495/466 1887, Sept. 20. *W. Merk to P.D. Henderson*—Sohan Lal will confess.
- 496/466 1887, Sept. 21. *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson*—Re. Sohan Lal confession.
- 497/467 1887, Sept. 22. *Major J. Hamilton to P.D. Henderson*—Investigate the behaviour of Sikh sepoys.
- 498/467 1887, Sept. 23. *A.B. Bernard to P.D. Henderson*—Representative of various regiments to Pondicherry for oath of allegiance.
- 499/468 1887, Sept. 24. *The Tribune*—DS plans thwarted.
- 500/468 1887, Sept. 24. *H.M. Durand to J. Ware Edgar*—The Paikpara man—Arur Singh.
- 501/469 1887, Sept. 26. *W. Merk to D. McCracken*—Sohan Lal's confession—Statement of Teja Singh of Balabgarh.
- 502/472 1887, Sept. 26. *J.P. Warburton to D. McCracken*—Jowala Singh—letter to Ganda Singh about the death of Thakur Singh.
- 503/472 1887, Sept. 27. *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson*—Sohan Lal's confession—Jowala Singh was not at Delhi.
- 504/473 1887, Sept. 27. *Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia to W.M. Young*—Requests for mercy.
- 505/474 1887, Sept. 28. *P.D. Henderson to W.M. Young*—Jowala Singh may be sent to Simla for interrogation.

- 506/474 1887, Sept. 30. *Major Hamilton to P.D. Henderson*—Jamadar Atar Singh discharged.
- 507/474 — *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson*—Re. Banarsi Das.
- 508/475 1887, Oct. 2. *P.D. Henderson to Macworth Young*—Re. DS intrigue at Pondicherry.
- 509/475 1887, Oct. 5. *D. McCracken to P.D. Henderson*—Letters found from Jowala Singh's house.
- 510/476 1887, Oct. 6. *W.M. Durand*—Gurbachan Singh may young to return to the Panjab.
- 511/476 1887, Oct. 6. *Confession of Jowala Singh (Amritsar).*
- 512/480 1887, Oct. 10. *Memo. : Intrigues of Duleep Singh.*
- 513/495 1887, Oct. 14. *Henderson to B. Colvin*—Bhai Sumer Singh of Patna interested in Duleep Singh's affair.
- 514/495 — *Lieut.-Governor's Opinion*—Reg. Budh Singh.
- 515/496 1887, Oct. 16. *P.D. Henderson to W.M. Young*—Viceroy's sanction for arrest of certain persons in connection with DS intrigue.
- 516/497 — *Memo. on Duleep Singh's Intrigues prepared by P.D. Henderson.*
- 517/499 1887, Oct. 25. *P.D. Henderson to W.M. Young*—Arrangements for the arrest of some persons.
- 518/500 1887, Nov. 6. *Frederick Roberts to Lord Northbrook*—DS proposed visit to India.
- 519/500 1887, Nov. 6. *Lord Dufferin to Lord Cross*—Closing frontier at Mashed if DS visits.
- 520/501 1887, Nov. 9. *The Tribune*—Proclamation of Maharaja and Djemal-ud-din.
- 521/502 1887, Nov. 9. *Statement of Budh Singh (Batala).*
- 522/508 1887, Nov. 10. *Statement of Hari Singh.*
- 523/509 1887, Nov. 11. *Statement of Kesar Singh.*
- 524/510 1887, Nov. 14. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Not to lose sight of Maharaja.
- 525/511 1887, Nov. 16. *Statement of Sohan Lal.*
- 526/512 1887, Nov. 19. *The Tribune*—DS's letter to the Standard—Duleep Singh proud rebel against England.
- 527/513 1887, Dec. 4. *Dufferin to Cross*—Not much effect of Duleep Singh's intrigues—Duleep Singh's letter to Nizam sent to Lord Dufferin.

- 528/513 1887, Dec. 27. *Dufferin to Cross*—Jhinda Ram sent no money to DS.
- 529/514 1887, Dec. 31. *Statement of Partab Singh.*
- 530/517 1888, Jan. 28. *R. W. Hornstedt to J. Michell*—Maharaja requested to leave Russia—Wishes to visit Austria.
- 531/518 1888, Feb. 25. *R.W. Hornstedt to J. Michell*—DS soon returning to France.
- 532/519 1888, Feb. 26-27. *R.W. Hornstedt to J. Michell*—DS left Hotel Billow for economy.
- 533/519 1888, March 7. *The Tribune*—Partab Singh escapes from Lahore jail.
- 534/519 1888, March 24. *S. Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia to the Secy., G.O.I., Foreign Deptt.*—Conditional return to Panjab of Sandhanwalia brothers—Arrangements for family of DS.
- 535/521 1888, March 28. *Munshi Aziz-ud-din to E. Baring*—Abdul Rasul conspires—Report of DS.
- 536/521 1888. *Translated papers sent to E. Baring by Aziz-ud-din.*
- 537/524 1888, April 2. *Aziz-ud-din to Foreign Secretary*—DS, Abdul Rasul, Jamal-ud-din, Arur Singh—Holkar.
- 538/528 1888, April 14. *P.D. Henderson to C.L. Tupper*—Report regarding Duleep Singh.
- 539/530 1888, April 27. *Officiating Secretary to Secretary, G.O.I., Foreign Deptt.*—Sardar Atar Singh's on Sakhis regarding DS.
- 540/533 1888, May 7. *R.B.D. Morier*—DS with Ada and baby at Hotel de France, Kieff.
- 541/533 1888, May 20. *A.S.*—DS had no money for food—Arur Singh.
- 542/535 1888, May 22. *A.S.*—Interview with Abdul Rasul.
- 543/538 1888, May 23. *A.S.*—Interview with Abdul Rasul—Aziz-ud-din told A.R. sons of Thakur Singh against Maharaja—Herat and Panjdeh Governors favourable to Maharaja.
- 544/541 1888, May 24. *A.S.*—Visit to Cairo.
- 545/543 1888, June 15. *General MacLean to Foreign Secy., Simla*—Sikhs visit Moscow.

- 546/543 1888, June 18. *Dufferin to Cross*—A secret agent living in Egypt.
- 547/543 1888, June 29. *Foreign Secretary, Simla, to General MacLean*—Enquire re. the Sikhs visiting Moscow.
- 548/543 1888, July 6. *General MacLean to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Sikhs being watched.
- 549/544 1888, July 9. *C.S. MacLean to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Two Hindus traced to Ashkabad.
- 550/544 1888, July 13. *Dufferin to Cross*—Desertion from 36th Sikh regiment—Conduct of Victor DS provocative.
- 551/544 1888, July 27. *Henry Ponsonby to Lady Login*—Publication of letters and Prince Victor.
- 552/545 1888, July 28. *C.S. MacLean to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—One Sikh at Khaf.
- 553/545 1888, Aug. 1. *C.S. MacLean to H.M. Durand*—Hindu, who committed suicide at Khaf is said to wish joining DS.
- 554/546 1888, July 27. *Malik Marwarid to General MacLean*—Person from Panjab.
- 555/547 1888, July 27. *C.S. MacLean to Malik Marwarid*—Ramazan Ali Khan to Khaf to bring the Hindu (Moti).
- 556/547 1888, July 29. *Malik Marwarid to C.S. Maclean*—Hindu died.
- 557/548 1888, July 30. *C.S. MacLean to Malik Marwarid*—Wants more information re. Hindu—Moti.
- 558/548 1888, July 28. *Statement of Ramzan Ali Khan.*
- 559/550 1888, July 29. *H.R. Wooler, Medical Officer*—Report regarding-Moti.
- 560/551 1888, Aug. 1. *C.S. MacLean to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Information regarding Moti.
- 561/551 1888, Aug. 3. *Lieut.-Colonel Ata-ula-Khan*—Enquiries Afghan Hindu—Massu.
- 562/552 1888, Aug. 23. *P.W. Currie*—Hardinge's report re. DS.
- 563/552 1888, July 29. *Extract from A. Harding's Report.*
- 564/553 1888, Sept. 22. *Hydrabad of Intelligence*—Re. DS propaganda.
- 565/553 1888, Oct. 3. *P.D. Henderson to Resident, Hydrabad*—Partab Singh's arrest necessary—Secure papers from Gurbachan Singh.

- 566/554 1888, Oct. 3. *P.D. Henderson to A.P. Howell*—Partab Singh prominent mover in the Sikh movements in favour of DS and Panslavist party.
- 567/555 1888, Oct. 3. *P.D. Henderson to Col. Tupper*—DS propaganda.
- 568/556 1888, Oct. 9. *P.D. Henderson to Resident, Hyderabad*—Jiwan Singh back from Moscow.
- 569/556 1888, Oct. 9. *Resident, Bolaram, to Thuggee, Simla*—Warrants regarding Jiwan Singh.
- 570/556 1888, Oct. 9. *P.D. Henderson to A.P. Howell*—Jiwan Singh with his important Papers—When DS moved from Moscow to Kieff—some new game.
- 571-5/557 1888, Oct. 13-4. *P.D. Henderson to A.P. Howell*—Jiwan Singh.
- 576/560 1888, Oct. 22. *D. McCracken to W.L. Warner*—Partab Singh and Jiwan Singh arrested and sent to Asirgarh.
- 577/561 1888, Nov. 7. *Dufferin to Cross*—DS rumoured return to Paris.
- 578/561 1888, Nov. 7. *MacLean to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Three Hindustanis at Mashed—letters and presents for DS.
- 579/561 — *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Maharaja left Kieff for Odessa.
- 580/562 1888, Nov. 12. *Memorandum on Jiwan Singh-Hyderabad*—DS received no pecuniary assistance from India—Jiwan Singh.
- 581/562 1888, Nov. 12. *E.J. Stephenson to E.S. Ludlow*—Karam Singh at Hingoli.
- 582/563 1888, Nov. 14. *MacLean to Foreign Secretary, Simla*—Mohar Singh selected routes from Samarkand to Kashmir and Nepal.
- 583/563 1888, Nov. 14. *Secretary of State, London, to Viceroy's Camp*—DS left Kieff, Oct. 10—arrived in Paris on Nov. 3—intends selling jewelry.
- 584/563 1888, Nov. 16. *E.J. Stephenson to E.S. Ludlow*—Sadhu Narain Dass arrested.
- 585/564 1888, Nov. 19. *E.J. Stephenson to E.S. Ludlow*—Jiwan Singh gives information.
- 586/564 1888, Nov. *M. Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Closes correspondence.

- 587/565 1888, Nov. 20. *E.J. Stephenson to E.S. Ludlow*—Statement of Jiwan Singh re. Russia.
- 588/567 1888, Nov. 28. *Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, to Chief Secretary, Madras*—Sandhanwalia's reported leaving Pondicherry for Paris.
- 589/567 1888, Dec. 6. *W.J. Cunningham to Commandant of Fort, Allahabad*—Deal with Photo Mal.
- 590/567 1888, Dec. 12. *W.J. Cunningham to Lieut. E.P. Nisbet*—Enquiries about the three Sikhs going to Moscow.
- 591/568 1888, Oct. 5. *Hassan Ali Khan to C.S. MacLean*—Two Sikhs in disguise.
- 592/569 1888, Oct. 8. *Hassan Ali Khan*—Two Hindus at Mashed.
- 593/569 1888, Oct. 15. *Hassan Ali Khan to C.S. MacLean*—Two Hindus will go to Kuchan.
- 594/570 1888, Oct. 17. *Hassan Ali Khan to C.S. MacLean*—The two Hindus awaiting one from Sharifabad.
- 595/570 1888, Oct. 20. *Hassan Ali Khan to C.S. MacLean*—Two Hindus—a man of Sharifabad left for Askabad.
- 596/571 1888, Dec. *News from Central Asia Received by MacLean*—Three Panjab Sikhs reached Katta Kurgan.
- 597/571 1888, Dec. 18. *Foreign Secretary, Calcutta, to E. Baring*—Re. Abdul Rasul going to Paris.
- 598/572 1889, Jan. 7. *E.S. Ludlow to G.S. Forbes*—Re. Sadhu.
- 599/572 1889, Jan. 12. *Queen Victoria to Lady Login*—Queen Victoria unable to accept dedication of Lady Login's book relating Duleep Singh.
- 600-02/573 1889, Jan. 12. *D. McCracken to A.P. Howell*.
- 1889, Jan. 12. *G.S. Forbes to Thuggee, Calcutta*.
- 1888, Oct. 29. *Detective Assistant's Diary*—Jiwan Singh at Nander.
- 603/575 1889, Feb. 7. *Resident, Hyderabad, to Thuggee, Calcutta*—Sikh unable to furnish security.
- 604/576 1889, Feb. 12. *Foreign Secretary to Chief Secretary, Madras*—DS in corres. with Pondicherry Sardars.
- 605/576 1889, March 18. *Mortimer Durand to G.S. Forbes*—Jiwan Singh remanded to Fort Asirgarh.
- 606/576 1889, March 11. *Mortimer Durand to C.L. Tupper*—Diwan Lachman Dass intends to visit England—see DS in France.

- 607/577 1889, March 11. *H.M. Durand to E.R.C. Bradford*—Re. Diwan Lachman Dass.
- 608/578 1889, March 20. *Lord Lansdowne to Lord Cross*—Kashmir's correspondence with the Russians and DS.
- 609/579 1889, March 28. *C.L. Tupper to Mortimer Durand*—Watching Duleep Singh's friends.
- 610/579 1889, April 8. *A.P. Howell to H.M. Durand*—Jiwan Singh and Partab Singh.
- 611/580 1889, April 28. *Frederick Roberts to Duke of Cambridge*—Kashmir affairs—Intrigue with Duleep Singh.
- 612/580 — *G.R. Irwin to C.L. Tupper*—DS intrigues.
- 613/581 — *H.M. Durand to C.L. Tupper*—DS.
- 614/583 1889, May 6. *Lord Lansdowne to Lord Cross*—Watch Duleep Singh's friends in India.
- 615/584 1889, May 15. *R.P. Nisbet to H.S. Barnes*—Raja Amar Singh's reply.
- 616/584 — *Raja Amar Singh to Resident, Kashmir*—No trace of three Sikhs.
- 617/584 1889, May 23. *Rab Nawaz Khan to Foreign Secretary*—Three Sikhs will go to Russia to see DS.
- 618/585 — *The Petition of Pholo Mal to Commandant of the Fort.*
- 619/586 1889, June 21. *Lord Lansdowne to Lord Cross*—DS short of money.
- 620/586 1889, June 24. *Malan (wife of Pholo Mal) to Viceroy*—Petition.
- 621/587 1889, June 28. *Edmund Meel to Mortimer Durand*—Fatehgarh allowance of Duleep Singh.
- 622/592 1889, July 5. *Lansdowne to Lord Cross*—End of DS resources.
- 623/593 1889, July 12. *Lord Lansdowne to Lord Cross*—Kukas and Sikhs—Duleep Singh.
- 624/593 1889, Aug. 9. *G.O.I. to Secy. of State, India*—Proclamation of DS.
- 625/596 — *L.T. Christie (A.I.G. Police) to Inspector General of Police, Panjab*—Information at the arsenals.
- 626/597 1889, Oct. 22. *The Tribune*—DS yearning for recovery of his throne.

- 627/597 — *M. Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Does not desire to be connected with by Lady Login's book.
- 628/597 1889, Nov. 29. *Lord Lansdowne to Lord Cross*—Question of provision for Victor DS.
- 629/598 1890, Jan. *Secretary of State to Govt. of India*—Alleged intention of DS to go to Central Asia.
- 630/598 — *India office to Foreign office*—Information to Russia.
- 631/599 1889, Oct. 16. *R.B.D. Morier to Salisbury*—Russia not favourable to DS going to Central Asia.
- 632-34/600 — *Foreign, Calcutta, to Thuggee, Ajmer.*
W.J. Cunningham to James Monteath.
James Monteath to W.J. Cunningham—To arrest Abdul Rasul.
- 635/602 1890, Jan. 27. *Thuggee to Foreign Secretary, Calcutta*—Abdul Rasul denied relation with DS.
- 636/602 1890, Jan. 28. *Thuggee, Bombay, to Foreign Calcutta*—Abdul Rasul came to India to earn livelihood.
- 637/602 1890, Feb. 3. *W.J. Cunningham to J. Monteath*—Arrest of Abdul Rasul.
- 638/602 1890, Feb. 4. *W.J. Cunningham to A. Mackenzie*—Communication with stranger should be prohibited.
- 639/603 1890, Feb. 19. *P.D. Henderson to W.J. Cunningham*—Re. Abdul Rasul.
- 640/605 1889, July 27. *Zobair Pasha to Abdul Rasul.*
- 641/605 1890, Aug. 25. *Zobair Pasha to Abdul Rasul*—Re. Abdul Rasul.
- 642/606 1889, July 19. *Maharaja Duleep Singh to Lady Login*—Attack of paralysis—Asks her pardon and wrote to Queen for pardon.
- 643/607 1889, July 24. *H. Ponsonby to Lady Login*—Queen forwarded DS appeal to Lord Cross.
- 644/607 1890, July 27. *The Tribune*—DS begs Queen's pardon—pardon granted, August 1, DS thanks Her Majesty.
Sept. 3.
- 645/608 1890, Oct. 20. *G.R. Irwin to Chief Secy. Govt. of India*—Sandhanwalia Sardars may return to India.
- 646/608 — *H. S. Barnes to Secy, Govt. of Bombay, Pol. Deptt.*—Send Abdul Rasul to London.

- 647/609 1890, Nov. 4. *E. Baring to Viceroy*—Prevent Abdul Rasul landing in Egypt.
- 648/609 1890, Nov. 28. *H.S. Barnes to Chief Secy., U.P.*—Release of Arur Singh and Budh Singh.
- 649/610 — *Chief Secy., U.P., to G.O.I., Foreign Deptt.*—Arur Singh and Budh Singh released 15th Dec., 1890.
- 650/610 — *W.J. Cunningham to Chief Secretary Punjab*—Regarding DS pardon.
- 651/611 — *H.C. Fanshawe to G.O.I., Foreign Deptt.*—Sandhanwalia brothers not to be prosecuted—Thakur Singh.
- 652/613 — *W.J. Cunningham to Chief Secy., Panjab*—Sandhanwalia brothers—DS pardoned by Queen.
- 653/613 1890, Dec. 10. *The Tribune*—Maharaja's request to Queen to be restored to K.G.C.I.
- 654/614 1892, March 12. *The Tribune*—Maharaja sued by Abdul Rasul in Paris Court.
- 655/614 1893, Oct. 25. *The Tribune*—Death of Maharaja DS. (October 22, 1893.)



Frontispiece

MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

Born September 6, 1838—Died October 22, 1893

INTRODUCTION

Situated as the Panjab is on the north-western frontier of India with the mouths of mountain passes opening into it, it has been from time immemorial the hunting-ground of invaders from the west. As the tribes on the west and east of the river Indus generally belonged to the same stock with common religious affiliations, the invaders could easily cross into the Panjab and overrun the country up to and beyond Delhi, the traditional capital of India. With centuries of foreign domination, the people of the country had become almost reconciled to a life of slavery and demoralization. It was in the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Sikhs, transformed into holy warriors by Guru Gobind Singh and relumed with promethean fire, stood up in 1710 under the leadership of Banda Singh *Bahadur*, for the freedom of the Panjab from under the Mughal yoke. But the Mughal empire was too strong for the tiny rising power of the Sikhs and was able to smother it in 1715-16. The spirit of independence enkindled in the hearts of people, however, could not be crushed through the imperial edicts for indiscriminate massacres of the Sikhs wherever found. Nor could it be stifled by the roving columns of provincial troops sent out into the villages to hunt them out, to kill them at sight, or to bring them in chains to Lahore to be executed there in public. This kind of persecution continued, with more or less rigour, for over forty years during the governorships of Abdus Samad Khan, Zakariya Khan, Yahiya Khan and Mir Mannu. Thousands of Sikhs thus fell under the executioner's axe at Lahore during these years of persecution. But the flame of liberty could not be extinguished. In fact, the Sikhs emerged stronger in the conviction that with every life sacrificed at the altar of freedom, the day of their accession to power was drawing nearer. Driven out from their homes and hearths, living in far off marshy jungles, sandy deserts and in difficult mountain recesses, with scanty means of subsistence, they organized themselves into corps of volunteers in the late forties and early fifties of the eighteenth century and renewed their struggle for the liberation of their country.

This time they had not only to struggle against the Mughal officials but also against the Durrani of Afghanistan who were trying to establish their own rule in the Panjab. The leaders of the Sikh confederated corps, popularly known as *Misals*, rose like one man, determined to uproot the old tyrants and drive out the new usurpers. Their popular song and slogan of those days—*Rāj karegā Khālsā āqī rahe nā koe* (the Khalsa shall rule, with no hostile enemy to oppose them)—which still forms the con-



MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH
Born November 15, 1780—Died June 27, 1839

*Introduction
To face p. 3*

cluding couplet of the Sikhs' daily prayer, infused into them an indomitable spirit with which they swept off all opposition and freed the Panjab from the Durrani. On January 14, 1764, the third anniversary of the third battle of Panipat, they conquered Sirhind and on April 16, 1765, they occupied Lahore, the capital of the Panjab.

Ahmad Shah made two more efforts in 1766-67 and 1769 to re-establish his position in the Panjab, but was not successful. The spell of the Shah's invincibility created by the battle of Panipat in 1761 had since been broken by the Sikhs. They were then strongly entrenched in different parts of the country. Their stability, patriotic fervour and determination to oppose the advance of any hostile enemy from the west was hailed by the military generals of the East India Company, whose possessions in the east, they felt, were free from all danger from that quarter. Hearing the rumour of Ahmad Shah Durrani's intended march upon India, General Robert of the Company's service felt assured in his letters of August 19, 1771, to Sardar Jhanda Singh and another Sikh Sardar, "that he cannot cross the Attock for fear of the *Khalisah* army", adding that "It is clear that as long as *Khalisah* army is on the watch, no one can march upon Hindustan unopposed" [CPC., iii, 868-69].

Twelve years later George Forster of the Company's Madras establishment, who travelled through the Panjab hills in February-April 1783, observed in his letter XI, included in the first volume of his *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1798), i, pp. 294-95 :

In the defence and recovery of their country, the Sicques displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind and manifested a perseverance, under the pressure of calamities, which bear an ample testimony of native resource, when the common danger roused them to action, and gave but one impulse to their spirit. Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sicques to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief led on by genius and success, and absorbing the power of his associates, display, from the ruins of their commonwealth, standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with like effects, springing from like causes. Under such a form of Government, I have little hesitation in saying that the Sicques would be soon advanced to the first rank among native princes of Hindostan, and would become a terror to surrounding states.

And this prophecy of George Forster came to be literally fulfilled in the person of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), who not only took under his shelter the scattered territories of the various Sikh Sardars and, with some new conquests, consolidated them into a united kingdom of the Panjab, but also placed this country on the map of India as a well-marked geographical unit and, on the map of the world, as an independent sovereign state,

With the Panjab acting as a buffer between the British Indian dominions and Afghanistan and Iran (Persia) on the north west, the East India Company felt greatly secure in its possessions. For centuries past a sort of jealousy had existed between England and France and Russia, and there had been, at times, years-long wars between the first two for political ascendancy in Europe and abroad, with occasional clashes in South India where both of them had established their spheres of influence. The battle of Wandiwash in 1760 had given a staggering blow to the French in India, and the fall and death of Tipu Sultan in 1799 had practically eliminated their influence in southern India for all time to come. Yet, with all this, the threat and fear of the French to the British dominions in India did not disappear. It only shifted from the south and east to the north-west.

The battle of Buxar in 1764 and the surrender of Shuja-ud-Daulah had laid Oudh at the feet of the East India Company and brought the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II as a suppliant to the British camp. Under the fiction of the grant of *diwani* from the Emperor in 1765, the British merchants became a territorial power in the country and their dreams of an empire in India seemed to be materializing. They now began to play a more active part in the politics of the country with considerable expansion of their territories and influence as the result of the Mysore, the Maratha and the Ruhela wars. By the turn of the eighteenth century, they had virtually replaced the great Mughal, and their political policies thenceforth were dictated by their increasing desire for expansion and consolidation of their possessions and, then, for their protection from the French and the Russian advance towards the east through Iran and Afghanistan. It was with this policy in view that the British turned their attention towards the Panjab.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

The courageous adventure of Sardar Ranjit Singh of the Sukkar-chakkia Misal in rushing to Lahore in 1799 with only forty daring Sikhs to challenge Ahmad Shah Durrani's grandson Shah Zaman of Kabul, who soon thereafter beat a hasty retreat to his country never to come back to the Panjab again, won the confidence of the citizens of Lahore, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. They all jointly invited him to occupy the city. Ranjit Singh welcomed the opportunity and took Lahore on July 7, 1799. This was the beginning of the kingdom of the Panjab which, in due course of time, was expanded and consolidated by Ranjit Singh into a sovereign state. The Sikh kingdom remained for over forty years a bulwark between the British Indian empire and Afghanistan.

It was to secure Ranjit Singh's friendship and neutrality and then, later on, to obstruct his expansion to the south of the river Sutlej, that the policy and activities of the British were directed after he had taken possession of the Panjab capital. The way for friendly relations with the

coming man of the Panjab was opened through Munshi Yusuf Ali Khan who was sent to Lahore towards the end of 1800 as an agent by the British Government with a friendly letter and presents worth ten thousand rupees. The agent was received by Ranjit Singh with due honours, presented with a *Khillat* and was given a befitting send off with suitable presents for the British authorities.

In 1805, when Yashwant Rao Holkar, abandoned by Daulat Rao Sindhia and pursued by Lord Lake, fled into the Panjab, Ranjit Singh, through diplomatic negotiations, brought about a reconciliation between Holkar and the British General. He not only saved the Panjab from becoming a theatre of war between two foreign armies, but also saved the Maratha chief from utter ruin and had all his territories beyond Delhi restored to him.

A treaty of friendship and amity was entered into by Sardar Ranjit Singh along with Sardar Fateh Singh of Kapurthala with the East India Company on January 1, 1806, whereby it was agreed that as long as these Sikh chiefs had no friendly connections with enemies of the British or committed no act of hostility, "the British Armies shall never enter the territories of the said chieftains, nor will the British Government form any plan for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property" [Appendix B, 1, article 2, pp. 642-43].

Treaty of Amritsar, 1809

Ranjit Singh wished to consolidate the entire possessions of the Sikhs, both to the north and south of the Sutlej, into one strong kingdom of the Panjab. This was in no way against the treaty of 1806. Yet the British could not see him expand his sphere of political power and influence to the south of the Sutlej.

In 1805 the policy of the British in India was to consolidate their dominions to the east of the Jamuna and not to advance to the west of that river. This underwent a change with the changing trend of the Napoleonic war in Europe. The fears of a Franco-Russian alliance in 1807 for the subjugation of India set the British athinking, and their military experts held that for defence purposes the river Sutlej was the better frontier than the Jamuna. It was, therefore, decided by them to move forward their frontier to the bank of the Sutlej. This meant the extension of their political influence over the territories between the two rivers, dividing the Panjab into two by a thick political line. The chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Kaithal, and other small states, whom Ranjit Singh sought to take into his sphere of unification, were encouraged in their request for British protection. Charles T. Metcalfe was sent to Ranjit Singh to negotiate a treaty with him to put a stop to his further expansion to the south of the Sutlej.

Ranjit Singh too had, evidently, seen through the game. To him there appeared to be no danger to his country and people from a Franco-

Russian invasion; he rather feared the establishment of British hegemony on his borders and resented their interference in his relations with his own people to the south of the Sutlej. He was not, therefore, very enthusiastic about continuing negotiations with the British envoy, Metcalfe, who did not look with favour upon Ranjit Singh's fresh conquests south of the Sutlej under the plea of British protection promised to the cis-Sutlej chiefs. Ranjit Singh at one stage suspended his negotiations with Metcalfe, crossed the river, seized Faridkot and Ambala, levied exactions on Maler-Kotla and Thanesar and the Raja of Patiala. Closer relations between the Sikhs of the north and the south of the Sutlej could not find favour with the British who, as foreigners, could only thrive on dissension and disunity in the country. To coerce Ranjit Singh into acceptance of the proposed treaty, they ordered a body of troops from across the Jamuna in January 1809 under the command of Sir David Ochterloney, who moved towards Ludhiana prepared for hostilities.

Intelligence at this time arrived from Europe that Napoleon's designs upon India had received a setback. This rendered defensive precautions on the Indian frontier unnecessary. The British also now no longer felt the necessity of a friendly alliance with Ranjit Singh. Their attitude, therefore, stiffened. In spite of the treaty of 1806, which explicitly laid down that the British *would not* form any plans for the sequestration of Ranjit Singh's possessions, they insisted upon the restoration of his latest conquests and the retention of British troops at Ludhiana. To make their plea of the promise of protection to Sikh territories on the south of the Sutlej a reality, Sir David Ochterloney issued in the beginning of February 1809 "a proclamation declaring the cis-Sutlej states to be under British protection and that any aggression of the Chief of Lahore would be resisted with arms" [Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 148-9]. This not only created discord among the Sikh people and divided them into the Majha and Malwa factions—the latter falling into the lap of the British—and placed a British cantonment directly on the Panjab frontier, but also converted the Panjab into a buffer state to bear the brunt of a French or Russian attack.

Ranjit Singh was now helpless. He knew his limitations. He was not yet strong enough to go to war with the British who had the inexhaustible resources of the rest of India at their command. His own house was not yet in order. Only a small portion of the Panjab had been brought under his control, and that too had not been fully consolidated. It was also feared that in time of emergency the chiefs who had only partially accepted his suzerainty might rise in rebellion against him. There was yet another danger of the British extending offers of protection to his rival chiefs of Kasur, Jhang and Multan and entering into negotiations with the Afghan rulers of Peshawar and Kashmir.

Ranjit Singh was thus fully alive to the realities of the situation. An

armed conflict with the British under these circumstances might have proved disastrous and deprived India of a bright chapter in its history and the Khalsa its crowning glory in the days to come. Like a practical statesman, therefore, he made the best of a bad bargain. He accepted the compromise. The result was the 1809 treaty with the British [*Appendix B, II*, pp. 642-43; *Appendix B, III, Ittilah-Namah*, pp. 643-44].

Effects of the Treaty

This treaty is known as the treaty of Amritsar. With a friendly power to the north of the Sutlej, the only dangerous frontier of India, the British could now successfully grapple with the Nepalese, the Pindaris, the Marathas and the Burmese. It limited the sphere of Ranjit Singh's territorial expansion to the south of the Sutlej beyond his acquisitions during his conquests, and put an end to his intentions of consolidating the entire population of the Sikhs between the Jamuna and the Indus and knitting them together into one compact and homogeneous people. It stipulated that "perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore, ... and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the River Sutlej." And, that "the Raja will never maintain in the territory occupied by him and his dependants on the left bank of the River Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of their territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or the rights of the chiefs in its vicinity."

The treaty was not, however, without its advantages for Ranjit Singh. It secured to him his eastern frontier, leaving him free to extend his conquests to the Afghan hills, on the one hand, and to the Himalayas, on the other. He was able to conquer Kashmir and become the undisputed master of the northern Panjab. And towards the end of his life, he could rightly boast of having created a strong and well-organized kingdom of the Panjab out of the warring and discordant elements of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs.

To the south of the Sutlej, the treaty recognized Ranjit Singh's absolute authority and right over the territories of 45 parganahs held by him and his dependants with the only provision that he would not maintain there more troops than were necessary for the internal duties. The British Government were to have no concern whatever with the subjects of Ranjit Singh or his dependants in this territory.

Having once signed the treaty of Amritsar, Ranjit Singh faithfully observed its terms and maintained friendship with the British through thick and thin. "To one friendship", says Joseph D. Cunningham, "the Maharaja remained ever constant, from one alliance he never sought to shake himself free. This was the friendly alliance with British Government." At times, temptations owing to British vulnerability made apparent by military reverses were too alluring to be resisted, and provocations

from the British side for political interference in his affairs were too great to be tolerated. But true to the character of a Guru's Sikh, Ranjit Singh stood by his commitments.

In the early stages of the Nepal War (1816-8), the British armies suffered some reverses. One of their generals, Gillespie, was killed and the myth of their invincibility was exploded. Again, in the first Burmese War their armies suffered heavily in the jungles of Burma and their prestige was at a low ebb. But Ranjit Singh would not take advantage of their adversities to assert his claims over his co-religionists to the south of the Sutlej, of which the British had deprived him. In 1820 the Bhosle Raja of Nagpur appealed to him for help. Four years later the Nepal Government sought his co-operation in a defensive alliance. Next year the Raja of Bharatpur asked for help. But as he had entered into a *treaty of friendship* with the British, he rejected all these requests, remaining loyal to his plighted word.

The British on the other hand did not strictly abide by the terms of friendship. To them friendship was only a matter of expediency. While they were engaged in consolidating their power in Hindustan, they kept up the show of friendship and were all courtesy and kindness to Ranjit Singh. But no sooner did they find themselves, in about 1827, to be absolutely secure in their possessions as undisputed masters of the country, with their rights none to dispute and their might none to oppose, than they turned their attention to the north beyond the Sutlej, nay, even beyond the Indus.

Anti-Sikh Jihad on the Frontier

On December 21, 1826, Sayyad Ahmad of Bareilly raised the standard of *jihad* against the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Panjab. He was a British subject and collected and recruited his followers from the British territories with a regular propaganda centre at Patna. According to Sir Charles Aitchison's *Lord Lawrence*, pp. 9-10, the Sayyad had his "agencies in different parts of India for the levy of money and supply of arms," and his funds came from the imperial palace of Delhi, the minor Muhammadan princes and the great cities of Lucknow and Hyderabad. The crusader had informed the British Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Province through Shaikh Gulam Ali Reis of Allahabad that he was preparing for a *jihad* against the Sikh rule and hoped that the British Government had no objection to it. The Lieutenant-Governor wrote to him in reply that as long as the peace of their territories was not disturbed, they had nothing to say, nor had they any objection to such preparations.

The grant of official permission to British subjects for active armed hostilities against Maharaja Ranjit Singh with men, money and arms collected from British territories was certainly not a friendly act of the British Government, nor was it in keeping with terms of the *treaty of friendship and amity* dated April 25, 1809, placing the state of the Panjab 'on the footing of the most favoured powers.'

Through this *jehad* of the British subjects against the Maharaja, the British Government evidently wished to see a storm raised on the western border of the Panjab to instigate the unsuspecting Muslim population of the frontier against the Sikhs to weaken the Lahore state, if not actually to subvert it, and provide an opportunity for British intervention and occupation, if possible. The *jehad* continued with full vigour for four and a half years, but the Sikhs were ultimately successful in suppressing it. With the defeat and liquidation of Sayyad Ahmad and his chief lieutenant Shah Ismail in the battle of Bala-Kot on May 8, 1831, it came to an end and the Panjab heaved a sigh of relief.

The Sindh Affair

The countries of Sindh and Baluchistan lay to the west of the river Indus. Along with the Panjab and Multan, and Peshawar and the Deras to the west of that river, they had once belonged to Ahmad Shah Durrani and his descendants from whom the Sikhs, the predecessors and ancestors of the Maharaja, had conquered the frontier territories. "It was in the fitness of things," says Sayyad Abdul Qadir, "that he should get Sindh as well", as it would help him carry his frontier to the Arabian Sea from where he could establish contacts, political and commercial, with the outside world [*Maharaja Ranjit Singh, First Death Centenary Memorial*, pp. 166-67].

But this could not find favour with the British who had their own designs upon Sindh and Baluchistan and wished to extend their influence towards Afghanistan. To forestall Ranjit Singh in the occupation of Sindh, the British deputed Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, charged with a friendly letter from the King of England, to go to Lahore by the rivers Indus and Sutlej with the present of five horses and an English coach. The secret object of British Government both in England and India was to acquire as much information of political and geographical nature as might be done in such a river journey about the princes and people of this country on both banks of the rivers.

In the last week of October 1831, a meeting was held at Ropar between Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to give to the world an impression of complete unanimity between the two states [*Appendix B, V*, pp. 646-47]. This was followed by the Treaty of December 26, 1832, regarding the navigation of the Indus and the Sutlej [*Appendix B, VI*, pp. 647-50; also *B, VII*, pp. 650-52].

"On the very day before His Highness arrived at Roopur" for the meeting with Lord Bentinck, says Henry T. Prinsep in his *Muharaja Runjeet Singh*, p. 168, "instructions had been issued to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pottinger to prepare for a mission to Sindh with a view to the negotiations of a commercial treaty. ... The object of entering upon this negotiation, at this particular juncture, was perhaps in some measure

political." But all efforts were at this time made to keep the Maharaja in darkness about the mission of Henry Pottinger to the Amirs.

The treaties for the opening of the Indus and of commerce were only a pretext for "the introduction of troops into the countries on and beyond the river, and of some half dozen steamers on the stream itself, employed for warlike objects, not for those of trade," says Charles Masson in his *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, the Panjab and Kabul*, Vol. III, p. 432. The truth of the observations of Charles Masson came to be verified later on by Lord Ellenborough's despatch of October 1842 to the Queen wherein he said:

Lord Ellenborough looks forward to the Indus superseding the Ganges as the channel of communication with England and to bringing European regiments and all military stores by that route to the North Western Frontier" [*Appendix A, 11; Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p. 457].

The Indus had never been closed and the countries on and beyond it had always been open to commerce. "There is, besides, great absurdity in commercial treaties with the States of Central Asia, simply because there is no occasion for them" [Masson, III, 432].

The real object of the British Government behind these treaties was to encircle the territories of their most favoured friend Ranjit Singh either by their own territory or by the territories of those who were subservient to their will so that they might conveniently walk into the Panjab whenever they chose to do so.

This duplicity and intrigue could not remain hidden from Ranjit Singh. His faith in the honesty and truthfulness of the British authorities in India was rudely shaken and he was, evidently, compelled to express his disgust openly and bluntly to an old Christian missionary, the Rev. Dr Joseph Wolff who visited Lahore in 1832. "You say", said Ranjit Singh, "you travel for the sake of religion; why then do you not preach to the English in Hindustan who have no religion at all?" And when on his arrival at Simla, Dr Wolff informed Lord Bentinck of this observation of the Maharaja, he said to Wolff, "this is, alas! the opinion of all the natives all over India" [*Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff*, p. 375]. This shows that Lord Bentinck was not unconscious of the Indian public opinion about their political transactions in India which were anything but morally motivated. And, perhaps, no empire-builders can really be expected to be always honest or moral.

The question of Shikarpur

Finding his way towards Sindh blocked, Ranjit Singh turned his attention to the town of Shikarpur. It lay to the west of Sutlej-Indus and, according to the treaty of 1809, the British had agreed not to interfere with his affairs in trans-Sutlej territories. He had since crossed the river Indus and occupied Peshawar and the Deras, Ghazikhan and Ismail

Khan. He held the forts of Rojhan and Ken and his supremacy over the Sindhian tribe of Muzaris had been virtually recognized. The occupation of Shikarpur, therefore, was only a continuation of his plan and was in no way a departure from any terms of the treaty of friendship with the British. But "with regard to Ranjit Singh," says Joseph D. Cunningham, "the English rulers observed that they were bound by the strongest considerations of political interest to prevent the extension of Sikh power along the course of Indus..." [*A History of the Sikhs*, 217]. Against all rules of friendship, the British came and stood in the way of Ranjit Singh telling him that he could not be allowed to extend his power even along the western bank of the Indus where he already had his territories. The Maharaja was shocked at this strange attitude of the British who "would not listen to reason, nor did an appeal to the provisions of the thirty years old treaty of friendship have any effect upon them." Intoxicated with powers, they were, evidently, provoking him to retaliate in some form so as to give them a pretence for military operations against him. He, however, refused to fall into their trap. He knew that his borders on the south and south-west had been occupied by the British and that they were then in correspondence with Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul, who would readily join hands with them in hostilities on the north-west to gain possession of Peshawar with their help. Surrounded on three sides, with no active friends on the fourth, Ranjit Singh could not run the risk of a war with the British on several fronts with less than twenty per cent. of their resources in men and munitions of war. The Telingas, the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Poorbias, the Jats and the Ruhelas were all at the beck and call of the British, ready to fight for them against their own countrymen. They had done so in the past and, as subsequent history proved, they did it again in 1843 and 1845-46 during the British campaigns against Sindh and the Panjab.

All this left Ranjit Singh with no alternative except to abandon his idea of occupying Shikarpur.

Ferozepore

The British Government had recognized before 1835 the sovereignty of Maharaja Ranjit Singh over Ferozepore. But it was a place of great strategic importance, particularly in their plan of hemming in the Maharaja's territory by erecting a ring of forts all along the Sikh frontier and of walking into the Panjab immediately after his death. "The capital of Lahore," wrote Murray, "is distant only 40 miles with a single river to cross, fordable for six months in the year. The fort of Ferozepore, from every point of view, seems to be of highest importance to the British Government whether as a check on the growing ambition of Lahore or as a fort of consequence." "His [Ranjit Singh's] very existence is now precarious," said Dr M'Gregor "and may be extinguished by a repetition of paralysis. When such an event does occur, there will be plenty of bloodshed before

the British can even reach Lahore. To prevent the chance of this, it appears advisable to have a force as near that capital as possible" [*A History of the Sikhs*, i, p. 263].

The British attitude towards Ferozepore, therefore, underwent a change. The city was occupied by them in 1835 upon the death, without heirs, of Sardarni Lachhman Kaur and converted into a military cantonment in 1838.

Interference in Peshawar Affair

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan saw a ray of hope of recovering Peshawar from Ranjit Singh in the flames of the funeral pyre of Sardar Hari Singh on the battlefield of Jamrood, where he was killed on April 30, 1837. But the precipitate retreat of the Afghans on the arrival of Sikh reinforcements discouraged all his plans. The ever-watchful British now tried to exploit the situation to win over the Amir to their side. Ranjit Singh "had scarcely vindicated his supremacy on the frontier, by filling the valley of Peshawar with troops, when the English," according to Cunningham, "interfered to embitter the short remainder of his life and to set bound to his ambition on the west, as they had already done on the east and south...It was wished that Ranjit Singh should be content with his past achievements." "It was made known," Cunningham continues, "that the British rulers would be glad to be the means of negotiating peace honourable to both parties, yet the scale was turned in favour of the Afghans by simultaneous admission that Peshawar was a place to which Dost Muhammad could scarcely be expected to resign all claim." But, according to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the issue had already been decided by the retreat of the Afghans from Jamrood. The Afghans had been defeated in their attempts to dislodge the Sikhs from Peshawar and its territories. Beyond the death of the brave General, killed in the field of battle, the Sikhs had suffered no material loss. They still held the field of battle and also the city and district of Peshawar. The Afghans were no longer in the field and had returned to their homes. The Sikhs, on the other hand, had then a much stronger hold on the Khyber, having laid the foundation of a regular fort at Jamrood at the mouth of the pass. Complete peace had been restored. With the liquidation of the Afghans with the Sikhs in undisputed possession of Peshawar, there was no dispute to call for any negotiations of peace of which the British had offered to be the means. Ranjit Singh could not, therefore, entertain, much less accept, the offer of his friends.

Hospitality Abused

The marriage of Maharaja's grandson Kanwar Naunihal Singh was celebrated at Atari (in the district of Amritsar) on March 4, 1838. The Maharaja had invited Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of British India, Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Governor of Agra, to be present on the

occasion. The Prince was wedded to a daughter of Sardar Sham Singh Atariwala. Of the English invitees, Sir Henry Fane alone was able to attend. But instead of appreciating the friendship and hospitality of the Maharaja, he used this opportunity for collecting information from a military commander's point of view, with an eye to the conquest of the Panjab. "That able Commander," says Captain Cunningham, "was a very careful observer of military means and of soldierly qualities; he formed an estimate of the force which would be required for the complete subjugation of the Panjab" [*A History of the Sikhs*, 227].

The Tripartite Treaty

With no response from Ranjit Singh for negotiations on Peshawar, the British lost the goodwill of Dost Muhammad Khan whose preference to a Persian and Russian alliance was made a pretext for removing him from the throne of Kabul and placing the refugee Shah Shuja on it. For this purpose the British sought the co-operation of Ranjit Singh for a triple alliance with Shah Shuja. The Maharaja could see that the installation of Shah Shuja by the British alone would not only place them in supreme authority at Kabul but would also strengthen the chain of encirclement on the west and the north-west of the Panjab with the Shah as an easy tool in their aggressive designs against it. It was, therefore, in the interest of his country to sign the tripartite treaty which he did on June 26, 1838, and co-operated with the British in the Afghan campaign.

The Policy of Friendship Continued

Maharaja Ranjit Singh died on June 27, 1839. His policy of friendship and amity towards the British was, however, continued by his son and successor Maharaja Kharak Singh. On hearing on July 23, 1839, that Diwan Sawan Mall, the governor of Multan, had ordered his people not to sell any grain to British officers, Kharak Singh wrote to him on August 19, that "he and local officers should not object to the purchase" being made by them [*The Panjab in 1839-40*, p. 101/334, 117/150]. He also desired General Ventura of the Sikh service to maintain friendly relations with the British Political Agent Col. Wade [*Ibid.*, July 26, 1839; 107-08, 349-50].

Kharak Singh allowed the British forces to pass through the Panjab on their return from Afghanistan which Maharaja Ranjit Singh had not permitted on their onward journey.

According to the *Panjab Intelligence*, Lahore, of April 12, 1840, Sardar Lehna Singh represented to Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh in darbar that the British Government had taken possession of the Kahloor territory on the left bank of the Sutlej and requested permission to annex the dominions on the left bank. "He was ordered to wait till the *Vakeel* had consulted the [British] Political Agent at Ambala."

All this was done in good faith by the Lahore Government in spite of very strong rumours and suspicions, then current among the people,

that the British had administered some kind of poison mixed with liquor to Maharaja Ranjit Singh during the entertainment held in the Shalamar Garden at Lahore in the last days of December 1838. These suspicions find expression in Giani Gian Singh's *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, part II, *Raj Khalsa*, 1st edition of 1894, p. 982/448, and Jaffar Beg's *Baintan Sarkar Ranjit Singh Kian*, Nos. 7, 8, 9, vide *Panjabi Duniya*, Patiala, June 1952. Kharak Singh, however, took no serious notice of them and continued to follow the old policy of friendship.

The British, on the other hand, intensified, soon after the death of Ranjit Singh, their preparations in converting Ferozepore into a regular cantonment in keeping with their designs upon the Panjab. As we have seen earlier, the British Indian government had their eyes upon the Panjab during the life time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself and were only waiting for his death to work more actively for its occupation. The king of the Belgians writing to Queen Victoria of England on October 2, 1840, had evidently thrown a hint to her to be watchful about the events in the Panjab. Referring to Muhammad Ali of Egypt, he said: "It is highly probable that if the old gentleman dies, his concern will go to pieces... When the man is gone, his empire also goes. Ranjit Singh is a proof of this; his formidable power will certainly go to the dogs, though the Sikhs have a social link which does not exist in the Egyptian concern" [1/1].

Little did the king of Belgians, perhaps, know that the officials of the East India Company had already been moving in the direction before and since the death of Ranjit Singh regardless of the treaty of friendship and amity and the friendly co-operation of his successors in the Afghan campaign.

There was a state of uncertainty from November 6, 1840, when Maharaja Kharak Singh died, followed by his son Naunihal Singh on the same day, to January 18, 1841, when Maharaja Sher Singh came to the throne. But there was no change in the Sikh policy of friendship towards the British [Kaye, *War in Afghanistan*, ii, 326-7]. The British plans for the occupation of the Panjab seem, on the other hand, to have been ready much earlier and they were the subject of public talk among the British political and military officers and their wives and others in 1841. Writing to Mrs. Cameron on May 26, 1841, Mrs. Henry Lawrence said :

Wars, and rumours of wars, are on every side and there seems no doubt that next cold weather will decide the long suspended question of occupying the Punjaub : Henry, both in Civil and Military capacity, will probably be called on to take part in whatever goes on. And again on June 5 :

Nothing is yet promulgated; but H(enry) supposes the army for the Punjaub will be divided into three columns—the main body accompanied by Mr. Clerk, our chief, and the others by H. and Mr Cunningham, an officer of Engineers now acting at Ferozepore.

[Edwardes and Merivale, *Henry Lawrence*, i, 216-17.]

But then came the bolt from the blue and the November-December disaster shattered all their plans and they were driven to the necessity of begging for Maharaja Sher Singh's help and co-operation in the expedition of the Army of Revenge early in 1842.

On November 2, 1841, the British envoy in Kabul, Sir Alexander Burnes, was murdered by the Afghans, followed by the murder of Sir William Macnaghten on December 23. The retreating British Indian troops, about 16500, who left Kabul in the first week of January 1842, were mostly massacred in the Afghan defiles and a number of senior British officers taken prisoner. Only one survivor, Dr Brydon, could escape, half-dead, to the fort of Jalalabad to tell the tale of the woeful disaster. The Government of India felt staggered and the whole of Britain was thrown into mourning on hearing the dreadful news. The Board of Directors of the East India Company were greatly disappointed at the policy of their Governor-General in India and recalled Lord Auckland who left India on March 6, 1842, on the arrival of his successor Lord Ellenborough.

In the meantime, the Army of Revenge under General Pollock had been ordered to move into Afghanistan. Pollock arrived at Peshawar on February 6. But the situation in which he found himself there was not very enviable. "Brigadier Wild's demoralized Brigade, which had been ordered to force its way into Khyber Pass, had made no further attempt on the Khyber since their defeats in January; and lying idle and broken-spirited the troops fell sick. Twelve hundred of them were in hospital on the day when Pollock joined, and in a few days the list increased to nineteen hundred so that Pollock, with both Wild's and MacCaskill's brigades, was little stronger than Wild had been a month before" [Edwardes, *Henry Lawrence*, 313-14].

"After Brigadier Wild's failure in the Khyber Pass in January, Lawrence had unreservedly told his official chief, Mr. Clerk, though only in demi-official notes, how unsoldierly had been the conduct not only of the Sepoys but of many of their British officers" [*Henry Lawrence*, p. 332].

The cowed sepoys of Wild's brigade were then in a temper of doubtful loyalty and were also acting as a great damper on MacCaskill's fresh regiments, binding them "by an oath on the water of the sacred Ganges not to move beyond Peshawar" [*Ibid.*, 314]. Under these circumstances, the Panjab troops, mostly Dogras, could not be relied upon for enthusiastic support. They knew that the spell of the invincibility of British troops had been broken by the Afghans and that the prestige of the British Government badly impaired. General Pollock, however, felt that the support of the Sikh Government was indispensable, "firstly, because we wanted all the soldiers we could bring into the field; and secondly, because

it was of vital consequence to show our enemies in Afghanistan that the Sikhs were with us" [*Ibid.*, 316], "and," in the words of Major-General Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale, "if at this moment when one British force had been annihilated at Cabul, and two others were beleaguered by the Afghans in Jellalabad and Candahar, the Sikhs had turned against us in the Punjab, the year 1857 would have been anticipated in 1842 under circumstances of far greater aggravation" [*Ibid.*, 317].

General Pollock had, therefore, to spend two months in great suspense. "In the meanwhile," says Sir John Kaye in his *War in Afghanistan*, ii, 323, "it appeared to Mr. Clerk that his presence at the Court of the Sikh ruler would have the effect of cementing the alliance between the two states, and enable him the better to obtain from the Lahore Government the military assistance that was so greatly needed. He had never doubted the good faith of the Maharaja himself. Whatever selfish motives he may have attributed to him, it was not to be doubted that at this time his feeling and his conduct alike were those of a friend. Clerk declared that no native state had ever taken such great pains to accelerate the movement of our troops by preventing plunder, supplying boats at the ferries, and furnishing food for the use of our army. He had given us the best aid and the best advice, and, in the opinion of the British agent, was willing to act up to the spirit of the Tripartite treaty. He was, indeed, the only man in the Punjab who really desired our success."

Mr Clerk repaired to Lahore in the last week of February to seek from Maharaja Sher Singh his more active support in that unfavourable situation and he was eminently successful in his mission. "True to his word," and true to the traditions of his father and brother, "the Maharaja at once despatched instructions to Goolab Singh to co-operate heartily and steadily with General Pollock and Captain Mackeson, and it is believed that at the same time Dhyan Singh wrote privately to his brother in a similar strain of exhortation and encouragement" [*Henry Lawrence*, 330].

"The letters," Sir John continues, "despatched by Sher Singh and his minister to Avitabile and Goolab Singh had not been without their effect . . . and really, when the hour for exertion came, (they) did more for the honour of their own arms and the support of the British Government than the most sanguine of our officers had ventured to expect" [*Ibid.*, 329].

"The Sikhs were only bound to employ a contingent of 6,000 men," wrote Henry Lawrence to J.C. Marshman on April 11, 1842, "but they did the work with not less than 15,000 leaving the stipulated number in position, and withdrawing the rest to Jumrood and Peshawar, where they remain ready to support these in the Pass if necessary" [Edwardes and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, i, 363].

General Pollock, the commander of the expeditionary force, seems

to have been jealous of the work done by the Sikhs in the Jubba-ki defile on the night of April 5, 1842, and moving to Lala Chand on the next day. "If the Sikh force had not made a diversion in their favour, and drawn off large number of the enemy," says Major General Sir Herbert Edwardes, "the result would, perhaps, have been another defeat and disaster." General Pollock, however, conveniently omitted to show the formal courtesy of making a mention of the part played by the Sikhs in his official despatch of April 6. Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, however, repaired the General's omission in his *Notification* of April 19, and said :

"The Governor-General deems it to be due to the troops of the Maharaja Sher Singh to express his entire satisfaction with their conduct as reported to him and to inform the army that the loss sustained by the Sikhs in the assault of the Pass which was forced by them is understood to have been equal to that sustained by the troops of Her Majesty and of the Government of India. The Governor-General has instructed his Agent at the Court of the Maharaja to offer his congratulations on this occasion, so honourable to the Sikh arms."

Writing to the Queen in England from Benares on April 21, Lord Ellenborough said :

"The Sikh army co-operated with that of India by a second pass leading to Ali Masjid, and there is no reason to doubt the good faith of the Sikh Government." [*Appendix A*, 7, p. 455 ; *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*.]

Later, on June 31, a Sikh contingent of 5,000 men marched from Ali Masjid for Jalalabad under the command of General Goolab Singh Pohoovindia and arrived there on July 10. A smaller detachment of theirs went up to Kabul, while others formed posts of communication at Neemla and Gandamak. But according to Henry Lawrence's letter of 16th September written from Kabul, the tide of prejudice in the British camp against the Sikhs was so strong that they were "given very little opportunity of doing much."

Col. Richmond, who commanded the rear at Tazeen, felt it "Just to notice the useful assistance afforded by the men of the Sikh contingent under Captain Lawrence," and General Pollock in his despatch of September 14, honourably confirmed this testimony saying :

The Lahore contingent under the able direction of Captain Lawrence has invariably given the most cheerful assistance, dragging the guns, occupying the heights and covering the rearguard. While ascending the Huft Kohtal, and at Tezeen, their long jezails told effectively in keeping the ground [Edwardes and Merivale, *Life of Henry Lawrence*, i, 407].

The British Planning for Occupying the Panjab

While a Sikh force of 15,000 was fighting for the British in the bloodthirsty defiles of the Khyber Pass and its detachments were cheerfully covering the rearguard of the second British Army in Afghanistan, occupying the difficult hill heights of their passage and dragging the guns for them, the British Government in India was slowly and steadily pursuing their old design for the occupation of the Panjab—the country of their faithful friend and ally Maharaja Sher Singh—as and when a favourable opportunity offered itself and were collecting a Third Army of reserve at Ferozepore on the frontier of the Panjab “to keep the Sikhs in check.” This was in fact the first instalment of the British army to be brought to Ferozepore to serve as the nucleus of the force to be assembled there for the planned occupation of the Panjab. Writing to the Duke of Wellington on June 7, 1842, Lord Ellenborough said :

I have, after communicating with the Commander-in-Chief, issued an order for the assembling of an army of reserve in the division of Sirhind (that is, either at Kurnaul or Ferozepore) in November. It will consist of twelve regiments of infantry, of which four will be European, of five regiments, of regular cavalry (including the 16th Lancers), and of two regiments of irregular cavalry. There will be four troops of horse artillery and three batteries of foot artillery. The total force will be 15,000 men [Colchester, *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*, pp. 251-52].

This was in addition to the collection of a number of army pontoons for the construction of a bridge on the river Sutlej for the British army to cross into the Panjab as recommended by the Duke on April 2, 1842.

This has been called by some historians the highest ingratitude on the part of the officials of the East India Company towards the ruler of the Panjab whom, not unoften, they had been proclaiming as the only man in the country who really desired their success. But there was nothing very extraordinary in this. Lord Ellenborough, his predecessor or his successor, were no exception to the ways of the empire-builders and expansionists.

In pursuance of their policy, Lord Auckland, and then Lord Ellenborough, and their political officers looked only to the ultimate aim of the occupation of the Panjab at their earliest, and used all possible means, fair or foul, to this end.

Intrigues

With the establishment of direct and close contact between the British and the eldest of the Dogra brothers, Raja Gulab Singh, whom Maharaja Sher Singh had deputed to help the British Army of Revenge in the Afghan campaign, Henry Lawrence proposed to his political chiefs to buy off the Dogras and General Avitabile, saying, “We need such men as the Rajah [Gulab Singh] and General Avitabile, and should bind them to us by the only tie they recognise,—self interest.” “The Rajahs, secured

in their territory, even with additions; General Avitabile guaranteed our aid in retiring with his property ; and any other Sirdars aiding us cordially, be specially and separately treated for," continued he. At last, apparently on January 29, 1842, he proposed "that on the terms of efficient support to assist Raja Goolab Singh to get possession of the valley of Jellalabad and endeavour to make some arrangement to secure it and Peshawar to his family" [Edwardes, *Henry Lawrence*, 326-27].

This was the active beginning of the British intrigues in the Panjab in buying the leading servants of the state against its ruler Maharaja Sher Singh who, on his part, was unsuspectingly helping them in good faith in their expedition in Afghanistan. This not only encouraged the Dogras in their scheme for the dismemberment by the Panjab kingdom with a view to securing a share for themselves but also in their treason for the subversion and liquidation of the ruling family.

While Henry Lawrence proposed to buy off the Panjab chiefs, "his Political chief Mr Clerk [the Political Agent on the Panjab frontier] visited Lahore in the last week of February 1842, as mentioned earlier, not only to seek the Sikh ruler's co-operation in the Afghanistan campaign but also 'to support the only man in the Panjaub who really desired our success'—Maharaja Sher Singh himself—against his own Prime Minister" [*ibid.*, 329]. The proposals of Henry Lawrence at Peshawar and the negotiations and advice of George Clerk at Lahore served a double purpose. They secured for the Afghan expeditionary force the active military help of the Sikh ruler and his military commanders and bound Raja Gulab Singh and General Avitabile to their own political interests in the Panjab. They also drove a wedge between the ruler and his chiefs who henceforth looked more to their own interests as against those of the Panjab kingdom. The seeds of the division and dismemberment of the kingdom were also thus sown, with the Dogras already dreaming of the accession of their family to the throne of the Panjab, or at least to that of a separate state of Jammu and Kashmir. This ultimately led to the murders of Maharaja Sher Singh on September 15, 1843, along with his young son Partap Singh, at the instigation of his Prime Minister Dhian Singh, and of Dhian Singh himself on the same day at the hands of the Sandhanwalia Sardars.

This has been confirmed by 'the *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, edited by Major Hugh Pearse, 1898. Gardner was a confidant of Raja Dhian Singh who had given to him a wife out of his own house. Through her and living always among the Dogras he knew and had heard a great deal about the intrigues then afoot. According to his *Memoirs*, pp. 212-13 :

This dream was that Hira Singh, the heir of their family, or at least the most promising of its rising generation, might eventually succeed to the throne of Ranjit Singh. Those to be swept away were the male members of the Maharaja's family, and all those ministers,

advisers and chiefs who would not join the Dogra party...All these murders were brought about directly or indirectly by the Dogra brothers, Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh, for the eventual aggrandisement of their family in the person of Hira Singh.

Expansionist Policy of Lord Ellenborough

Lord Auckland had been recalled from India for his disastrous policy of war in Afghanistan which was an unholy creation of some ambitious and unscrupulous men surrounding Lord Auckland. His successor Lord Ellenborough had come to India desired by the Directors of East India Company to follow a peaceful policy, but he was never free of war. He was no less a war-monger than his predecessor. His ambition, according to Lord Colchester, was to become "a great military statesman" and his great defect, according to Hugh Murray, was "his fondness for military display." He pushed on the war in China. Instead of withdrawing from interference in Afghanistan, he sanctioned the *withdrawal* of Sir William Nott's force from Kandhar via Ghazni, Kabul and Peshawar, which actually meant advancing into Afghanistan for some five hundred miles to the north and the east. General Pollock's Army of Revenge forced it way through the Khyber Pass to Kabul and came back only in October-November 1842, some nine months after his arrival in India. He took possession of Sindh and interfered in the affairs of Gwalior. He occupied the forts of Jytpur in Bundelkhand and annexed the Sikh state of Kaithal.

Lord Ellenborough, as history knows, had come fully prepared with plans to take possession of the Panjab as soon as opportunity offered itself. Soon after his nomination as Governor-General of India, he turned his attention to preparing for a campaign against it. On the recommendation of Lord Fitzroy, he took as one of his aides-de-camp Lieutenant (afterwards, Sir Henry Marion) Durand of the Bengal Engineers and wrote to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington on October 15, 1841, sayings:

I have requested Lord Fitzroy to employ him at once in obtaining all information he can with respect to the Punjab and making a military memorandum upon the country for your consideration. I am most anxious to have your opinion as to the general principles at least upon which a campaign against that country should be conducted.

Having sent Durand's Memoir to the Duke on October 22, he wrote to him four days later on October 26:

At present about 12,000 men are collected near Ferozepore to watch the Sikhs, and act if necessary.

What I desired, therefore, was your opinion founded, as far as it could be upon the imperfect geographical information which can be given to you, as to the best mode of *attacking the Punjab* [Colchester, *Indian Administration of Ellenborough*, 157, 160].

Peshawar

The Duke of Wellington at this time was very anxious to take possession of Peshawar in spite of its being the territory of the friendly state of the Sikhs. Writing to Lord Fitzgerald from London on April 6, 1842, he said:

I am very glad to see such good accounts of the State of the Sikh Government. It must be very desirable to maintain its existence in the Punjab. But this I must say, if we are to maintain our position in Afghanistan, we ought to have Peshawar, the Khyber Pass, Jallalabad and the passes between that post and Cabul [Colchester, p. 247].

But Peshawar belonged to the Sikh Government. It could not be had without occupying a part of their territory. There was, however, no immediate urgency to translate the suggestion into actuality.

Jalalabad

Lord Ellenborough at this time—in May 1842—offered the province of Jalalabad to the Sikh Government when the British left it. The object was to place the Sikhs between the Afghans and themselves, with the central Panjab at their mercy. Thus “we shall have placed,” wrote Ellenborough to Wellington on June 7, 1842, “an irreconcilable enemy to the Afghans between them and us, and hold that enemy to the Afghans, occupied as he must be in defending himself against them, in entire subjection to us by our position upon the Sutlej, within a few marches of Umritsar and Lahore. Such I wish to make our position on the North-Western frontier.” Lord Ellenborough knew that with the possession of Jalalabad, the Sikhs would be placed in a very awkward position. “They will be obliged,” he wrote to Wellington on October 18, “to keep their principal force in that quarter and Lahore and Umritsar will remain with insufficient garrison, within a few marches of the Sutlej, on which I shall in twelve days, at any time, be able to assemble three European and eleven native battalions, one European regiment of cavalry, two regiments of native cavalry, and two of irregular cavalry, and twenty-four guns.

“The state of the Panjab is therefore under my foot” [Colchester, pp. 278, 299].

But Maharaja Sher Singh took so long, perhaps intentionally, considering Lord Ellenborough's offer that his decision was communicated too late to Lord Ellenborough. With the arrival of Pollock's army at Jalalabad on October 19, its fort was dismantled. The Sikhs had, therefore, no mind to place themselves in a defenceless position in face of hostile Afghans around them. The Sikhs thus did not embroil themselves with the Afghans in Jalalabad and escaped the trap laid for them by Lord Ellenborough.

British Occupation of Sindh

With the return of the British Indian Army from Afghanistan in

September-October 1842, Lord Ellenborough felt that its prestige damaged by the disastrous reverses in the Afghan pass during the first expedition had to some extent been retrieved. But he was not satisfied with it. He wished to demonstrate to the world at large, and to the independent Indian states, that his army could hit as well. For this he chose the weakest and the most innocent of Indian rulers, the Amirs of Sindh, which Sir Charles Napier occupied in February-March 1843.

"The real cause of the chastisement of the Ameers", says John Kaye, "consisted in the chastisement which the British had received from the Afghans. It was deemed expedient at this stage of the great political journey to show that the British could beat some one and so it was determined to beat the Ameers of Sindh.... A few more victories were required [after the occupation of Afghanistan] to re-establish our reputation, and the Governor-General resolved that Ameers... should be the victims of the generous policy" [*Calcutta Rev.*, Vol. 1, 232; *Selections*, i. 70].

An ex-political tells us in his *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* "that the Ameers of Sindh were foully wronged that their country was taken from them on false evidence" [*Preface*, x].

In addition to this all, another object of the outrage upon Sindh was to take possession of the country on both sides of the river Indus to be able to move British and Indian regiments and military stores to the frontiers of the Panjab for operations against it from towards the south west as well as from the south.

The Sindhia of Gwalior

After the Sindhians came the turn of the Sindhia of Gwalior. The Sindhias had always had a strong Maratha army, and Lord Ellenborough wanted "the disbandment and disarming of a disaffected portion of the Gwalior Army," because "the existence of an army of such strength in that position must very seriously embarrass the disposition of troops we might be desirous of making to meet a coming danger from Sutlej." Sindhia's dominions were, therefore, invaded and a new treaty was concluded by which Sindhia became a feudatory of the British Government.

The Annexation of Kaithal

On the death on March 15, 1843, of Bhai Udai Singh without leaving any male heir, the British Government occupied the Sikh state of Kaithal as lapsed to the paramount power. This was against all canons of law and justice. The chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind, of which the Bhai of Kaithal was one, had "entered under the protection of the British Government," to "be secured from the authority and control of Maharaja Ranjit Singh." They were at no time given to understand that in lieu of British protection they had for the future surrendered to the British Government all their rights, privileges and authority in their territories, much less that their territories would lapse to the British in the absence of their male heirs. On the other hand, article 3 of the *Ittilah-*

Namah addressed to them on May 3, 1809, and published under the orders of the Governor-General, declared:

The Chiefs shall remain in the exercise of the same rights and authority within their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were taken under British protection [Aitchison, *Treaties*, 1892, p. 68].

According to the law of the land—both Hindu and Sikh—sovereign princes, as the chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind were before they came under the protection of the British, had, in their own right, the authority to adopt, in failure of male heirs of the body, and the British Government was bound to acknowledge the adoption according to the formal resolution of theirs passed in 1825.

The British Government had in accordance with this resolution recognized between the years 1826 and 1848 no fewer than fifteen successions by adoption. Not only this. According to the Sikh custom, a widow could succeed her husband. Maharani Chand Kaur had held the reins of the Government of the Panjab in her own right and name after the death of Maharaja Kharak Singh. Similarly had Rani Lachhman Kaur held in her undisputed right the Sikh state of Ferozepore, to the south of the Sutlej up to 1835.

Yet, the state of Kaithal was forcibly occupied by British troops and annexed to the British dominion in April 1843.

Bogey of French Intrigues

The Duke of Wellington at this time started the bogey of French intrigues with the Sikhs. His object, evidently, was to prejudice the minds of the British public against the Sikhs and to prepare them to quietly swallow the news of the invasion of their country by the British troops whom they had so recently helped in their expedition to Afghanistan. Referring to the return from leave of General Ventura of the Sikh service from Europe to Lahore, the Duke wrote to Lord Ellenborough on February 4, 1843, that "His course should be observed," adding that "the religion, the social state, and the politics of the Sikhs render them by far the most appropriate allies for the French of any in that part of Asia, and if once they could establish themselves on the Indus you would have them allied with the Sikhs, their officers in the Sikh Army, the politics at Lahore under their direction. I strongly recommend to you, therefore, to watch carefully the mouth of the Indus" [Colchester, 350-51].

Soon after the arrival of General Ventura at Lahore, Lord Ellenborough established friendly contact with him, and the General kept the British Governor-General of India informed of the political developments in the Panjab. It appears as if the General was then acting as a secret agent of the British at Lahore.

The Sandhanwalias

At this time, the Sandhanwalia Sardar Atar Singh and his nephew

Ajit Singh served as ready tools in the hands of the British. They had fled to the British territory on January 18, 1841, immediately after Maharaja Sher Singh came to the throne, and sought their help in their designs against the Maharaja. The Political Agent at Ludhiana, Mr. George Russell Clerk, became in March-April 1843 actively interested in the Sandhanwalias and prevailed upon Maharaja Sher Singh to permit them to return to the Panjab and restore to them their *jagirs* and property. This was done in May 1843. They soon allied themselves with the Dogras in their intrigues for the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh and his young son Partap Singh. The British officials were in the know of the details of the conspiracy as is evident from the letters of Lord Ellenborough to the Duke of Wellington, dated May 11, August 12 and September 20, 1843. The catastrophe took place on September 15 when, in addition to the Maharaja and his son, Prime Minister Dhian Singh was also murdered by the Sandhanwalias. Reporting these murders at Lahore, the *British Friend of India*, published in London, wrote in December 1843 :

We have no proof that the Company instigated all the king-killing which has been perpetrated in the Punjab since Runjeet died... . We must say we smell a rat.

The references and letters quoted above, which provide the proof, had not then come to light. *The Life of Henry Lawrence* by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale and the *History of Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*, edited by Lord Colchester, were published in 1872 and 1874 respectively—some thirty years after the observations of the *British Friend of India*.

State of Confusion at Lahore

The murders of the Maharaja, the heir apparent and the Prime Minister raised the hopes of Lord Ellenborough for an early opportunity for the British to become masters of the Panjab, either by direct occupation or through 'protection'. On the basis of a communication from General Ventura, a copy of which was sent to the Queen in England, His Lordship wrote to Her Majesty on October 20, 1843 :

... it is impossible not to perceive that the ultimate tendency of the late events at Lahore is, without any efforts on our part, to bring the plains first, and at somewhat later period the hills, under our protection or control [Colchester, 98].

While Maharaja Sher Singh was succeeded by his brother Duleep Singh, the youngest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Prime Minister Dhian Singh was succeeded by his son Hira Singh. Born on September 6, 1838, the new Maharaja was only five years old when he came to the throne. All power, therefore, passed into the hands of Prime Minister Hira Singh who had been brought up with the ambitious design to "eventually succeed to the throne of Ranjit Singh."

Encouraged by the British politicals in 1842, and ever since then,

Gulab Singh Dogra had been strengthening himself in the hills of Jammu and Kashmir, helping his nephew keep firm in the saddle at Lahore. He had also helped himself to all the money and valuables belonging to Maharani Chand Kaur, in addition to a greater part of the treasury of the Government that he had carried away to Jammu in January 1841.

The overbearing attitude of the power-mad Hira Singh and the arrogance of his evil genius Pandit Jalha soon created a state of uncertainty and confusion at Lahore.

No Hostility towards the British

Lord Ellenborough was during this period anxiously watching the turn of events at Lahore in hope that the confusion there might give him some opportunity to move his troops into the Panjab. But there was not the slightest indication of any hostility towards the British in the country. His Lordship himself acknowledged it more than once in his Home despatches. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington on September 20, 1843 :

There does not seem to be any feeling against us. They are only quarrelling amongst themselves apparently; nor do I see the least show of hostility to us anywhere.

Two months later, on November 20, 1843, he wrote to the Queen in the same strain :

The Sikh army, intent only on obtaining more pay, has remained tranquil, and no indication has been given of the least desire to provoke the resentment of the British Government.

He also said the same thing to the Duke in his despatch of the same date.

There is no movement against us, nor is there any prospect of any, unless a complete break up should send plunderers against us.

This pacific appearance continued throughout the remaining period of Lord Ellenborough's administration. "In the Panjab there is more of pacific appearance than at any time since the murder of Sher Singh," he wrote to the Duke on July 2, 1844. And writing to the Queen twelve days later, on July 14, he said :—

There is much less apprehension than there has been at any time since the death of the Maharaja Sher Singh that this tranquillity will be disturbed on the side of the Punjab.

Date Fixed For Operations

Yet, without any provocation or show of hostility from anywhere in the Panjab, Lord Ellenborough was eagerly looking forward to, and preparing for, marching his armies into the country. If he had not so far overrun and occupied the Panjab like Sindh, Gwalior, Kaithal and Jytpur, it was not because of any lack of will or determination on his part but because the army was not fully equipped and prepared, and because suitable officers for higher commands were not available. He was doing his best to equip and raise the army to the required standard. On his

part, he had actually fixed a date—November 15, 1845—on which he hoped to be ready for any operations in the Panjab.

Writing to the Secret Committee under No. 12 G.G., Home Department, on February 11, 1844, twenty-two months before the war, when there did “not seem to be any feeling against” the British, he said :

8... I must frankly confess, that when I look at the whole condition of our Army I had rather, if the contest cannot be further postponed that it were *at least postponed to November 1845.*

9... Let our policy be what it may, the contest must come at last and the intervening time which may be given to us should be employed in unostentatious but vigilant preparation.

On February 15, he wrote to the Duke saying :

I earnestly hope that we may not be obliged to cross the Sutlej in December next. *We shall not be ready so soon.* The army requires a great deal of setting up after five years of war. I am quietly doing what I can to strengthen and equip it. ... I know it [the war] would be of a protracted character. I should be obliged to remain at Lahore myself more than a year.

Ellenborough was so sure of the means he was adapting for creating the war and of the efficiency of his secret agents and agents provocateur that he was able to give an assurance to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington of securing certain success *beforehand.*

Depend upon it I will not engage in such an operation hastily or unnecessarily, and I will do all I can beforehand to secure certain success if ever I should be obliged to undertake it.

The words “I will not engage in such an operation hastily” leave no doubt that the time for *engaging* in this operation was to be determined according to the convenience of Lord Ellenborough and his army. His next letter of April 20, 1844, in which he asks the Duke for eighteen months’ time to prepare for the war is very significant. He says :

I earnestly hope nothing may compel us to cross the Sutlej, and that we may have no attack to repel *till November 1845.* I shall then be prepared for anything. In the meantime we do all we can in a quiet way to strengthen ourselves...

We are altogether very ill-provided with officers for the higher commands. The whole army requires a great deal of teaching, and I am satisfied, the *eighteen months I ask* are not more than enough to make it what it ought to be.

“Does it not show conclusively the deep scheme of the British in bringing on the war with the Sikhs ?” asks Major Basu in his *Rise of the Christian Power in India.*

While describing his brisk preparations for the war to be fought with the Sikhs nineteen months later, Lord Ellenborough wrote to the Duke in his letter of May 9, 1844 :

The destruction of Soocheyt Singh has had the effect of entirely separating the Hills, under Goolab Singh, from the Plains, still ruled in a manner by Heera Singh. *Everything is going on there as we could desire if we looked forward to the ultimate possession of the Punjab. ...* Sir Charles Napier will endeavour to raise two local battalions in Scinde, and he thinks he shall succeed.

In November 1845, the Army will be equal to any operation but I should be sorry to have it called into the field sooner.

The whole thing went on in the Panjab, evidently through agents provocateur, according to the schedule prescribed by Lord Ellenborough and his successor, and it was within a month of the date fixed by him that the war came on (middle of December, 1845).

Atar Singh Sandhanwalia Affair

There are strong reasons to suspect the Sardar Atar Singh Sandhanwalia's attempt to capture Lahore by a surprise attack in which the Sardar himself, Bhai Bir Singh, Prince Kashmira Singh, etc., were killed at Naurangabad on May 7, 1844, was instigated by the British Political Agent on the Panjab frontier. Sardar Atar Singh, as we know, was a brother of Sardar Lehna Singh and uncle of Sardar Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia who had murdered Maharaja Sher Singh, Prince Pratap Singh and Raja Dhian Singh. After these murders, Atar Singh had sought shelter in the British territory and had been living at Thanesar, between Karnal and Ambala. It was from Thanesar that he went to the Panjab with the permission of the British Political Agent who knew, as Lord Ellenborough admits, that the Sardar was going there with the object of acting against the Lahore Government. We give below an extract from the letter of His Lordship addressed to the Queen dated the 10th of June, 1844, wherein he said :

It is much to be regretted that Uttur Singh should have been permitted to move from Thanesir to the Sutlej with the known object of acting against the Lahore Government. This error of the British Agent renders it impossible to protest against the violation of the strict letter of the treaty which was committed by the Sikhs, whose troops were sent to the left bank to intercept Uttur Singh; and, under all the circumstances, it has been deemed expedient to make no representation upon the subject but to allow the whole matter to be forgotten.

[*Hist. of Ind. Adm. of Lord E., p. 129.*]

Recall of Lord Ellenborough

Lord Ellenborough's "passion for military glory offended the authorities of the East India Company in England. He had been sent to India for a peaceful policy but war and preparation for war absorbed most of his hours." In addition to the wars in India, he had also Egypt on his programme of war and conquest. He, however, seems to have been indirectly encouraged in his military enterprises by the British Cabinet. Nolan tells us in his *History of India*, Div. IV, p. 644, that "The English

Cabinet had a strong temptation to countenance Indian wars; they entailed no expense upon the English exchequer, gave immense patronage to the crown through the Board of Control, and the Governor-General afforded support to a large portion of the royal army, and increased the prestige of English power in Europe." But the wars of Lord Ellenborough, rashly waged, were rapacious and unrighteous in their character and were highly "revolting to the minds of peaceable and just English citizens." Moreover, in his dealings with the Court of Directors, he "thwarted and snubbed them in almost every conceivable way" and treated them as if they were his servants. Therefore, in spite of the opposition of the Board of Control and the protests and threats of the British Cabinet, the Directors exercised their prerogative and recalled Lord Ellenborough and appointed Sir Henry Hardinge in his place.

Sir Henry Hardinge

Sir Henry Hardinge arrived at Calcutta in the last week of July 1844. He was a great soldier, a veteran of the Peninsular war. His passion for military glory was as great as that of his predecessor. Both were close friends and kinsmen, having identical political views. There was, therefore, not going to be any change of policy in India in spite of the wishes and instructions of the Board of Directors. Lord Ellenborough knew it. Writing to Major George Broadfoot, the would-be Political Agent on the Panjab frontier, he informed him on June 17, 1844, that "my successor will carry out all my views. He is my most confidential friend, with whom I have communicated upon all public subjects for thirty years" [*The Career of Major Broadfoot*, 208].

The only thing on which the views of Lord Ellenborough had yet to be translated into action was the conquest of the Panjab which had been under discussion for some time both in England and India. He and his political agents had prepared the ground for it. It was reserved for Sir Henry Hardinge to march into the Panjab after the *eighteen months asked for* by Lord Ellenborough for the purpose. "Without doubt," says the son and the Private Secretary of Sir Henry in India, "the selection of a distinguished soldier, who also possessed the experience of a cabinet minister, rather pointed to the anticipation of war." Perhaps the Board of Directors had also by this time reconciled themselves to the views of the British Cabinet, as the parting words of the Chairman of the Board, Captain Shepherd addressed to Sir Henry Hardinge at a farewell of the Court, June 1844, indicated :

It has always been the desire of the Court that the government of the East India Company should be eminently just, moderate and conciliatory; *but the supremacy of our power must be maintained when necessary by the force of arms.*

And Sir Henry Hardinge carried out almost literally the views of his predecessor and wishes of his masters. On his arrival in India, "he

found...that all the towns from Delhi to Karnal were filled with troops; that the commander-in-chief had already surveyed the whole extent of the protected States with a view to make choice of military positions and that advanced posts of Ludhiana and Ferozepore had been strengthened" [*Viscount Hardinge*, pp. 74-5].

Further Additions to the Assembled Force

During the sixteen months that Sir Henry Hardinge had, he considerably added to the strength of the army assembled on the Panjab frontier. According to the following comparative table the number of men was raised from 17,612 left by Lord Ellenborough to 40,523 and of guns from 66 to 94, exclusive of those raised at the neighbouring hill stations.

Post	Strength as left by Lord Ellenborough		Strength at first breaking out of war		Increased preparation made by Lord Hardinge	
	Men	Guns	Men	Guns	Men	Guns
Ferozepur	4596	12	10472	24	5876	12
Ludhiana	3030	12	7235	12	4205	0
Ambala	4113	24	12972	32	8859	8
Meerut	5873	18	9844	26	3971	8
Whole of frontier, exclusive of Hill stations which remained the same	17612	66	40523	94	22911	28

"The above return, which was drawn up by the Governor-General at the time, speaks for itself. He landed in India in July 1844. On the 23rd August of that year he addressed the Commander-in-Chief on the distribution of the force in Bengal. On the 8th September, five Native regiments were placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief for distribution between Meerut and the frontier. On the 11th of the same month, confidential orders were sent for the construction of two barracks at Ferozepur, to accommodate a regiment of European infantry and two batteries of artillery. The two European regiments at Sabathu and Kasauli were also added to the garrison. In January 1845, the Bombay Government was requested to send up H.M.'s 14th Light Dragoons to the frontier, and batteries in the Sirhind Division were raised from 90 to 130 horses. As

the result of these measures, the British force at and above Ambala was augmented from 13,600 men and 48 guns in January 1844, to 32,500 men and 68 guns in December 1845; while total force at and above Meerut, including Delhi and the Hill Stations, which had been only 24,000 men and 66 guns, now amounted to 45,500 men and 98 guns" [*Viscount Hardinge*, 76-7].

Pontoons and Steamers

In addition to other warlike preparations, Lord Ellenborough had, under instructions of the Duke of Wellington contained in his letter of April 2, 1842, collected a number of military pontoons, for the construction of a bridge on the Sutlej for the British army to cross into the Panjab "on an offensive plan." The position suggested for the purpose was *Rani Ka Pul*. The fifty-six pontoons kept ready at Bombay were brought to Ferozepore under the orders of Henry Hardinge. They were to form a part of the equipment of the assembling army. But their object was to be kept secret from the Lahore Government so that they might not have a cause for suspicion or complaint against the British Government. The Governor-General's Private Secretary, who was also the G.G.'s son, wrote in a confidential letter to Major Broadfoot, the British Political Agent, on February 20, 1845 :

It is not desirable that the purposes to which these boats can be applied should unnecessarily transpire. ... But if any inquiry should be made hereafter, your answer will be that this flotilla of boats is not at present required on the lower Indus, that our commissariat arrangements do require the employment of boats between Ferozepore and Sukkur for the supply of the latter place with grain, and that these are purposely adapted for military as well as trading purposes, and form part of our Military means and establishment on the Indus applicable to any purposes for which they may be required either on that river or on the Sutlej; to which you may add several iron steamers which it is convenient to the Government to employ on these rivers for the conveyance of troops, stores and supplies; and of course available for offensive as well as for defensive object, not unnecessarily entering into these explanations, but stating the truth, if explanation be proper [*Career of Major Broadfoot*, 284].

Advanced Supply Depot at Basian

While the British army was being assembled at different stations on the frontier a supply depot was established at Basian, ten miles to the south-east of Jagraon and about four miles to the north-west of Raikot. This was purely a war measure. Otherwise, there was no point in collecting supplies at a place which was neither a grain market nor the headquarters of the Political Agent with a military cantonment attached to it.

Changes at Lahore

Fearful of the wrath of the Khalsa mounting against them, Minister

Hira Singh and his adviser and friend Pandit Jalha decided to fly away to the hills of Jammu with whatever remained of the royal treasure at Lahore. But they were intercepted within a few miles of Lahore on the morning of December 21, 1844, and were killed in the scuffle.

Raja Gulab Singh was then invited to become the Prime Minister of the Panjab, but he did not think it in his interest to accept the offer. Sardar Jawahar Singh, brother of the Queen Mother, was then nominated to this office. But he was not strong enough to check the conspiracies of Raja Gulab Singh whose agents, Mian Pirthi Singh and others, soon worked his ruin through the army. He was killed on September 21, 1845.

In addition to Gulab Singh, there were two leading men in the Government, Missars Tej Singh and Lal Singh, who could be considered for ministership. The first was a Poorbia Brahmin from Ekri in the district of Meerut in the British dominions. A soldier of fortune, Tej Singh had come to the Panjab during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and had risen to eminence from an humble position. Similarly Lal Singh, a Brahmin of Rohtas, had also been originally employed in a low capacity and had become a Sardar through the intrigues of Raja Dhian Singh. They were men of power and influence, and it was difficult for Queen Mother Maharani Jind Kaur, popularly known as Maharani Jindan, to take a decision. She, therefore, had lots drawn by the young Maharaja Duleep Singh. Luck favoured Lal Singh and he became the Prime Minister. But he was not very popular with the Army. The Maharani, therefore, decided to take greater interest in the administration of the state. This was towards the end of September 1845.

The Maharani, who had become the regent for her son after the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh in September 1843, when Duleep Singh came to the throne, was known as a person of outstanding accomplishments. Writing to the Duke of Wellington on November 20, 1843, two months after the catastrophe, Lord Ellenborough had said that "the mother of the boy Duleep Singh seems to be a woman of determined courage, and she is the only person apparently at Lahore who has courage" [*Colchester*, p. 406]. According to the *History of the Panjab* (1846), ii. 311, "The Rani was a person of some accomplishment for a Sikh lady, being skilful in the use of her pen, whereby, it is supposed, she was able to arrange and combine the means of Hira Singh's overthrow." The British political affairs, therefore, had to move with some caution in the furtherance of their designs regarding the Panjab. They, however, turned their eyes to the new men in power, Minister Lal Singh and Commander Tej Singh, who, they thought, could, like Raja Gulab Singh Dogra, be easily won over.

Broadfoot brought to the Panjab frontier

On the termination of the expedition to Kabul, Major George Broadfoot had been posted as Commissioner of Tanaserim in Burma.

Having served with Generals Sale and Pollock on the north-western frontier of the Panjab, in the Khyber and beyond, he knew of the warlike preparations against the Sikhs then being contemplated and since undertaken. He, therefore, wished to be on the Panjab frontier and to take part in the coming operations to avail himself of greater honours and quicker rise in life the war promised. His plea was that his health had given way in the peaceful atmosphere of Tanaserim and it could only improve in the field of action on the Panjab frontier. In his letter of December 13, 1843, from Mergui he had written to Lord Ellenborough:

Rest, or a change to military service with the climate of northern India, would speedily restore me... Had my health not given way, I could not have ventured to make this request, greatly as Your Lordship knows I desire to serve again in the field, especially during Your Lordship's government ... I could not recover if the army were in the field and I an idler elsewhere.

Broadfoot was Lord Ellenborough's favourite. Lord Ellenborough had replied to him on February 1, 1844, saying:

"If there should be at any future time prospect of our having more important operations to carry on, I will, if possible, have you with me" [*Broadfoot*, 202-03].

Before his departure from India, Lord Ellenborough recommended him to his friend and successor, Sir Henry Hardinge. The recommendation was most welcome to Sir Henry who also wanted a more warlike diplomat to replace Colonel Richmond as Political Agent on the Panjab frontier. Richmond was transferred to Lucknow and George Broadfoot was brought to take his place at Ludhiana. The latter's arrival in October 1844 added fresh vigour and speed to the assembling on the Sikh frontier of troops whose number as given in the comparative table above gradually rose from 17,612 left by Lord Ellenborough to over 40,500, with 42.42% increase in the number of guns.

Broadfoot's patron Lord Ellenborough had fixed November 15, 1845, as the date when he was to be fully prepared for war with the Sikhs. As Political Agent to the Governor-General on the Panjab frontier, he was to see to it that everything came about according to the time table—not very much beyond the eighteen months Lord Ellenborough had asked for in his letter of April 20, 1844, to the Duke of Wellington.

Major Broadfoot had been personally hostile to the Sikhs since the days of the Afghan expedition. According to George Campbell, "he had some differences with the Sikhs when he marched up to Afghanistan and he was not inclined to be conciliatory to the Lahore Durbar." He had now the opportunity and the means to pour his bile upon them. Against the terms and spirit of the treaty of 1809 (*Appendix B*, II, p. 642-43), he started irritating them by interfering with their cis-Sutlej territory. He not only acted, says Campbell, "as if the Lahore territories

cis-Sutlej were entirely under his control, but, as I now learn for the first time from his biography, he seems to have set up a formal claim to such a control... *I can only say that I cannot find a word in the treaties or agreements of any kind to support it, and in all my connection with the office never saw anything to justify it.* Broadfoot admitted that his immediate predecessor in the Agency, Col. Richmond, had taken an opposite view" [*Memoirs*, i.75; M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, ii. 253].

To provoke the Sikhs to some sort of hostility to find a pretext for starting operations against them, "one of Major Broadfoot's first acts was to declare the cis-Sutlej possessions of Lahore to be under British protection equally with Putteela and other chiefs and also to be liable to escheat on the death or deposition of Maharaja Dalip Singh. This view was not formally announced to the Sikh Government, but it was notorious and Major Broadfoot acted on it when he proceeded to interfere authoritatively, and by a display of force in the affairs of the priest-like Sodhees of Anundpoor Makhowal" [Cunningham, 295-96].

Sir George Clerk, the predecessor of Col. Richmond, "when he heard what was going on, sent to the Governor-General a memorandum expressing strong views on the subject." But Broadfoot had no respect for Clerk's opinion. He had come to the Panjab frontier for war, and war he must have at any cost. He adopted 'an arrogant and overbearing' attitude towards the officials of the Lahore Government who came for internal administration of their territories to the south of Sutlej [Campbell, *Memoirs*, i. 76; Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 295-96].

Without going into the details of the aggression and interferences referred to above, and also 'in the affairs of the priest-like Sodhees of Anundpoor Makhowal,' we give here only one example wherein *Adalti* (Civil Judge) Lal Singh of Lahore and some members of his staff, who had crossed the river Sutlej at Talwandi into the Lahore territory for official duty, were shot at and captured. This is narrated by Robert N. Cust, an Assistant and companion of Major Broadfoot, in his *Oriental and Linguistic Essays*, part V, 43-4, saying:

"Good Friday fell on March 21 [1845], and on the day following the news reached us at Zirah, on the high road between Ferozepur and Ludhianah, that a party of Sikhs had crossed the Satlaj at Talwandi, not far from us. We sent word to them to go quickly back; in the meantime we collected our forces; H.M. 62nd were encamped close to us, and on Easterday, 1845, as the Sikhs had not crossed back, we started at daylight with 160 infantry and 300 sabres. The sight was pretty one (I copy from my journal): "Broadfoot and I rode in advance; on arriving at Talwandi we found that the party had retreated, but had refused to pay for the damage, which they had done; on this Broadfoot and I dashed on with the Cavalry. Arriving at the bank of the Satlaj we espied the party at some little

distance attempting to cross the deep stream in boats; on we went and caught the last boatful which we knew by the standards to contain the Chief of the party, Bhai Bishan Singh; these we seized with their horses and camels; one man was shot in confusion. The scene was very pretty, just the junction of Beas and Satlaj." This was the first shot of the great Sikh War [*Ling. and Or. Essays*, part V, iii, 43-44].

"The affair," says George Campbell, "gave rise to great irritation." But in view of the long-standing friendship with the British, the Lahore Government did not take any very serious notice of it and overlooked it as a case of misunderstanding.

Lord Ellenborough had assured the Duke, as mentioned earlier that "I will do all I can *beforehand* to secure certain success" before undertaking the operations for "the ultimate possession of the Panjab."

This pointed to the hopefulness with which he expected his Political Department to secure the services of secret agents and agents provocateur in the Panjab and to buy and bind to their interests some of the senior men in the Sikh service. For George Broadfoot there was no difficulty. While in the north-west frontier with the force of General Pollock in 1842, he had known about the understanding given to Gulab Singh for his co-operation with the Army of Revenge and about the later developments which had encouraged him to strengthen his position in the Hills. He could safely depend upon him, and, through him or through others known to himself, he could easily get in touch with and entice Missar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief of the Panjab Army, and Missar Lal Singh, the Prime Minister of the kingdom.

The Traitors Enticed

(i) Gulab Singh

Raja Gulab Singh, as we know, had been won over by the British with promises of territory in the Hills. He was a clever, intriguing man, cunningness personified. "If a painter," wrote Henry Havelock in 1846, sought to embody all the smooth cunning of Asiatic intrigue in one face, he would throw away his sketches as soon as he saw that of Gholab Singh, cease to draw on his imagination, and limn the features of the Rao Sahib as the Lahore people call him, with minute fidelity" [Forbes, *Havelock*, 71]. As Sir Henry Hardinge described him to Sir Charles Napier, "Gulab Singh was the most thorough ruffian that ever was created—a villain from a kingdom down to a half penny" [Ludlow, *British India*, ii, 145]. This was Gulab Singh who became a *Maharaja* and the ruler of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for his betrayal of the kingdom of the Panjab in 1845-46 during the first Anglo-Sikh War.

(ii) Tej Singh

Sardar (Missar) Tej Singh had become the Commander-in-Chief of the Panjab Army in September 1845, when Lal Singh became the Prime

Minister after the death of Sardar Jawahar Singh. He was not a son of the Panjab; he was a Poorbia Brahmin, and, as a foreign adventurer and soldier of fortune, he was neither loyal to the country of his adoption nor to his masters. With his home and near relations in the British dominion at Ekri in the Parganah of Sardhana, in Meerut district, he was easily enticed to become a tool in the hands of the British. He entered into secret correspondence with Major George Broadfoot, the Political Agent at Ludhiana, and Peter Nicholson, his Assistant at Ferozepore, and kept them informed of the developments at Lahore. He even handed over to them the plan of the Sikh side of the war, and it was due to his treachery that the British Army escaped a disaster at Ferozshahr and were able to win the final victory at Sobraon.

(iii) Lal Singh

Missar Lal Singh, a Brahmin of Rohtas, was faithless like Tej Singh. They both colluded in their planned intrigues with the British in the first Anglo-Sikh War and the occupation of the Panjab. But not being satisfied with the reward, Lal Singh turned against them and their protege Gulab Singh, and was, therefore, exiled and imprisoned in British India. "Their desire" in intriguing with the British, according to Cunningham, "was to be upheld as ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors, and they ... assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient goodwill [Murray, 697].

According to Alexander Gardner, "Two more contemptible poltroons than the two generals of the Khalsa army—Lal Singh and Tej Singh, both Brahmans—never breathed" [Memoirs, 263].

With these men at the helm of affairs of the government of the Panjab, dancing to the tune of the British political officers on its frontier, there was not the slightest doubt about the result of the war ending in a victory for the British and in the occupation of the Panjab. All that the British needed at the time was some pretext to launch the attack. The date fixed by Lord Ellenborough was nearing and their preparations for war had been completed. But Sir Henry Hardinge's conscience had been occasionally pricking him for their plans to seize, without any cause or provocation, the country of their friends who had helped them in their adversity in 1841 and had since then done nothing to call for hostilities. Writing to Lord Ellenborough in England on January 23, 1845, some ten months before the proposed date, Sir Henry said :

... If in the interval the hills and the plains weaken each other, *on what plea could we attack the Panjab*, if this were the month of October and we had our army in readiness?

... *how are we to justify the seizure of our friends' territory who in our adversity assisted us to retrieve our affairs?*

Again on October 23, just a month and a half before the war, Hardinge wrote to Ellenborough :

The Panjab must however be Sikh or British... The delay is a mere postponement of the settlement of the question, at the same time we must bear in mind that as yet no cause for war has been given [Basu, *Rise of Christian Power in India*, 868].

This was very disquieting for the Political Agent, Major George Broadfoot, who had come to the Panjab frontier "to serve again in the field" against the Sikhs. But the Sikhs were not being provoked in spite of all that had been tried by his chiefs and predecessors. A large number of British troops had been assembled on the Panjab frontier at Ferozepore and Ludhiana, in the Malwa and Sirhind territory, and at Ambala and Meerut and at the Hill stations. Military pontoons had been collected at Ferozepore for a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, and an advanced base supply depot had been established at Basian, near Raikot. With the knowledge of the British policy of expansion in India by which they had become the masters of the greater part of the country and having seen the fate of Afghanistan and of Sindh and Kaithal in the immediate past, the only inference that the Panjab Government could draw from the assemblage of British troops, guns and provisions on their frontier, was that the British meditated an early invasion and occupation of their country. There could be no greater provocation to them than this menace to their independence. But, in spite of it, the Sikhs maintained complete restraint and order at Lahore and did not give the British the slightest cause for complaint. Sir Henry Hardinge acknowledged this in his letter of October 23, 1845; as mentioned above.

The British Government had also refused to hand over to the Lahore Government the treasure of Raja Suchet Singh which he had, before his death, secretly deposited at Ferozepore, evidently owing to an understanding with Raja Gulab Singh to whom it was made over after the war. According to Major G. Carmichael Smyth, the British had also taken possession of "the island between Ferozepore and the Panjab, *though it belonged to the Sikhs*, owing to the deep water being between us and the island." While Sir Charles Napier exhibited an attitude hostile to the state of the Panjab from the Sindh side, George Broadfoot, the Political Agent, was in secret correspondence with Diwan Moolraj, the Sikh governor of Multan, and had succeeded in tampering with his loyalty [Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, XXII; Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 297-98]. This was in addition to Broadfoot's efforts to persuade the *Mu'tamad* of the Raja of Nabha, Genda Singh, to go to Lahore and act as a spy of the British Government there and spread hatred and discord there and to suggest the entry of the British Government into that country. Genda Singh, however, refused to go to Lahore and to act as an agent provocateur for them. This became one of the causes of the displeasure of Major Broadfoot against Raja Devindar Singh of Nabha who was not only heavily fined but was also deposed and exiled by the British Government

after the war.

In addition to what Major Broadfoot had done and was still doing to provoke the Lahore government to hostilities, to seduce their officers and winning traitors for the purpose and to plant agents provocateurs in their country, the British officials and their press had been carrying on vigorous propaganda against the Sikhs with a view to preparing the people of India and England to hear the news of an Anglo-Sikh war and covering up their warlike preparations. Major G. Carmichael Smyth says in his contemporary work *The Reigning Family of Lahore* :

With the Seiks for several years past, in fact ever since the death of Ranjit Singh, we have been playing the fable of the Shepherd Boy and the Wolf. The papers and the politicals had been constantly crying out "*The Seiks are coming* ! until at last we would not believe them" [XXIII].

He also refers to a speech of Sir Charles Napier published in the *Delhi Gazette* stating that the British were going to war with the Sikhs, and says :

The Seiks had translations of Sir Charles Napeir's speech (as it appeared in the *Delhi Gazette*) stating that we were going to war with them [XXII].

This was enough to confirm what was then in the air and to provoke the government at Lahore to prepare themselves for the defence of their country. "And it behoves every wise *Raj* to avoid being taken unawares."

This was the time for the traitors and the agents provocateurs to be active and to avail themselves of the opportunity to egg on the Sikh Army to war. The army *Panches*, who had taken over the affairs of the Lahore forces into their hands after the death of Sardar Jawahar Singh, were at this time maintaining "wonderful order at Lahore ... and almost puritanical discipline in the military republic," says George Campbell in his *Memoirs*. But the opportunist leaders of the Lahore Government, Tej Singh and Lal Singh, were very much afraid of them.

Evidently referring to this, Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to the Home authorities on September 30, 1845 :

Their personal interests, endangered by the democratic revolution so successfully accomplished by the Sikh army, may induce those chiefs to exert all their efforts to compel the British Government to interfere [Burton, *First and Second Sikh Wars*, 12].

While the army "declared that they desired peace," there was a strong party backed by the traitors Tej Singh and Lal Singh, clamorous for war. "The chiefs Lal Singh and Tej Singh," says Lieut.-Col. R. G. Burton, "urged them to war, and the men would assemble in groups in their camps and cantonments, and meet round the tomb of Ranjit Singh to talk of the battle in prospect and to swear fidelity to the Khalsa" [*Ibid.*, 10].

The Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief had, as we know, been won over by the political officers of the British Government and were in league and correspondence with Major Broadfoot and his Assistant, Captain Peter Nicholson, and were acting as their agents. It was, therefore, in keeping with their assurances to the British that they were inciting the army on to war.

The Queen Mother Maharani Jind Kaur was also not in favour of war but "the advice of the Ranee and many of the Sardars was disregarded", says Dr M'Gregor in his *History of the Sikhs*, ii, 39. "The Sikh Sardars disapproved and objected," says General McLeod Innes in his *Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 53, "but they were patriotic and joined the Khalsa." But they took no hostile initiative and made no military movements against the British. "Everything looks peaceable," wrote Reynell Taylor in the middle of September 1845, and "there is no likelihood of war" [Parry, *Reynell Taylor*, 48].

The Sikh army, however, could not have failed to see and be alerted by the all-round preparations and movements of the British army from their cantonments and its concentrations on the Panjab frontier. "They declared, however," wrote Major Broadfoot to the Secretary to the Government of India on September 26, "that they desired peace, but if the troops marched from our [British] stations to Ludhiana and Ferozepore, they would march too; if not, that each power should keep its own territory in peace" [Burton, 13].

But peace was not the policy of the British Government at this time. Their preparations for war had been fully completed. The month of November 1845 fixed for the purpose by Lord Ellenborough and confirmed by Sir Henry Hardinge was coming to a close. Raja Gulab Singh had fulfilled his promise "to divide the Lahore Government, the army and the people." The Sikhs had been sufficiently provoked and irritated. The Commander-in-Chief of the British army, Sir Hugh Gough, had already arrived near the frontier with his headquarters at Ambala. The only thing that remained to be done was to give the Sikhs the final provocation by marching the British troops towards Ludhiana and Ferozepore so that the Sikhs might as well march and cross the Sutlej to protect their territories to the south of that river. This was done on December 6, 1845, when, according to Robert Needham Cust, who accompanied the force, the British troops stationed at Ambala marched towards the Sikh frontier.

The Sikh army had moved out only when they were convinced of the impending danger to the autonomy of their country. "Had the shrewd Committees of the [Sikh] armies observed no military preparation on the part of the English," says Cunningham, p. 299, "they would not have heeded the insidious exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh." And Captain Peter Nicholson, the Assistant Political Agent at Ferozepore, had for some time been feeling that the hidden hand of his

chief, Major Broadfoot, had been working in prompting the activities of these mercenaries to bring about the war. Writing to him on November 23, 1845, Nicholson had said that "the doubt *did* occur to me (not knowing anything of any cause of difference between the governments) whether the Durbar might not be consenting to the march of the army against us with your knowledge..." [Broadfoot, p. 369].

In spite of the goadings of Tej Singh and Lal Singh, who were acting in accordance with their understanding with the British Political Agent, Major Broadfoot, the Sikh army patiently watched the situation for almost a week. It was only on December 12, that the first advanced detachments of the Sikh army crossed the river Sutlej into their own territory about six or seven miles from Ferozepore. The passage of artillery was not completed till December 16. Regardless of the fact that the *Sikhs were encamped in their own territory* which they had every right to do to watch the movements of the British troops towards their frontier, and had in no way committed any act of aggression or violence against the terms of any treaty, the Governor-General Sir Henry Hardinge issued his historic proclamation on December 13, declaring war on the Sikhs and confiscating and annexing to the British territories the possessions of Maharaja Duleep Singh on the left bank of the Sutlej.

This declaration was not only a flagrant violation of the treaties of friendship and amity between the two governments but was also a bundle of mis-statements contrary to the facts of history.

The text of the proclamation is given in appendix B-XI, pp. 662-64. In it the Governor-General makes the following points :

1. "The British Government has ever been on terms of friendship with that of the Punjab."
2. The conditions of the treaty of 1809 "have always been faithfully observed by the British Government."
3. "Friendly relations have been maintained with the successors of Maharaja Runjeet Singh by the British Government up to the present time."
4. The British took "precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier," their nature and cause having been fully explained to the Lahore Durbar.
5. "Many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar."
6. "Utmost forbearance" shown by the Governor-General.
7. Governor-General desired to see a strong Sikh Government in Punjab.
8. The Sikh Army marched from Lahore by the orders of the Durbar for purposes of invading the British territory.
9. No reply was given to the British demand for explanation.
10. "The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation invaded the British territories."

Observations on the Proclamation

In the light of unimpeachable contemporary evidence to the contrary, it is difficult to endorse the statements and assertions of Sir Henry Hardinge that British Government had "ever been on terms of friendship with the Panjab," or that the conditions of the treaty of 1809 had "always been faithfully observed by the British Government," or that friendly relations had been maintained by them with the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. British friendship had all along been a matter of political expediency. The British were friends as long as it suited them but no sooner did their interests clash with those of their friends than they threw away all old friendly commitments to the winds and acted in a manner calculated to best serve their selfish ends, no matter how contrary it was to their moral and political obligations. Fearing a Franco-Russian invasion they sought the friendship of Ranjit Singh. But when their military and political experts held that the Sutlej was a better frontier than the Jamuna, they came up with a strong military force in 1809 to put a stop to his expansion and consolidation to the south of that river. They maintained a show of friendship while they were busy in other parts of India, but, as soon as they were free, they not only connived at but also actually encouraged British subjects to create and continue disturbances in the north-western districts of Ranjit Singh's Panjab. British interference in Sindh, Shikarpur and Ferozepore affairs was not at all a friendly gesture. The offer of the British to be agents of negotiations regarding Peshawar after the battle of Jamrood in 1837 was hostile diplomatic move calculated to make friends with the Afghan enemies of the Panjab. Sir Henry Fane's collection of information from a military commander's point of view, when he was invited to the Panjab by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the occasion of his grandson's marriage, and his concern to form an estimate of the force required for "the complete subjugation of the Punjab" was a flagrant abuse of the hospitality of the unsuspecting Maharaja, and could not by any stretch of imagination be called an act of friendship.

It is clear that, after the death of the Maharaja, the British dream of conquering the Panjab had acquired clearer and more definite lineaments. The English had set in train an elaborate political and diplomatic conspiracy for its realization. Memoranda and plans were drawn up; the country was surrounded on the south-west and north-west; armies were assembled on the Panjab frontier; guns, stores and other munitions were collected; officers of the Lahore Government were seduced and won over, and spies and traitors were set to work to create conditions favourable to the successful occupation of the country. And yet Sir Henry Hardinge had the audacity to proclaim that he desired to see a strong Sikh Government in the Panjab and that utmost forbearance had been shown to the Sikhs.

The British demand for explanation from the Lahore Durbar for their military preparations at their capital was only a diplomatic move designed to counteract the charges levelled against them by the Lahore Government in respect of warlike preparations on the Panjab frontier, the concentration of British troops and Broadfoot's unfriendly proceedings against them. It was only an apparent fulfilment of a diplomatic legality before breaking formal relations and starting the war. Otherwise, the Lahore *Vakil*, Rai Kishan Chand, had written to his Government for reply and was waiting for it. But Broadfoot was in a hurry. Everything now being ready, he could not see the British declaration of war delayed. He gave the Sikh *Vakil* a few hours' notice and asked him, at the same time, to leave his camp. With the means of communication available in those days, it was physically impossible for the reply to come from Lahore within the prescribed time. Broadfoot could not have been ignorant of it. Evidently, he wished to break political relations with Lahore and used the failure of the Sikh reply as an excuse for it.

In face of the Governor-General's own repeated admission that no aggression was committed by the Sikhs up to December 12, 1845, a day before the issue of the proclamation, the talk of "many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar" or "of precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier" was meaningless and nothing more than a camouflage for their own schemes. That the Sikh army marched from Lahore to invade the British territory and that the "Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories" were false allegations belied by facts.

The above observations are based on reliable contemporary evidence of the most knowledgeable authorities—men on the spot and directly connected with these affairs—whose integrity cannot be questioned. Robert N. Cust was the Personal Assistant to the Political Agent Major George Broadfoot, Major G. Carmichael Smyth, employed in North Western Political Agency, was a personal friend and admirer of Broadfoot to whose memory he has dedicated his book *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, 1847. Mr (later, Sir) George Campbell was a civilian officer employed in the cis-Sutlej territory. His *Memoirs of My Indian Career* is a very valuable original source of historical information on the Cis-Sutlej territories.

Who Broke the Treaty and Who Provoked War ?

Who was the Invader ?

These questions have at some length been already discussed and answered in light of irrefutable evidence. We give below the direct answers to these questions in the words of Major G. Carmichael Smyth, Mr Robert N. Cust and Sir George Campbell, and some others equally competent and reliable.

G. Carmichael Smyth says :

Regarding the Punjab war, I am neither of the opinion that the Seiks made an *unprovoked attack*, nor that we have acted towards them with *great forbearance* . . . if the Seiks were to be considered entirely an independent State in no way answerable to us, *we should not have provoked them* !—for to assert that the bridge of boats brought from Bombay, was not a *causa belli*, but merely a defensive measure, is absurd ; besides the Seiks had translations of Sir Charles Napier's speech (as it appeared in the *Delhi Gazette*,) stating that we are going to war with them ; and as all European powers would have done under the circumstances, the Seiks thought it as well to be first in the field. Moreover, they were not encamped in our territory, but their own.

... But if on the other hand the treaty of 1809 is said to have been binding between the two Governments, then the simple question is, who first departed from the rules of friendship ? I am decidedly of the opinion that we did [*Reigning Family of Lahore, XXI-XXIII*].

Sir Henry Hardinge was himself not convinced of the justification of the war against the Sikhs up to December 18, 1845, the day of the battle of Mudki, five days after the issue of his proclamation. Robert N. Cust writes in his Journal :

December 18th— ...I rode behind the Governor-General and we sat under a tree to await the infantry. The Governor-General remarked : Will the people of England consider this an actual invasion of our frontier and a justification of war ? [*Part V, 46-7.*]

Referring to manuscript copy of his *A Chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjab*, he says :

The transcript gives an account of the first *British invasion of the independent kingdom of the Panjab*, and the capture of Lahore. I had accompanied the army from Ambala, December 6, 1845, to the River Satlaj [*Series V, 1041*].

Looking at the dead body of his chief, Major George Broadfoot, before it was buried, Cust said :

There lay he, the prime mover, by many considered the cause, of this war now commencing [*Part V, 49*].

Again, when he mentions the crossing of the Sutlej by the British army, he says :

Tuesday, February 10th—The Governor-General returned to Ferozepur to superintend the completion of the Bridge across the Satlaj, and the Reserve Force at Attari was ordered to cross that very night to the opposite bank, which action meant the 'Invasion of the Panjab.'

According to George Campbell in his *Memoirs* :

The immediate collision was, however, I think, hastened by

imprudence on the part of British Frontier Agent, Major Broadfoot. I knew of some things done by him which it would be difficult to defend [i.73].

It is recorded in the annals of history, or what is called history, which will go down to posterity, that the Sikh army invaded British territory in pursuance of a determination to attack us. And most people will be very much surprised to hear that they did nothing of the kind. They made no attack on our outlying cantonments, nor set foot in our territory. What they did do was to cross the river and to entrench themselves in their own territory [p. 78].

Opportunist Leaders

It is not proposed to enter here into the details of the military operations of any of the battles of the Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46. They are available in a large number of books on the subject. Here we shall briefly refer to some of the underhand methods employed by the British politicals to secure success in war through traitors and to take possession of the Panjab.

Ferozepore not Attacked

Immediately after crossing the river Sutlej, *Vizir* Lal Singh, in fulfilment of his understanding with the British political officers, wrote to Captain Peter Nicholson, the Assistant Agent at Ferozepore :

I have crossed with the Sikh Army. You know my friendship for the British. 'Tell me what to do'?

Nicholson answered :

Do not attack Ferozepore. Halt as many days as you can, and then march towards the Governor-General.

Lal Singh followed the advice of Peter Nicholson and Ferozepore was not attacked. "Had he attacked," says John M. Ludlow, "our garrison of 8000 men would have been destroyed and the victorious 60,000 would have fallen on Sir Henry Hardinge, who had then but 8000. So utterly unprepared were we that even the treachery of one of our enemies scarcely sufficed to save us" [*British India*, ii, 142 ; *Sir Chas. Napier Corresp.*, IV, 669]. This is also confirmed by Colonel Mouton of the Sikh service according to whose *Rapport Sur Les Derniers Evenements du Punjab*, Paris, 1846, p. 5, "Cette trahison sauva les Anglais d'une perte certaine—this treason saved the English from a sure defeat."

Mudki—December 18, 1845

At Mudki "Lal Singh headed the attack, but in accordance with his original design he involved his followers in an engagement and then left them to fight as their undirected valour might prompt" [Cunningham, 306]. "The first engagement at Mudki was won by the British," says Pearson, "because Lal Singh, according to plan, took no interest in the battle after issuing the order to attack" [*The Hero of Delhi*, 79].

Ferozshahr—December 21, 1845

The Sikh Army stood the British attack on the evening of December 21 so manfully that Sir John Littler's division was pushed back with a heavy loss and confusion, as also the right of Sir Harry Smith. So staggering was the shock to the high British authorities and so great was the despair hanging over the British camp during the night that, perhaps, for the first time in the history of the British in India, they thought of making an unconditional surrender to the Sikhs. But for the treachery of Lal Singh at night and of Tej Singh the next morning, it was all up with the British Army of Ferozshahr. The following entry in the journal of Robert N. Cust speaks for itself :

December 22nd. News came from the Governor-General that our attack of yesterday had failed, that affairs were desperate, that all state papers were to be destroyed and that if the morning attack failed, all would be over; this was kept secret by Mr. Currie and we were concerting measures to make an unconditional surrender to save the wounded, the part of the news that grieved me the most. [*Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, V, 48; Cf. Trotter, *Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, 39.]

According to the *Career of Major Broadfoot*, p. 395:

In case of disaster, which was far from impossible, the Governor-General sent orders to Mudki, where Mr. Currie was in charge of official papers of the Government of India, and Mr. Cust of the records of the Agency, for the destruction of all State papers. Sir Henry's son, Charles, who was his private secretary, being a civilian was ordered off the field.

General Sir Hope Grant says :

Sir Henry Hardinge thought it was all up and gave his sword—a present from the Duke of Wellington and which once belonged to Napoleon—and his Star of the Bath to his son, with directions to proceed to Ferozepore remarking that 'if the day were lost, he must fall' [*Life*, ed. H. Knollys, p. 72].

"Had they [the Sikhs] advanced during the night," says William Edwards, "the result must have been disastrous to us, as our European regiments were much reduced in number, and our ammunition both for artillery and small arms, almost expended [*Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, 97]."

True to his arrangements with Peter Nicholson, Lal Singh quietly disappeared from the field of battle with most of his men and guns during the night of the 21st when victory was within his grasp. With the approach of Tej Singh with a fresh reserve, the wearied and famished British saw before them a desperate and a useless struggle. The Sikh soldiers urged upon him to launch an attack at daybreak, but he would not risk a victory for his troops and being fully apprised that the enemy

army was at his mercy, he fled away to oblige the British he was in league with. Thus was the battle of Ferozshahr finally lost to the Sikhs and the British heaved a sigh of relief.

Soon after his flight, Tej Singh went to the British camp and had an interview with the Governor-General who refused to enter into any negotiations until the British troops should be under the walls of Lahore [History of the Panjab, ii, 344]. This, Tej Singh, apparently, promised to bring about.

On December 25, the Christmas day, 1845, the Governor-General issued a proclamation in Hindustani addressed to the Poorbias in the Sikh service and desired them all to immediately "place themselves under the orders of the British Government." It also offered to the deserters liberal rewards and benefits of invalid pensions and an *immediate decision of any law suit in which any one of them might be involved in a British Court of Justice*, and "every opportunity of favour and cherishment shall at all times be kept in sight by the Government" [Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, xxvi].

Baddowal—January 21, 1846

While the traitors had allowed the British Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief over six weeks' time to prepare themselves for the final battle for the occupation of the Sikh capital, a loyal Sikh Sardar, Sardar Ranjodh Singh Majithia, crossed the Sutlej and with the help of Sardar Ajit Singh of Ladwa burnt down a portion of the British cantonment at Ludhiana. The Sardars also surprised and worsted at Baddowal on January 21, 1846, Sir Harry Smith, who was moving to the relief of Ludhiana, inflicting a heavy loss of life, baggage and hospital stores which fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The situation was, however, saved to some extent by the timely assistance of Brigadier Cureton.

Aliwal—January 28, 1846

The battle of Aliwal in which Sir Harry Smith is said to have inflicted a "crushing defeat" on Sardar Ranjodh Singh on January 28, was nothing more than *the battle of the despatch* created out of the fertile imagination of the writer of the official document to retrieve the reputation of a veteran of the Peninsular War and an old companion of Sir Henry Hardinge. At best it was only a small scrimmage which had been magnified and enlarged by the author of the despatch into a great battle.

According to Dr Andrew Adams' *Wanderings of a Naturalist in India*, pp. 60-1 :

Aliwal was *the battle of the despatch*, for none of us knew we had fought a battle until the particulars appeared in a document, which did *more* than justice to every one concerned.

But the public gulped it down, and, like many of our Indian battles and Indian blunders, the final issue of the struggle disarmed criticism.

As an Irishman would say, "We gained a disadvantage at Budawal," by the baggage of the army falling into the hands of the enemy; that no exaggeration could well turn it into a victory, but shortly afterwards, a few shots, and the charge of a squadron or two in pursuit of a host of retreating Sikhs, were magnified into a grand combat, and thus the plain of Aliwal has been recorded as the scene of one of India's Marathons.

Similar was the opinion of Major William S. R. Hodson of Hodson's Horse about the despatches of this war. Writing to his friend the Rev. F. A. Foster on March 30, 1846, he said :

England, I see, is ringing with the deeds of the 'army of the Sutlej.' How would it not be roused from one end to the other were the whole truth known ! ...The despatches are most disgraceful. The most unblushing falsehoods are put forth, both as to facts, figures, and individuals, with a coolness worthy of Napoleon. ... Success—ultimate success—throws its cloak of charity over un-numbered errors [Trotter, *Life of Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, 38].

Sobraon—February 10, 1846

At Sobraon was fought the last battle of the first Anglo-Sikh war. Lal Singh had played a leading part in the treachery at Mudki and Ferozshahr. It was now the turn of Tej Singh and Gulab Singh who, in the first week of February 1846, entered into "an understanding" with the British "that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and that when beaten it should be openly abandoned by its own government; and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital laid open to the victors. Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Sobraon fought," says Cunningham (p. 321).

"The conditional terms of a negotiation thus mutually agreed upon by belligerent leaders, preparatory to once more appealing to the arbitration of battles," according to Hugh Murray, "are probably unparralleled in the history of ancient or modern warfare. They suffice, however, to show the singular footing on which our vast Eastern empire rests" [*History of British India*, 713].

When more new British guns began pouring in on February 7, "emissaries from Rajah Lal Singh arrived," says William Edwards in *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, p. 99, "and gave us valuable information respecting the enemy's position." This, for all practical purposes, meant the handing over to the British the Sikh plan of war. Not only this. Gulab Singh Dogra went a step further. He stopped rations and supplies to the army at Sobraon, with the result that the soldiers had to live on parched gram and raw carrots. And when a deputation of theirs went to Lahore to represent their case, they were not believed. They returned disappointed unanimously shouting, "Dhulip Singh Maharaja, we

will go and die for his kingdom and Khalsaji!" as Alexander Gardner tells us in his *Memoirs*, pp. 272-73. Under these circumstances, the final result of the war was a foregone conclusion.

February 10, 1846, was the day fixed by the British for the battle of Sobraon. Tej Singh and Lal Singh knew it. It was, perhaps, done with their consultation. At this time, Sardar Sham Singh Atariwala had joined the Sikh camp with a desperate determination to win or die. Tej Singh felt nervous lest Sham Singh's patriotism and bravery should upset their treacherous plans. He counselled Sham Singh to fly with him on the first attack of the British the following morning. Sham Singh refused scornfully, upon which, as Griffin tells us, Tej Singh angrily said, "If you are so brave, you had better take your oath about it, for I know and believe you will come with me after all." Sardar Sham Singh called for the *Granth* (the Sikh Scripture) and solemnly swore that should the Sikhs be defeated he would never leave the trenches alive. And he faithfully stood by his oath.

Early next morning the British took the offensive. When the fighting was at its thickest and three successive British attacks had been repulsed, Tej Singh and Lal Singh, in fulfilment of their promise with the British, fled from the field deserting their troops to be destroyed by the enemy. Assailed on all sides and deserted by the Commander-in-Chief, with no hope of reinforcements, the grey old warrior Sham Singh, clad in white and riding a white mare, called upon his few devoted followers to rush to the front to stem the tide of the advancing *Farangis*. Fighting valiantly at the head of his men, he met with a hero's death—a true martyr to his country's independence. His body riddled with seven bullets lay covered by a thick heap of his dead and dying countrymen. Thus saw the battlefield of Sobraon the basest treachery of the opportunists on the one hand and the shining heroism of noble patriots on the other.

Soon after Tej Singh had found his way down to and across the bridge on the Sutlej, "he ordered up eight or ten guns and had them pointed on the bridge as if ready to beat it to pieces or to oppose the passage of the defeated army" [Smyth, *Reigning Family*, 183-4]. "And so [he] helped to drown a large number of his countrymen," says Hesketh Pearson in *The Hero of Delhi*, p. 80.

According to the secret understanding of the traitors, no opposition was offered to the British troops crossing the river on the night of February 10-11, and on their way to Lahore, where they arrived on the 20th and took possession of the capital of the Panjab.

Treaties of Lahore—March 9 and 11, 1846

On March 9, 1846, was signed the treaty of Lahore imposed by the British upon the young Maharaja Duleep Singh, aged seven and a half years. The text of the treaty is given in appendix B, XII, pp. 664-68. By this treaty, among other things,

- (a) the British Government took possession of all the territories of the Lahore Government lying to the south of Sutlej and of the Doab, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutlej and the Beas, and
- (b) also the territories of Jammu and Kashmir between the Beas and the Indus to be alienated to Gulab Singh as a sovereign ruler in lieu of his services to the British Government.

On the third day, March 11, another *Agreement* was dictated to the Lahore Darbar (*Appendix B, XIII*, pp. 669-70), whereby, in addition to other terms,

- (a) a British force was to be stationed at Lahore "which force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year" (1846);
- (b) the British Government had the choice to retain any part of the State property in addition to what had been confiscated—paying for it at a fair valuation.

In addition to Maharaja Duleep Singh who was only a helpless child of seven and a half years, both of these treaties were signed by seven chiefs. The first of them, Bhai Ram Singh had been an agent of Gulab Singh Dogra in his negotiations with the British. The next two were the notorious Lal Singh and Tej Singh, whom the British had recognized as the chief men of the State. The other four were associated with them to keep up the appearance of the representative character of the signatories. "These ready instruments of our policy" and "the betrayers of their country," wrote Sir Claud Wade, "were not representing the nation," yet it suited the British authorities to place them in privileged positions.

Jammu and Kashmir given to Maharaja Gulab Singh

On March 15, 1846, Gulab Singh was formally invested with the title *Maharaja*, and on the following day was concluded between him and the British Government a treaty whereby he was recognized as a sovereign of the hill territory of Jammu and Kashmir, the erstwhile provinces of the kingdom of the Panjab.

Tej Singh Disappointed

Tej Singh thought that owing to greater services rendered by him to the British, he had better claims than that of Gulab Singh, who had paid them sixty-eight lakhs of rupees in cash "which he had stolen from the Lahore Durbar." Knowing his own wealth and being fully persuaded of the potency of gold, he offered a sum of twenty-five lakhs of rupees to the British for a princely crown with some other slice of the Sikh territory to rule over. The British Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, then had the Panjab at his mercy. He no longer felt the necessity of making bargains of this type. Tej Singh was rebuked for his presumptuousness. He must have then realized that the British had not come to the Panjab

for giving away in charity or in reward the country which they had long set their hearts upon for the extension of their Indian empire up to the borders of Afghanistan.

Annexation Difficult

In spite of the alienation of Jammu and Kashmir and the annexation of the cis-Sutlej and the Jullundur Doab territories, the Sikhs though defeated were yet strong enough to rise and strike for their independence. Secondly, the large force required to garrison the country was not available. Therefore, the wholesale annexation of the Panjab was not found to be easy. It was necessary to weaken 'this warlike republic' before it could be converted into a British province. John Lawrence, the newly appointed Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab, writing to Frederick Currie on October 17, 1846, said about the Sikh Chiefs: "Why not let them gradually fall in and let the descendants of these conquerors return to the plough whence their fathers came?"

Lal Singh Exiled, December 1846

Installed chief minister of the Panjab, Lal Singh changed his attitude towards the transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh and instigated its governor Shaikh Imam-ud-Din not to hand over the valley to the new Dogra Maharaja. Henry Lawrence had himself to proceed with troops to dislodge the Shaikh and install the Dogra. In self-defence, Iman-ud-Din submitted to Lawrence proofs that he had acted under the chief minister's instructions. Lal Singh was tried in open court, found guilty on December 4, 1846, and was immediately exiled to the British territories with forfeiture of his *jagirs*.

Treaty of Bharowal, December 16, 1846

According to article I of the Agreement of March 11, 1846, the British troops were not to be retained in the Panjab beyond the end of December 1846. The Lahore Darbar had, therefore, begun to initiate measures for the administration of the country after the departure of the British. But the latter, on the other hand, wished to stay on in the Panjab with a strong force and to hold it in a tight grip with unlimited powers given to a Resident representative of the Governor-General. To this the Lahore Darbar was not willing to agree, much less to request the British Government for it, as desired by Sir Henry Hardinge. Writing from camp Bharowal to Frederick Currie, his Secretary, on December 10, 1846, Sir Henry said:

The coyness of the Durbar and the Sardars is very natural, but it is very important that the proposal should originate with them, and in any document proceeding from them this admission must be stated in clear and unqualified terms, our reluctance to undertake a heavy responsibility must be set forth. [*Pri. Corr.*, 13/12-3.]

But as the Darbar could not be easily brought round to make the desired request, the Governor-General wrote to his secretary again on December 12, to "persevere in your line of making the Sikh Darbar propose

the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed as the price of the continuance of our support. In the preamble of the supplementary Articles, this solicitation must clearly be their act" [*Pri. Corr.*, 14/15].

The Queen Mother Maharani Jind Kaur was a wideawake woman. To begin with, she was in favour of the retention of the British troops for some time provided, in keeping with article 15 of the Treaty of March 9, "the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State." But she was strongly opposed to giving to the British Resident unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relations as now contemplated by the British Government. This, Sir Henry Hardinge was not prepared to tolerate, and suggested, though indirectly, on December 7, her exile from the country, like that of Lal Singh, telling Frederick Currie that "her deprivation of power is an indispensable condition" in future treaty with the Lahore Government" [*Pri. Corr.* 12/10]. In his letter of December 10, he questioned the right of the Queen Mother to be the Regent of her son Maharaja Duleep Singh, and said :

If the Sardars and influential Chiefs, and especially the Attaree-wala family, urge the British Government to be guardian of the Maharaja during his minority, the Ranee's power will cease silently and quietly, the admission being recorded that the British Government as the Guardian of the Boy and administering the affairs of the State, is to exercise all the functions and possess all the powers of the Regent acting on behalf of the Prince [*Pri. Corr.*, 13/13].

"The guaranty to the Chiefs of their jageers by British occupation" given by Sir Henry on December 14, coupled with the fear instilled in their minds by the imprisonment and exile of Raja Lal Singh during the previous week as punishment for his opposition to the British plans, had the desired effect upon some of them. There was a sharp division between the two groups. Apparently, as a compromise, it was agreed to ask the British Government to permit an Agent with two battalions to continue for some months and a letter to that effect was written to Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Governor-General, on Maghar 30, 1903 Bikrami, corresponding to December 14, 1846. Sir Henry Hardinge was much upset to hear of this from Frederick Currie and wrote to him the same evening, at 5 p.m., saying :

It is my positive determination not to employ a British Garrison in carrying on a Native administration in the Panjab...

The proposal made of the aid of two Regts. of Inf., one of Cav. and one Battery of Artillery is so absurd that I consider it as equivalent to a desire to undertake the management of their own affairs, without our intervention....

I am the best judge of what force I consider it prudent to retain at

Lahore, and you may rest their rejection of my conditions on the preliminary question of the number of troops required for the occupation. [*Pri. Corr.*, 16/17-8].

It was, evidently, with a strong British force at Lahore that Sir Henry Hardinge could adopt this overbearing attitude and dictate his terms to the Lahore Government. Armed with the "positive determination" and views of the Governor-General, Frederick Currie held a conference of the Lahore Chiefs on the morning of December 15, 1846, and read out to them "the only conditions" which the British Government proposed to be imposed on the Lahore Government.

Without much discussion they agreed. Dissentient voice there was none to be. At one stage when Diwan Dina Nath suggested that the conference might for some time be adjourned so that they might consult the Queen Mother, Frederick Currie told him that "Governor-General was not asking the opinion of the Queen Mother but of the Sardars and Pillars of the State." This stern and strong hint was enough to indicate to the assembled Chiefs and Sardars the attitude and intentions of the British Government and to silence the dissentient voice. Thus was the *Treaty of Bhyrowal* concluded and signed on the following day, December 16, 1846 [*vide* appendix B. xiv, pp. 671-74].

British Resident as the Chief Controller of the Panjab

The Treaty of Bhyrowal gave to the British Resident at Lahore "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State" [art. 2, 6]. The Council of Regency, with Tej Singh at its head, was only a body of executive officers to carry out his orders. In the words of the Governor-General, "he can change them and appoint others, and in military matters his power is as unlimited as in the civil administration; he can withdraw Sikh garrisons, replacing them by British troops in and every part of the Panjab." The British Government also became the sole guardian of the person and property of the infant Maharaja Duleep Singh. Thus, the British Government took upon themselves the entire responsibility of running the administration of the Panjab and maintaining peace in the country during the minority of the Maharaja. In the words of Sir Herbert Edwardes, "the beginning of the year 1847 thus found Henry Lawrence in peaceful possession of viceregal authority over the province."

Henry Lawrence, who understood the people of the Panjab better than any other of his British contemporaries, however, observed in his letter to Sir Henry Hardinge of April 29, 1847 :

The national independence of the Sikh character may dictate the attempt to escape from under foreign yoke ; for however benevolent be our motives and conciliating demeanour, a British army cannot garrison Lahore, and the fiat of British functionary cannot supersede that of the Durbar throughout the land, without our presence being considered a burden and a yoke [Basu, *Rise of Christian Power in*

India, 888, f.n.].

Sardar Tej Singh made a Raja

In recognition of the signal services that the arch-traitor Tej Singh had rendered to the British during and after the Anglo-Sikh war, Henry Lawrence, the British Resident at Lahore, wished to confer upon him the title of *Raja*. August 7, 1847, was fixed for the ceremony to be performed in the *Takhtgah* (the throne hall) in the fort at Lahore. All went off well on the occasion except that the young Maharaja Duleep Singh, "with a spirit which is worthy of all praise," says John Sullivan, "flatly refused to be made the medium of conferring the title of *Rajah* upon Sardar Tej Singh, whom all Lahore abhorred as a traitor." When Henry Lawrence failed to persuade him to make the saffron mark or *tika* on the forehead of Tej Singh and Sardar Sher Singh Atariwala leant forward to request him to comply, "His Highness," in the words of Henry Lawrence himself, "folded his arms and shrank back into his velvet chair, with a determination foreign to both his age and gentle disposition" [*Blue Book*, 36; *Koh-i-Noor; the Panjab Past and Present*, iv, 113]. The Resident then called upon Bhai Nidhan Singh, a member of the Council of Regency, to officiate for the purpose and the ceremony was thus gone through without the countretemps being observed by most of the chiefs and Sardars present.

Henry Lawrence had, just before the ceremony, casually observed to his assistant, and Brigadier Campbell, "That His Highness evinced more intelligence than most English children of equal age would do."

Queen Mother Maharani Jind Kaur Imprisoned

Henry Lawrence held the Queen Mother Maharani Jind Kaur responsible for the Maharaja's refusal to put the *tika* or *tilak* on Tej Singh's forehead and interpreted it as an affront to the British Government. In exercise of his power as Resident which was unlimited, he ordered the Queen Mother to be immediately confined to the Samman Tower of the Lahore fort.

In her letter addressed to the Resident from the Samman Tower, she challenged his *bonafides* and accused him of malfeasance in condemning her to public disgrace and imprisonment without any judicial or other enquiry and without producing any documentary or other evidence or proving any allegations against her. She called for an enquiry and appealed for justice. She complained of the non-payment of her allowance of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees as laid down in the treaty of Bhyrowal and told him that she had been reduced to the necessity of selling her ornaments to meet her expenses. "Even food and water are not allowed to come in," she said. She protested against the rudeness and misbehaviour of Bishan Singh and Gulab Singh, men appointed by the Resident to accompany the Maharaja to Shalamar Garden and felt concerned about his safety in consequence of their frightening attitude towards him. Her words "what shall I do if something happen to him

through fright?" are indicative of her feelings at that time. Foreseeing in the affair the ultimate intentions of the British Government, she said, "Why do you take possession of the kingdom by underhand means? Why don't you do it openly?" To her there appeared to be three or four traitors who were dancing to the tune of the British and working the ruin of the independent *Raj* of the Panjab. At the end of her letter, she said in great anguish, "Preserve three or four traitors and put the whole of the remaining Panjab to the sword at their bidding" [*Vide* No. 25, pp. 13-14].

The Resident could no longer tolerate her presence in Lahore. Her influence with the people, her skilfulness in the use of her pen and her amazing ability "to act with energy and spirit," and, above all, her intense patriotism were qualities which, in the eyes of the British, constituted grave menace to their authority and power in the Panjab. To give her an ill name before removing her from the Panjab, she was accused, merely on presumption, of cognizance of a conspiracy for the murder of Tej Singh. But in the absence of any conclusive evidence against her, the Governor-General did not deem it expedient to take the proposed action. He, however, met the wishes of the Resident by authorising him to remove the Maharani from Lahore on political grounds [*Resident to Secy. with G.G.*, August 9, 1847; *Secretary with G.G. to Resident at Lahore*, August 16, 1847].

On the morning of August 19, 1847, the young Maharaja was sent away to Shalamar Garden at a distance of about three miles from the palace in the fort, and between 8 and 9 p.m. the same night, the Maharani was removed from Lahore and incarcerated in the fort of Sheikhpura in the early hours of Friday, August 20, 1847.

The Maharani deeply felt the separation of her young son and strongly protested against the way she had been treated.

"...How far you look to the welfare of the Maharaja is now well known all over the world," she wrote to John Lawrence, the Acting Resident, on August 30, 1847. "Weeping, he was torn away from his mother and taken to Shalamar Garden, while the mother was dragged out by her hair. Well has friendship been rewarded!"

"You had been kept for the protection of our honour and dignity. But the traitors have robbed us of these also. It is a matter of sorrow," she continued, "that you did not weigh things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors. Whatever you have done has earned a good name for you! I have lost my dignity and you have lost regard for your word. The treatment that you have given to me is not given even to murderers. Having renounced everything, I had become a *faqir*, but you have not allowed me to live even like a *faqir*" [26-7/15-16].

"A formal trial of Maharaja [Ranjit Singh]'s widow would be most

unpopular and hurtful to the feelings of the people," said the Resident. "This regard for the feelings of the people was all a pretext," says John Sullivan. "No formal trial was necessary," he continues. "All that was required was, that the charges against her should have been communicated to her in writing, and that she should have been called upon to give a written answer to them. But no such fair dealing was dreamt of by British authorities." "A cart-load of assertions, and a good deal of abuse, was allowed to stand in place of proof." "And it was determined to banish, imprison and plunder her without any trial at all" [*Koh-i-Noor*, 50-60].

A good deal of mud had also been thrown on her personal character by a number of writers on the basis of scandalous rumours readily caught at and magnified by the political officials of the Company through their despatches and private correspondence since the days of Major George Broadfoot. Referring to this, Joseph D. Cunningham says in *A History of Sikhs* :

The proneness of news-mongers to enlarge upon such personal failings is sufficiently notorious ; and the diplomatic service of India has been often reproached for dwelling pruriently or maliciously on such matters. Finally, it is well known that the native servants of the English in Hindostan, who in too many instances are hirelings of little education or respectability, think they best please their employers, or chime in with their notions, when they traduce all others, and especially those with whom there may be a rivalry or a collision. So inveterate is the habit of flattery, and so strong is the belief that Englishmen love to be themselves praised and to hear others slighted, that even petty local authorities scarcely refer to allied or dependent princes, their neighbours, in verbal or in written reports, without using some terms of disparagement towards them. Hence the scenes of debauchery described by the Lahore news-writer are partly due to his professional character, and partly to his belief that he was saying what the English wanted to hear [p. 299, f.n.].

Enquiry and Justice Refused to the Maharani

Finding herself helpless and seeing no prospect of either an enquiry into the allegations against her or of justice at the hands of the British in the Panjab, she deputed an agent, Sardar Jiwan Singh, to represent her case to the Governor-General at Calcutta. Arriving there in December, he submitted a representation to the Secretary to the Government of India on January 2, 1848, praying for a full and impartial investigation of the charges under which she had been condemned to incarceration and for justice to be done to her. But, as mentioned earlier, she had been removed from Lahore and imprisoned in Sheikhpura with the approval of the Governor-General Sir Henry Hardinge, "on

political grounds." The Governor-General, therefore, declined to recognize Sardar Jiwan Singh as her *Vakeel* and directed "that all her communications must be made through the Resident."

This amounted to complete denial of justice to the Maharani. The Sardar made another appeal to the Secretary to the Government on February 23, 1848, for modification of the Governor-General's resolution. But that too was of no avail. The "political grounds" on which she had been removed from Lahore and imprisoned still continued. "It now only remained for H.H. [the Maharani], to be resigned to the decision which is irrevocable," as Sir Henry Hardinge had written to his Secretary, H.M. Elliot, on August 27, 1847 [32-8/19-22].

Maharani Exiled from the Panjab

To add to her misfortunes came the Multan insurrection as a result of the attack on Mr P.A. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant William Anderson on April 19, 1848. Here again the hidden hand of the Maharani, closely imprisoned in the fort of Sheikhpura, was supposed to have been working, although there was nothing to prove it. "There is no proof," writes the British Resident at Lahore to the Secretary to the Government of India on May 16, 1848, "though there is some ground for suspicion that the Maharani was the instigator of the late violence in Mooltan; but it is certain that, at this moment, the eyes of Diwan Moolraj, of the whole Sikh army, and military population, are directed to the Maharani as the rallying point of their rebellion or disaffection. Her removal from the Punjab is called for by justice, and policy, and there is no time for us to hesitate about doing what may appear necessary to punish the State offenders, whatever may be their rank and station, and to vindicate the honour and position of the British Government."

The logic of calling a person a "State offender" when "there is no proof" of his or her offence, could only be advanced and accepted by the astute contrivers of British policy in the Panjab. The Maharani was removed from the fort of Sheikhpura on May 15, 1848, to the fort of Chunar, District Mirzapur, U.P., to spend the rest of her life in exile far away from the land of her birth and the kingdom of her son—the Panjab—which was taken possession of by the British within ten months of her deportation.

The Maharani's exile provided a strong cause of disaffection both at Multan and Hazara. In his proclamation of war against the British Government and appeal to the *Sarbat Khalsaji*, the people of the country, to join him, the deportation of the Queen Mother—*Mai Sahiba*—from the Panjab and the virtual deposition of the Maharaja were the main grievances of Diwan Moolraj against the British authorities. "If you know," said he, "that *Mai Sahiba* (Maharani Jind Kaur) shall be released and Maharaja (Duleep Singh) Sahib—May he live long—shall reign in his own right, then the keys of the fort (of Multan) are at your disposal..."

But this was not to be. Lord Dalhousie considered her to be "a serious danger" to his plan for the occupation of the Panjab and he was glad to get rid of her, by sending her off to Chunar. Writing to Sir Frederick Currie on May 28, 1848, the Governor-General said, "You have got rid of a serious danger by this act." The Panjab was finally occupied and converted into a British Indian province in March 1849.

The Panjab not Intended to be Independent again

Though the formality of annexing the Panjab was reserved for Lord Dalhousie, Sir Henry Hardinge had written to the British Resident, Henry Lawrence, on October 23, 1847, to so conduct the affairs there that it was not intended to be an independent State again. What could not be openly accomplished with the force of arms was brought about by the soldier diplomat by adding a clause or two in the treaties imposed upon the minor ruler. To quote Sir Hardinge's own words :

"In all our measures taken during the minority, we must bear in mind that by the Treaty of Lahore, March 1846, the Punjaub never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause I added, the chief of the State can neither make war or peace, or exchange or sell an acre of territory or admit of a European officer, or refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories, or, in fact, perform any act without our permission. In fact the native Prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do our bidding" [*Edwardes and Merivale, ii, 100-101*].

This was the policy that the successor of Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie, and of Henry Lawrence, Frederick Currie, translated into a reality. Lord Dalhousie arrived at Calcutta as the new Governor-General of India on January 12, 1848, and Lord Hardinge sailed for England on January 18, accompanied by Henry Lawrence going home on sick-leave. Frederick Currie was appointed to take Lawrence's place as British Resident at Lahore.

Lord Dalhousie was a vigorous youngman, very ambitious of winning distinctions for himself. Frederick Currie was exactly the man required by him to create opportunities for the realization of his personal and political aspirations. He was an out and out annexationist who, as Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, had written about the Panjab to the well-known war-monger, Major George Broadfoot, the British Political Officer on the Panjab frontier on January 19, 1845, eleven months before the first Anglo-Sikh war, that "if it can't be Sikh, it must, I suppose, be British" [*Broadfoot, 269-70*].

Now he was himself placed in a position, as Resident at Lahore, where he could so mould the policy and plans of the British Government as to make the Panjab really British—a province of the Government of British India. This was in keeping with the political views and wishes of Lord Dalhousie. Having served as Foreign Secretary to the Government

of India from 1842 to 1847, during which period a number of independent Indian states had been annexed to the British dominions, Currie had become an expert in creating circumstances to serve as a pretext for hostilities and occupation.

Moolraj Replaced

A succession fee of thirty lakhs of rupees had been demanded from Moolraj on the death of his father Sawan Mall, the Governor of Multan, and, on the arrival of the British in 1846, troops were sent under the command of Wazir Lal Singh's brother Bhagwan Singh to coerce him to pay. The troops were defeated. The district of Jhang was, however, wrested from Moolraj and transferred to Bhagwan Singh. The British Resident confirmed Moolraj in the government of Multan and proposed to increase the amount of revenue from Rs. 19,71,500 to Rs. 25 lakhs, at the first renewal, and to Rs. 30 lakhs at the second.

Diwan Moolraj felt this to be too heavy a demand, and came to Lahore to represent his case to John Lawrence, the officiating Resident, and felt compelled by various other vexations to resign his charge on December 18, 1847. John Lawrence, however, persuaded him to return to Multan and promised to keep his resignation secret from the Lahore Darbar.

The situation, however, underwent a complete change with the arrival on March 6, 1848, of the new Resident, Frederick Currie, with some new instructions. Unmindful of the promise to Moolraj, he sought to replace him by a nominal governor, General Kahn Singh, with a number of British officers as the real administrators. General Kahn Singh, said Mr Currie in his letter of April 6, 1848, to Henry Elliot, Secretary to the Government of India, "will be almost nominal and the administration will be really conducted by the British Agent, though in the name and through the instrumentality of the General and his subordinates."

Beginning of Trouble at Multan

General Kahn Singh and the two British officers, Mr P.A. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant W.A. Anderson, arrived at Multan on April 18, 1848. The fort was quietly handed over to them by Moolraj on the following morning, April 19, when his men were withdrawn and replaced by Gurkha soldiers of the Lahore regiment. Moolraj and the new Governor and the British officers were coming out and were about to cross over the fort-ditch when one sepoy Amir Chand, under some irritation, struck Mr Agnew and wounded him. Anderson was also pursued by excited soldiers and wounded severely. All the efforts of Moolraj and his brother Ram Rang to go to see the wounded British officers failed as they were not permitted to do so by their insurgent troops. These troops, in fact, invested him with the leadership of the revolt against the British by fastening on his wrist a *Kangna* or bracelet of war.

On April 20, fire from Multan side was answered by the Lahore

guns, as a result of which the son of a Mazhabi Sikh was killed. This infuriated the irritated mob of people who rushed upon the British camp and killed the two British officers.

Thus, driven by circumstances, rather than acting on his own volition, Moolraj, willy nilly, came to be dragged into and placed at the head of the revolt of Multan, if revolt it could be called.

Policy of Delay

According to the treaty of December 16, 1846, the British were responsible for "the preservation of the peace of the country," and the British Resident should have taken immediate steps to suppress the insurgent troops at Multan. But he saw in it an opportunity which could be exploited for the annexation of the Panjab. He, therefore, deliberately delayed the despatch of British troops to the help of Herbert Edwardes who, not in the know of the secret intentions of the Resident, was trying to nip the insurrection in the bud on his own initiative. "Give me two of these prophesied brigades, and Bahawal Khan, and I will fight the campaign for you while you are preparing behind *tatties* at Lahore..." But quick action and promptitude were not at this time in keeping with the strategy of either Frederick Currie or his chief, the Governor-General. They wished to give to this small localized affair the appearance of a prolonged war, spread all over the country and led by some leading Sikh Sardar, a kinsman of the Maharaja, instead of a non-Sikh civilian far away from the capital.

The approaching hot weather was used as an excuse for not sending the British troops, first, by the Resident and, then, by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and the Governor-General. But it was meaningless on the very face of it. No Government ever postponed the suppression of a rebellion for reasons of weather. The Mutiny of 1857 began on May 10. Was the despatch of troops to the different centres of mutiny then postponed for a more comfortable season? As for the weather at Multan in that third week of April, it was quite pleasant according to the European officers on the spot [*vide* Edward Lake to Currie, August 14; Robert Napier to Currie, August 15, 29, *Pri. Corr.*, pp. 395, 340, 346].

The secret intentions and plans of the British to put an end to the independence of the *Raj* of the Panjab and to annex it to the British dominions had leaked out by the end of June 1848, and had reached not only the camp of Raja Sher Singh Atariwala, who had come to Multan and was helping Edwardes against Moolraj, but also several other parts of the country. This greatly upset the minds of the people who felt that in these intentions the British were going back upon the treaty of December 16, 1846, whereby the British Government had taken upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the peace of the country with British troops for which the Lahore State were to pay 20 lakhs of rupees per annum—during the minority of H.H. Maharaja Duleep Singh up to September

3, 1854 [*App. B*, xiv, pp. 672-3]. This was also the feeling of the British officers on the spot as expressed by Herbert Edwardes in his letter of May 24, 1848, to Major Hodson, the Political Assistant of the Resident, saying :

You express a hope in your letter that the British Government will *act for itself, and not prop up a fallen dynasty. In other words, you hope we shall seize the opportunity to annex the Panjab.* In this I cannot agree with you, for I think, for all that has yet happened, it would be both unjust and inexpedient. The treaty we made with the Sikh Government and people cannot be forfeited by the treachery of Gorkha regiment in *Multan*, the rebellion of a discharged *kardar* or the treasonable intrigues of the queen-mother, who has no connection with the Sikh Government of her son [*Hodson*, 73].

He also wrote to Currie himself on June 29 : "I am afraid considerable mischief has been done *by an idea of annexation* getting abroad." "*It is my opinion that you are certainly running a great and unnecessary risk in waiting for the cold weather and giving the Sikh army temptation to rise when by a mere march the rebellion would now be settled*" [*Pri. Corr.*, p. 226]. He repeated the same opinion eleven days later on July 10 (*Ibid.*, 231).

Major-General Innes tells us in his *Sir Henry Lawrence* that "in his heart of hearts, he [Henry Lawrence] thought with others, though he could not say so openly, that a sweeping war in the following winter and *the conquest of the Panjab formed the real aim of the new rule* [of Lord Dalhousie] *in India*" [p. 73].

Another reason for the delay in the despatch of troops to Multan, in the opinion of Herbert Edwardes, later borne out by facts, was that the senior officers of the army wished to use the Multan affair as an opportunity for honours and rewards for services in a protracted war, in cold and comfortable weather, brought to a victorious close with themselves in command of divisions and brigades. Says Herbert Edwardes ;

I fancy the dodge is that all these senior officers want to come marching up themselves at the end of Brigades and Divisions and don't care two brass farthings whether Whish is able or unable to maintain his position [*Pri. Corr.*, p. 287].

There was nothing very unnatural in such a wish lurking in the minds of the officers to whom there appeared no chance in the near future for military honours after the conquest of the last independent kingdom of the Panjab in India.

Not only this. Lord Dalhousie was deadly opposed to Herbert Edwardes' efforts to bring the Multan affair to an early end and he was very much upset to hear that, as a result thereof, Moolraj might surrender. This, thought the Governor-General, would leave no justification for him to move the British army into the Panjab under the

Commander-in-Chief and other top ranking officers and thereby to give to the minor revolt of Moolraj the appearance of a great war of the whole of the Sikh people spread all over the country. He was, therefore, heartily glad to know from the Resident "that nothing has come out of Lieutt. Edwardes' communication with the Moolraj through Mustafa Khan." "If the Dewan's cause should melt in the air," said Lord Dalhousie on June 27, "or if Lieutt. Edwardes and the Nawab of Bahawalpore should with their troops beat him or catch him, it will make the Government and all of us look rather small" [*Pri. Corr.*, 49/67].

Writing at some length to Sir Frederick Currie on July 13, 1848, Dalhousie argued that :

If the British army should be required to take the field against Diwan Moolraj our right to do what we please with the Punjab will be beyond cavil or dispute... Suppose that either from fear of Lt. Edwardes' army or from internal dissensions, the fort of Multan should fall, and the insurgent force should disperse, our policy would be greatly more doubtful and perplexing. ... At present the State of Lahore is a flagrant offender. ... But if the Dewan's force shall now surrender or fly, they surrender to or fly before General Cortlandt's and Lt. Edwardes *commanding the troops of the Darbar*, in which case the Durbar will have obeyed our call and will have acted against the rebel to his end. ...

... The Durbar will contend that General Cortlandt's are their troops, the new Pathan levies are made in their name, enlisted under their colors and paid with their money. And if there was any ambiguity about it, Lt. Edwardes in his letter of 21st had effectually removed it, for he has there officially informed the Bahawalpore General that the two corps are fighting for the Maharaja, for the restoration of Maharaja's rights and that the guns captured from the rebels belong neither to him, nor to the British, but to the Maharaja [*Pri. Corr.*, 50/74-5].

Sardar Chatar Singh Disappointed

So far the trouble had been confined to the far flung south-western province of Multan under a non-Sikh governor. Captain James Abbott became the instrument of goading a leading Sikh Sardar, Chatar Singh Atariwala, Governor of Hazara, in the north west, into rebellion. Technically, Abbott was 'only an adviser' to the Sardar on behalf of the Resident, but he assumed the airs of a super-governor by interfering in matters which were outside the scope of his powers. With evil rumours in the air about the future of the country, the old Sardar Chatar Singh felt greatly disturbed about the future of his family. His daughter had been engaged to the young Maharaja Duleep Singh. He asked the Resident to fix a date for the marriage so that he could feel relieved of his parental responsibility. For obvious reasons, the Resident was not in favour of the matrimonial

alliance of the House of Atari with the Royal family. He, therefore, delayed and evaded the matter. This confirmed Sardar Chatar Singh's doubts and he wrote to his son Raja Sher Singh at Multan for consultation. The Raja had an interview with Herbert Edwardes on the evening of July 27, 1848, and impressed upon him the urgency and seriousness of the question on which the Jats, especially the Sikh Jats, are very sensitive and touchy. Lieutenant Edwardes, in his official letter of July 28, from Camp at Tibbee near Multan, conveyed the substance of the interview to the Resident in regard to the wishes of Sardar Chatar Singh saying that, as an old man, the Sardar considers the marriage of the daughter "to have the first call upon him, but the event is dependent upon the wishes of the British Government. If it is not your intention that the nuptials of the Maharaja should be celebrated within the next twelve months, the Sardar would wish to be allowed to lay aside his duties of his Hazara government and proceed on pilgrimage for two years." Edwardes at the same time suggested that as "there can be no question that an opinion has gone very prevalently abroad, and been carefully disseminated by the evil disposed, that the British meditate declaring the Punjab forfeited by the recent troubles and misconduct of the troops; and, whether the Attareewalla family have any doubts or not upon this point themselves, it would, I think, be a wise and timely measure to give such public assurance of the British good faith, and intention to adhere to the treaty, as would be involved in authoritative preparations for providing the young prince with a Queen. It would no doubt, settle men's minds greatly" [*The Punjab Papers* 1847-49, pp. 270-71].

The Governor-General Lord Dalhousie was greatly upset to read the above suggestion of Edwardes and reproached him in his letter of August 22, 1848, to Frederick Currie saying that "for an assistant to the Resident to transmit to his Government a *volunteer* opinion that they would be guilty of breach of faith if they adopt a particular policy, which the Government of India, Her Majesty's Ministers and the Secret Cee. all contemplate as probable, is hardly discreet, quite unbecoming and altogether unnecessary" [*Pri. Corr.* 56/89].

Lieutenant Edwardes felt cut up at these remarks. He helplessly swallowed the insult with a great deal of burning in his heart, telling Sir Frederick on September 10, "You may believe me when I say that my opinion came involuntarily from my heart to my pen..." [*Ibid.*, 268].

Raja Sher Singh and his father Sardar Chatar Singh were greatly disappointed at the stiff and evasive reply of Frederick Currie to Herbert Edwardes telling him on August 3, regarding the Sardar's request, that "nothing can be done in this without the concurrence and approbation of the Resident" [*The Punjab Papers*, 271].

Raja Sher Singh Marches Away to Join his Father

Raja Sher Singh saw in this attitude of the British Resident not

only the doom of the proposal of his father regarding the marriage of his daughter—the Raja's sister—but also of the kingdom of the Panjab in the defence of which, he thought, he was helping the British against Moolraj. In the second week of September came the disturbing news that his father Sardar Chatar Singh had been compelled by the British Political Assistant, Captain James Abbott, to give up the governorship of Hazara and to move towards the north-west. Raja Sher Singh was then left with no alternative except to leave the British camp and join his father and fight for the defence of his country and the honour of his family.

Raja Sher Singh was one of the staunchest friends of the British and had given them no chance to doubt his fidelity. He had withstood all temptations to desert them at Multan when Edwardes was almost all alone, with no immediate prospect of the British army coming to his aid. He had taken part in the fight against the troops of Multan, stood in the way of the Charyari troops going over to Moolraj [*Pri. Corr.*, 190/244], enfiladed Moolraj's positions on September 1, 1848 [*Ibid.*, 205/263], made a severe attack on him [*Ibid.*, 281/348], and was prepared to pitch into his father [*Ibid.*, 206/264], and had actually blown from his own gun one Sujan Singh who was said to be "the ring-leader in the disaffection of the Raja's camp" [*Ibid.*, 194/250, 332/400]. He had incurred the displeasure of the *Panth* for the sake of the British and had estranged himself from his own people. Herbert Edwardes, who was the man on the spot, had full faith in him up to the last.

There should have been something very extraordinary to drive such a man to rebellion. Writing to Sir Frederick Currie on September 22, Robert Napier said, "I think however that the time of Sher Singh's defection must have been decided by some important intelligence he may have received from the north" [*Ibid.*, 289/356]. In addition to the disturbing intelligence from his father in the north, he was, evidently, disillusioned about the good faith of the British.

To turn to Hazara. According to Sir Frederick Currie's despatch of August 15, 1848, Captain Abbott was a man "of a very ready disposition to believe the reports that are brought to him of conspiracies, plots and treasons — a suspicion of everybody, far and near, even of his own servants, and a conviction of the infallibility of his conclusions, which is not shaken by finding, time after time, that they are not verified." With this suspicious nature he levelled a false charge against Sardar Chatar Singh that he "is at the head of a conspiracy for the expulsion of the English and was about to head a crusade against the British forces at Lahore." In the opinion of the Resident conveyed to the Governor-General in his despatch of August 12, 1848, this "is altogether incredible."

To destroy the Sikh Governor, Abbott went to the extreme of

exciting the religious sentiments of the Muslims, and, in his own words of August 19 to the Resident "called upon them by the memory of their murdered parents, friends and relatives, to rise and aid me in destroying the Sikh forces in detail" [*The Punjab Papers*, 311]. And according to a Muslim correspondent of Sir Charles Napier, "Captain Abbott wrote to the Hazarees that if they will drive Chatar Singh out, three years' revenue should be remitted" [*Chas. Napier*, iv. 129]. He also incited Commandant Canora, an American Artillery officer in the Sikh service, not to obey the orders of Governor Chatar Singh. He also raised levies and organized paid bands of the local people against the Sardar. All this was strongly criticized and condemned by the Resident in his despatches and letters to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief and Captain Nicholson [vide *The Punjab Papers*, 274, 276, 285-7, 312-3, 316, 328].

In spite of it, however, the Resident, Sir Frederick Currie, did nothing to check the activities of Captain Abbott. In a state of helplessness, Sardar Chatar Singh wrote to his son Raja Sher Singh at Multan about August 23, "complaining bitterly of Abbott whose suspicions and treachery (*Munsoobah*) had driven him to adopt military measures to guard his life and honour" [*Private Correspondence*, 201/258]. This was followed by further similar communications calling upon the Raja to join him in defending the honour of his family and the independence of his country. At last on September 13, 1848, Raja Sher Singh decided to throw in his lot with his injured father and went over to Moolraj on the following day, September 14.

The Long Looked for Crisis

Moolraj, however, distrusted the movement of Raja Sher Singh and refused him admission into the fort of Multan. His suspicion was deepened by a chit addressed to Sher Singh by Herbert Edwardes intended to fall into the hands of Moolraj through a spy named Bhamboo. Raja Sher Singh, therefore, marched away from Multan to join his father.

Immediately after his departure from the British camp at Multan, Raja Sher Singh issued the following manifesto on September 15, 1848 :

It is well known to all the inhabitants of the Panjab, to the whole of the Sikhs, to those who have been cherished by the Khalsajee, and, in fact, to the world at large, with what oppression, tyranny and undue violence, the *feringees* have treated the widow of the great Maharaja Runjeet Singh, now in bliss, and what cruelty they have shown towards the people of the country.

In the first place, they have broken the treaty by imprisoning and sending away to Hindustan the Maharanee, the mother of the people. Secondly, the race of the Sikhs, the children of the Maharajah (Runjeet Singh), have suffered so much from their tyranny. ...By the direction of the holy Gooroo, Raja Sher Singh and others, with their valiant troops, have joined the trusty and faithful Dewan

Moolraj, on the part of Maharajah Duleep Singh, with a view to eradicate and expel the tyrannous and crafty *feringees*. The Khalsajee must, now, act with all their heart and soul ...[*The Punjab Papers*, 362].

Sardar Chatar Singh, in the meantime, had left Hazara and moved towards Hasan Abdal and Attock. He entered Peshawar on October 31 and in the end of November moved down to Attock which fell to him on January 3, 1849. He was then free to reinforce the army of Raja Sher Singh on the Jhelum. But he was still on his way when the battle of Chelianwala was fought on January 13. He could take part only in the final struggle at Gujrat on February 21, which sealed the fate of independent Panjab and converted it into a province of British India.

The Hazara affair into which Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala had been dragged in August 1848, followed by his son Sher Singh, in mid-September, provided Lord Dalhousie with the long looked for *causa belli*, however feeble. This, the Resident (and his Assistant, James Abbott) had been trying to bring about by his delaying tactics during the summer season. The disaffection having spread wide enough and the cold season being at hand, Lord Dalhousie decided to move towards the Panjab and joyfully announced in his high-flown rhetoric at a public banquet at Barrackpore (Calcutta) on October 5: "Unwarned by precedents, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation had called for war and on my word, Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance." Three days later, on October 8, he wrote to the Resident, Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore:

The rebellion of Raja Sher Singh followed by his army, the rebellion of Sardar Chuttur Singh with the Durbar army under his command, the state of the troops and of the Sikh population everywhere, have brought matters to *that crisis I have for months been looking for*, and we are now not on the eve but in the midst of war with the Sikh nation and the kingdom of the Panjab.

The result of this mad movement to the people and the dynasty of the Sikhs can be no longer matter of discussion or of doubt.

...I have drawn the sword, and have thrown away the scabbard, both in relation to the war immediately before us, and to the stern policy which that war must precede and establish [*Pri. Corr.*, 64/100].

No Declaration of War

The British Resident at Lahore was a good deal puzzled on receipt of the Governor-General's official letter No. 376 of October 3, 1848, saying in paragraph 5 that "the Governor-General in Council considers the State of Lahore to be, to all intents and purposes, directly at war with the British Government." He wrote to His Lordship in a private letter on October 12:

Now if that be the case, I with my assistants am in an anomalous

position, as superintending and aiding the administration of the Lahore State; and if I were to withdraw from the Government and to declare the Treaty violated and all amicable relations between the two States at end, we should have the whole country up at once as one man to destroy us, if possible. There is no doubt that all, with a very few exceptions, are, at this time, chiefs, army and people, inimical, aye hostile, to us in their hearts, and desire to get rid of us.

Currie also at the same time pointed out that although, for all practical purposes, Maharaja Duleep Singh had been reduced to a non-entity by the treaty of March 16, 1846, "yet he has been recognized as the nominal and *de jure* sovereign by them and this government (with the British Resident as the *de facto* ruler) is still carried on in his name." He, therefore, suggested :

This declaration [regarding the State of Lahore being 'directly at war with the British Government'] should not be made till the Commander-in-Chief is in a commanding attitude at Lahore. ... I think the declaration to be made by the Government should be to the purport ... setting forth that the British Government will now occupy the Punjab Province, ... that, all considerations will be paid to the interests of the Maharaja Duleep Singh who, from his tender years, cannot be held personally responsible for the misconduct of the Lahore State....

I think in the first instance nothing more explicit of the Government intentions need be proclaimed, and that this proclamation should not be made till we are in circumstances to follow it up. ...I think we may quietly annex the Punjab districts to the British Provinces, making a suitable provision for the state and comfort of Maharaja Duleep Singh [*Pri. Corr.*, 65/103—105].

Referring to the same paragraph No. 5 of the Government letter No. 376 of October 3, mentioned above, Sir Frederick Currie wrote in the same strain to the Commander-in-Chief in his *private* and *confidential* letter of October 13, saying :

Now we are not in a position for me to make known to the State of Lahore the opinion of the British Government. As at present, I and my assistants and the British garrison, are here for the purpose of aiding by superintendence, advice and protection, the maintenance of the Lahore State and its administration. We cannot continue to protect and maintain a state which we declare to be at war with us; and we are not in that commanding or strong position here which would enable us to take the steps, which a declaration would render necessary [*Pri. Corr.*, 66/108].

Lord Dalhousie, however, was not the person to worry himself about the propriety of political conduct, international ethics, or the rules of war. He, therefore, wrote to the Resident at Lahore on October 16 :

I think you had very much better remain at Lahore. You are there not only a representative of the British Government but a sort of impersonation of it; and anomalous as your position necessarily is at present, I think, you should by all means continue there, rather than go on with Commander-in-Chief [*Pri. Corr.*, 68/111].

On the 18th he wrote :

I have already said to you that as our resolve is now taken, no compromises should now take place and as little reference to the future condition of the State of Lahore to be made as possible, until the Government of India shall declare publicly its intentions [*Pri. Corr.*, 69/112].

Again on November 3, he said :

I am sorry you should have felt any perplexity in consequence of the passage in the letter No. 376 to which you advert. . .

You have taken a perfectly correct view of the line of policy to be observed at present and have rightly concluded that the intentions of the Government, whatever they may be, should not be declared until the preparations of the Commander-in-Chief are completed.

In the interval the position of yourself and your assistants must necessarily remain anomalous, as indeed it has long been. . .

The subsequent destiny of the Sikh dynasty and Sikh nation will be pronounced upon when the objects, above mentioned [of 'defeating, disarming and crushing all forces' of the Sikhs] are accomplished [*Pri. Corr.*, 71/115-16].

It is something unique in history that without issuing a declaration of war, the Panjab State was considered 'directly at war' by the British, while their own officers were controlling and directing, with full and final authority, all matters in every department of that State, its ruler, a minor, being, by treaty, their ward.

British Army Moves into the Panjab

With season and circumstances having become favourable for war in the Panjab, as desired by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, and true to the predictions of Herbert Edwardes, the senior officers of the British army, Brigadiers and Major-Generals, came leisurely "marching up themselves at the heads of Brigades and Divisions," and with this Grand Army, Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, crossed the river Sutlej on November 9 and arrived at Lahore on November 13. After three days' halt at the Sikh capital, he marched (November 16) on to the Chenab, on the right bank of which was then encamped Raja Sher Singh, waiting for the Bannu troops.

In the absence of any declaration of war by the British Government, "it was not till after leaving Lahore that he [Lord Gough] knew the definite decision of the Governor-General that the war was to be against, and not in support of, the [Lahore] Durbar;" "I do not know," he wrote on Novem-

ber 15, "whether we are at peace or war, or who it is we are fighting for." [*Life and Campaigns of Hugh, Viscount Gough*, ii, 178 : cf. *Pri. Corr.*, 159/203].

The Battle of Chelianwala—January 13, 1849

Raja Sher Singh gave a staggering blow to Lord Gough in the scrimmage of November 22 near Ram Nagar, and in the battle of Chelianwala on January 13, 1849. The British attacking force suffered a heavy loss at the first place with Brigadier General Cureton and Lt.-Col. Havelock among the killed. The British loss at Chelianwala amounted to over two thousand men, six guns and several stands of colours. More than once the British troops were hurled back in confusion and Brigadier Pope's cavalry was put to flight. The battle of Chelianwala was considered to be a disaster worse than that in Afghanistan. It paralyzed Lord Gough, and Lord Dalhousie lost his confidence in him. Writing to Sir John Hobhouse on February 21, the Governor-General said : "If he again fights an incomplete action with terrible carnage as before, you must expect to hear of my taking a strong step ; he shall not remain in command of that army in the field" [Lee-Warner, *Life of Lord Dalhousie*, 211-2].

Authorities in England decided to replace Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and the eighty-four-year-old Duke of Wellington offered to go to India in his place to fight against the Sikhs, if Napier hesitated. He said to the latter, "If you do not go, I must."

Surrender of Moolraj—January 22, 1849

The situation for Lord Gough, however, was saved by the fall of Multan on January 2, 1849. With Moolraj's magazine in the citadel containing some 400,000 lbs. of gun-powder blown up by a shell from General Whish's mortar on December 30, 1848, he had become helpless. He could no longer hold out against the besiegers who carried the city by an assault.

At this time, Sir Henry Lawrence returned to India and arrived at Multan. He halted there for a couple of days and left for Lahore on January 8. Somebody then poured into Lord Dalhousie's ears that Sir Henry Lawrence "contemplated some 'pretty stage effect' of his own at Multan, including a personal surrender of Moolraj to himself." His Lordship, therefore, desired Sir Henry not to "act in any public capacity whatever at present," saying :

There are strong rumours current that if you should arrive anywhere near Multan before the operations against that fortress are renewed and completed, the Dewan Moolraj means to surrender himself to you. I have no doubt whatever that you would not receive him, or act in any public capacity whatever, at present . . . I have to inform you that I will grant no terms to Moolraj, nor listen to any proposal but unconditional surrender, [Innes, *Sir Henry Lawrence*, 106-7].

Sir Henry Lawrence took charge of his office as Resident on February

1, 1849, ten days after the surrender of Moolraj on January 22. In the meantime, as desired by the Governor-General, he was engaged in drawing up proclamations to be issued after the final defeat of the Sikhs. "There is no sign," says Lieut.-General Innes, "that Lord Dalhousie gave instructions of any kind to Sir Henry regarding the tenor, particulars or form of the proposed proclamations, and Sir Henry consequently drew up such a document as he would have prepared in accordance with the practice, policy and tone in force under Lord Harding, and submitted it to Lord Dalhousie." This was not to the taste of his Lordship who had been studiously preparing for the occupation and annexation of the Panjab in spite of the treaty of December 16, 1846, by which the British Government had assumed full responsibility of running the administration in the country and "for maintaining the peace" therein—"during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh" up to September 4, 1854. He could not, therefore, tolerate to see a document addressed to the fallen people of the Panjab worded in a temperate language of sympathy and rejected it on February 3 in a most harsh and unbecoming language.

Sir Henry Lawrence, however, replied to Lord Dalhousie's severe letter on February 5 with dignity and reiterated his opinion on the question of annexation saying :

"I feel grateful for the kindness and unreservedness with which your Lordship has honoured me, and beg to repeat the assurance that as long as I am your agent, you will find me act with faithfulness and without reserve. My own opinion, as more than once expressed in writing to your Lordship, is against annexation. I did think it unjust ; I now think it impolitic. It is quite possible I may be prejudiced and blinded, but I had thought over the subject long and carefully" [Edwardes and Merivale, ii, 123-5 ; Innes, *Sir Henry Lawrence*, 109-11 ; Lee-Warner, *Dalhousie*, i, 214-16].

Fair play and political morality had no place in the Indian policy of Lord Dalhousie. 'Unjust' or 'impolitic', he had decided upon the annexation of the Panjab and he saw it through.

The Battle of Gujrat—February 21, 1849

The final battle was fought on February 21, 1849, at Gujrat, where the Atariwala Sardars were defeated and their surrender to General Gilbert on March 10 practically sealed the fate of the Panjab for almost a century to come. Four days later, on the 14th at Rawalpindi, the Sikh soldiers, with tears in their eyes, kissed their swords and laid them down never to see them again, exclaiming with choked throats : *Ajj Ranjit Singh mar gayā*—To day is Ranjit Singh dead.

The Finale

Knowing that Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident at Lahore, thought of the annexation of the Panjab and the deposition of the young Maharaja Duleep Singh 'unjust' and 'impolitic', Lord Dalhousie selected his Foreign

Secretary Henry Elliot as his agent for the final transaction. Under instructions of His Lordship, Elliot in the first instance saw the members of the Council of Regency privately and apprised them of the decision of the British Government to annex the Panjab and asked them on March 28, to give their formal assent, warning them at the same time that "if they refused, they would lose everything which the British Government chose to resume."

With British troops in complete occupation of the Panjab, and the annexation a *fait accompli*, the Council of Regency were left with no choice but to helplessly sign in the *Darbar* on the morning of March 29, 1849, the fatal document—*The Terms granted to and accepted by Maharajah Duleep Singh*, 1849 [Appendix XV, pp. 674-5]—whereon the Maharaja was, under compulsion, called upon to affix his signature.

With this came the end of the independence of the Panjab. The British Government in India deprived their ten-and-a-half-year-old ward, Maharaja Duleep Singh, of his crown and kingdom.

Immediately after the above document of *Terms Granted* had been signed, Mr Elliot read out in the *Darbar* the Proclamation issued by Lord Dalhousie to justify his policy and action. It was the one which had replaced the draft originally prepared by Sir Henry Lawrence and disdainfully rejected by Lord Dalhousie and was a most artful piece of speciousness full of misleading and wrongful statements. It said :

The British have faithfully kept their word and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them.

But the Sikh people and their Chiefs, have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound.

Of their annual tribute no portion whatever has at any time been paid and large loans advanced to them by the Government of India have never been repaid . . .

Finally, the army of the State, and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Panjab, who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself have risen in arms against us and have waged a fierce and bloody war, for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power [Arnold, *Dalhousie's Administration*, 202-4 ; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, 572-3].

But the claims of Lord Dalhousie and his accusations against the Panjab Government cannot stand the test of historical scrutiny as mentioned at some length in the *Introduction to the Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars* (pp. 152-162), from which we have extensively quoted in these pages.

Were the Treaties Faithfully Observed ?

As we have already shown in the previous pages, on the authority of British political officers, well versed in, and concerned with, the affairs of the Panjab, it was the British Government that had first departed from

the rules of friendship with the Sikhs and had gone back upon the treaty of 'Perpetual Friendship', and it was they who had 'provoked' the war of 1845-46 and had 'invaded' the Panjab.

By article 15 of the Treaty of March 9, 1846, it had been agreed upon that "the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore state," and article 1 of March 11, 1846, had laid down that "the [British] force shall not be detained beyond the expiration of the current year." But the British Government abided by neither of these conditions. They not only interfered in every department of the administration of the Lahore kingdom but also exercised full control over it. And before the expiry of the year 1846, they manipulated things in such a manner as to create an opportunity through the treaty of Bhyrowal (December 16, 1846,) to—

- (i) secure for the British Resident at Lahore "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State" [article 2]; and
- (ii) maintain at Lahore "a British force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit" at the expense of the Panjab Government with "liberty to occupy with British Soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories" [Articles 7 and 8].

Thus the British Government, instead of faithfully keeping 'their word' and 'scrupulously' observing their obligations, become the virtual rulers of the Panjab with full responsibility "for the protection of the Maharaja and the preservation of the peace of the country" [article 8]. And, they protected the Maharaja by deposing him and preserved the peace of his country by permanently occupying and annexing it to their own dominions.

Did the Sikhs violate any promises?

According to the Treaty of December 16, the British Resident at Lahore had assumed complete control of the civil and military administration of the country through British Political Assistants with a strong British force occupying the capital. The Chiefs and Sardars of the Council of Regency were nothing more than executive officers to carry out the orders of the British Resident. The ultimate responsibility, therefore, for all that happened in the country during the Residents' tenure of office, good or bad, was entirely of the British Government, and no blame for anything amiss could be attached to the Council of Regency composed exclusively of men selected by the Resident, with *Raja Tej Singh*, their own man, at the head.

There is nothing on record to prove or support Lord Dalhousie's accusation that "the Sikh people and their chiefs have on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound." His Lordship has not pointed out even a single instance in which any

promise was violated. The treaties were entered into either with the Maharaja of the Panjab, who stood by them to the last, or with the Council of Regency which was in its entirety selected by the British Resident with their 'own man' as its head. The members of the Council were not the elected representatives of the people at large or of the Committees of the Army that had existed before the first war. It may be said to the credit of the Council that throughout the period between the two wars it stood by the British Resident and supported him in all his actions. It were the Governor-General and the British Resident at Lahore who, in pursuance of their plans, deliberately delayed the despatch of British troops to Multan to suppress the revolt and allowed it to spread. Lord Dalhousie actually snubbed, in very harsh and insulting language, Herbert Edwardes who had criticised this policy of delay and had urged immediate action. Edwardes had so keenly felt His Lordship's rebuke that, in his letter of June 29, 1848, he had written to the Resident Sir Frederick Currie, "I certainly did not expect to be insulted." He added, "He may command my services to their fraction, but to his censure and praise, I feel indifferent for the future" [*Pri. Corr.*, 182/224-25].

Again it was the Resident's Political Assistant, James Abbott, who brought about the insurrection at Hazara. He had harassed its governor, Sardar Chatar Singh, into an intolerable position and had, in his own words of August 19, 1848, quoted earlier, excited the religious sentiments of the Muslim population of the area against the Sikhs and had called upon the Hazara chiefs to drive out the Sikh governor and destroy his force, offering to remit three years' revenue as a reward for it. The Resident, in his communications with the Government and the Commander-in-Chief admitted in clearest words that Captain Abbott was wrong in his opinions about Sardar Chatar Singh and that the initiative in the Hazara affair had been taken by him and not by the Sardar. In spite of it, however, he took no action to prevent Capt. Abbott from pursuing his hostile designs. Driven to desperation, with no hope of justice from the Resident, Sardar Chatar Singh was left with the only alternative of moving out of Hazara and calling upon his son Raja Sher Singh at Multan to join him in his adversity and for the defence of the honour of his family and country.

Raja Sher Singh was only one out of the fourteen signatories to the Treaty of Bhyrowal of December 16, 1846, to take to arms against the British administration in the country and that too after he had seen that they had gone back upon their pledged word in the treaties and were actively moving towards permanently occupying the Panjab, depriving Maharaja Duleep Singh of his crown and kingdom, and annexing the country to their own dominions.

All the remaining chiefs and Sardars—the members of the Council of Regency—however, remained faithful and obedient to the British up to

the morning of March 29, 1849, when all was up with them and their country.

In further support of the point under discussion, we quote below from the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Lahore* and the *Akhbar-i-Multan*, from the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* (1944 Udaipur session), Vol. xxi, pp. 44-46 :

It was in obedience to his (Resident's) orders that the Lahore Darbar issued instructions on August 23, 1848, for the recall of Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala, the governor of Hazara, and his son Sardar Avtar Singh, and for the appointment of Sardar Jhanda Singh to officiate in his place in accordance with the wishes and advice (*bamūābiq marzī-o-slāh*) of Captains Abbott and Nicholson, with instructions to Col. Bhup Singh, Col. Bahadur Singh, Col. Budh Singh, Babu Pandey, Col. Nur-ud-Din, General Sultan Mahmud and other military officers 'to be faithful and obedient to the aforesaid *sahibs*' [*Akh. Lah.*, August 23-25, 1848].

As desired by the Resident, the Lahore Darbar issued *parwānās* to their military and civil officers to send reinforcements to Herbert Edwardes at Multan and to pay the salaries of the men under his command [*Akh. Lah.*, 28-8-1848].

Throughout the period, the Darbar kept the Resident fully informed of the happenings at Multan, Hazara and other places. The Lahore chief, Raja Tej Singh, regularly sought his advice and acted upon it. The other members of the Council also occasionally saw him and assured him of their faithful adherence to their engagements with the British, kept him in touch with the political situation in the country and suggested to him measures for the suppression of the rising.

As desired by the Resident, the various Sikh forts, including the fort of Gobindgarh at Amritsar, were evacuated by the soldiers of the Darbar and made over the British to be occupied and held by their troops.

Diwan Mulraj and, later on, Sardar Chatar Singh and his sons Sardar Avtar Singh and Raja Sher Singh, and their friends like Sardar Lal Singh Muraria, Surat Singh Majithia, etc., who had taken up arms against the British in the Panjab, were looked down upon and declared as *mufsid*s, or mischief-makers ; their houses were searched by the officials of the Darbar and their properties confiscated to the state [*Akh. Lah.*, Oct., 1-3, 4-9, 1848 ; and also *Ibid.*, Nov., 11, 1848, for other confiscations]. A *parwana* was issued on November 1 to General Cortlandt of the Sikh service, then commanding a section of the Lahore troops at Multan against Moolraj, to send in the names of all those Sikhs who had gone over to the rebels, so that their houses and property might be confiscated.

At the suggestion of the Darbar, the Resident appointed two of his Assistant Political Officers to take charge of the *ilagas* and *jagirs* of the recalcitrant Sardars of Gujranwala, Ranghar-Nangal and Murara and administer them according to the wishes of their chiefs [*Akh. Lah.*, Oct. 4-9, 13-15, 1848]. One of these officers, on arrival at Ranghar Nangal, set fire to the houses of the Sardars [Oct. 13-15, 1848].

Rewards in cash and kind were granted by the Darbar, on the recommendations of the British Resident to civil and military officers and subordinates and other ranks, for services rendered by them in the cause of the British [*Akh. Lah.*, Dec. 12, 1848].

Food and fodder were regularly supplied by the servants of the Darbar to the British regiments moving from their cantonments into the Panjab for the suppression of the disturbances in the country [*Akh. Lah.*, Oct. 21-24, 1848]. The Darbar and their agents advanced money to the British officers, like John Nicholson and others, whenever they stood in need of it, for the expenses of the detachments and men placed under their command [*Akh. Lah.*, Oct. 30, 1848].

The bodyguard of Maharaja Duleep Singh consisted of a cavalry regiment of the East India Company which formed a part of the British garrison of Lahore [*Akh. Lah.*, Oct. 30, 1848].

The Lahore Darbar ordered Sardar Gulab Singh, son of the 'rebel' Sardar Chatar Singh, to convey personally to his father a copy of the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie's letter saying that if any harm came to the lives of the British officers in Peshawar and Hazara, it would be avenged with the blood of the sons of the Sardar, one of whom, the above Sardar Gulab Singh, was then in Lahore [Nov. 1848].

"Under the orders of the Resident it was proclaimed by beat of drum in the city of Lahore on November 1, 1848, that all the Sikh employees of the Lahore kingdom, and of the chiefs residing in the capital, should obtain passes signed by Captain Bowring; these passes, they were always to carry with them, as without them they would not be permitted to enter the city or reside therein.

On the arrival of the British Commander-in-Chief at Lahore on November 13, 1848, Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Chiefs of the Lahore Darbar received him with all the usual friendly formalities and presents, and fired a salute of 17 guns in his honour. In the course of conversation, Sir Hugh Gough told the Resident that their object was the protection and management (*hifāz-it-o-bandobast*) of the kingdom of Maharajah, in addition to the encouragement of his friends and supporters and the suppression of the rebels [*Akh. Lah.*, Nov. 13, 1848].

On November 15, the Lahore Darbar, as desired by the Resident

ordered two of its officials, Sardar Boor Singh and Diwan Kishan Lal, to accompany the Commander-in-Chief and his force to Ram Nagar [against Raja Sher Singh] to look after their comforts and supply them with food and fodder [*Akh. Lah.*, Nov., 16-17, 1848].

On the 27th of November, 1848, after Sher Singh's two documents [letters addressed to the G.G.] had been received and discussed with the members of the Darbar, the Resident ordered Sardar Atar Singh Kalianwala, Khalifa Nur-ud-Din, Diwan Ajudhia Prasad and Wazir Nihal Singh to remain with the Maharaja throughout day and night. This order was literally obeyed by these officials of the State [*Akh. Lah.*, Nov. 27, 1848].

As desired by the Resident, the Lahore Darbar fired 21 guns to celebrate the victory at Multan, and issued order to Faqir Shams-ud-Din, the commander of the Gobindgarh fort at Amritsar, to do the same. Khalifa Nur-ud-Din was sent to convey to the Resident congratulations on behalf of the Darbar [January 25, 1849].

(iii) **Payment of Annual Tribute**

It is a gross misrepresentation to say that no portion of the annual tribute was paid by the Lahore Darbar. It is contradicted by the report dated February 23, 1848, of the Resident himself to the Governor-General, wherein he says : "*The Durbar have paid into this treasury gold to the value of Rupees 13,56,837-0-6. ... By this payment they have reduced their debt to the British Government from upwards of forty lakhs of rupees to less than twenty-seven*" [*Punjab Papers*, 110-11].

If the state was not in a position to make the payment in full, it was no fault of the Council of Regency. They had no power left in their hands. The British Resident was the real ruler. He had effected changes in customs and land-tax which involved a sacrifice of some fifteen lakhs of rupees of annual revenue. On the other hand, he had increased the expenditure of the State in several ways not fully favoured by the Council. "There was neither evasion nor violation," says Major Evans Bell in his *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, p. 167. "The only cause of the subsidy having fallen into arrears," he continues, "was that the Resident in the plenitude of his powers, had thought fit to lessen the receipts of the State and to divert the expenditure into other channels." These measures were "entirely the Resident's work, approved by the Governor-General, reluctantly accepted by the Durbar" [Cf. Sullivan, *Koh-i-Noor*, 62].

(iv) Finally, like the other accusations, it is also wrong to say that "the army of the state, and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sardars in the Panjab who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power."

The jugglery of words and chicanery, in which Lord Dalhousie was a past master, used in this last accusation were evidently meant for the home authorities and the unsuspecting justice-loving people of England, not in the know of the real facts, to accept the annexation of the Panjab as a justified act of the Governor-General of India. The facts, however, are that only a small fraction of the army deserted to Moolraj and to the Atariwala Sardars in the far-flung south-western and north-western Muslim populated districts of the State. Even there, the troops commanded by General Cortlandt, Sardar Fateh Singh, Missar Sahib Dyal, Diwan Jawahar Mall, Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, Sardar Jhanda Singh, Colonel Bhup Singh, Col. Bahadur Singh, Col. Budh Singh, Babu Pandey, Col. Nur-ud-Din, General Sultan Mahmood and other military officers remained faithful and obedient to Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake and Captains Abbott and Nicholson in accordance with the orders of the Lahore Darbar. As late as November 15, when the British Commander-in-Chief Lord Gough had entered the Panjab territories and was encamped at the capital of the State, the Lahore Darbar, as desired by the British Resident, ordered two of its chief officers, Sardar Boor Singh and Diwan Kishan Lal, to accompany and guide the Commander-in-Chief and his force to Ram Nagar (against Raja Sher Singh), to look after their comforts and to supply them with food and fodder.

Diwan Moolraj was only a servant of the Panjab Government and had not signed any of the treaties. Moreover, he had resigned his position and had come to be involved in the revolt under circumstances over which he had no control. Sardar Chatar Singh had been goaded into it by James Abbott, the Political Assistant to the British Resident. The Resident on his part, had failed to curb the hostile activities of his offending Assistant who had driven the Sardar into a situation wherein Raja Sher Singh could not disobey the call of his father.

Wholly misleading was Lord Dalhousie's statement that the rebels had "waged a fierce and bloody war for the *proclaimed* purpose of *destroying the British* and their power." There is not a word in the proclamation of Diwan Moolraj addressed to the Khalsa (44/26) to substantiate this. The proclamation only desired the preservation of *dharma*, the safety of his family, the release of the Queen Mother and the restoration of Maharaja Duleep Singh to his right to reign, and *nothing more*.

The manifesto of Raja Sher Singh, issued immediately after his departure from the British camp, where for months he had been helping Herbert Edwardes and others against Moolraj, also referred to the undue harshness with which the Queen Mother had been treated by the British Government and the violation of treaties by them. The manifesto, no doubt, contained words inciting people against the *feringees*, but they do not seem to have been much publicized or taken seriously by anyone.

There was no general rising in the Panjab against the British, either

of the Sikh army or of the people at large. Not a single British officer was anywhere in the central and eastern districts attacked or molested. The British Resident and his assistants continued to stay at the capital of the kingdom, issuing orders to the Council of Regency, the Darbar, and receiving their fullest cooperation. In addition to the great majority of the army, which took no part in the revolt, "at least 20,000 subjects of the Lahore State," according to Major Evans Bell, "enrolled in its service, fought on the side of the Government and assisted in suppressing the rebellion," not knowing that at the end of it their country would be annexed and permanently occupied by the British. They had trusted the good faith of the British Government and had relied upon the Treaty of December 16, 1846, which "was to have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh," and ... "cease and terminate on His Highness' attaining the full age of sixteen years, or on the 4th September, 1854."

The Multan revolt was only a local rising of a discharged provincial governor, and not of the people, against the Lahore Government headed by the British Resident, and it was the political and moral duty of the British Government in faithful observance of the Treaty of December 16, 1846, to suppress it for "the preservation of the peace of the country." In this the British Government failed. In pursuance of their policy of expansion towards the north-west, they conveniently ignored and violated the Treaty and used the Multan revolt as a pretext for occupying the Panjab and deposing its sovereign, their innocent ward and ally Maharaja Duleep Singh.

Innocent Duleep Singh Wronged the Most

The worst hit and the most unjustly treated person in this affair was the innocent young Maharaja Duleep Singh who, for no fault of his, came to be reduced from a sovereign ruler to an exile, to be at the mercy of the British Government of India and England.

"Having conducted the administration of the Lahore State," says Major Bell, "for two years and three months, ... by means of his own Agent and his own nominees, in the name of his Ward and Ally, the Maharaja, under a treaty which he upholds and enforces to the last—he [Lord Dalhousie] turns round, when the rebellion is over, declares the Treaty to have been violated, and therefore null and void, and explains that the successful campaign, ostensibly carried on for the suppression of a rebellion against the Government of Maharajah Duleep Singh, really constituted a war against the Maharajah and the State of Lahore, by which the British Government has 'conquered' the Panjab" [*Retros. and Pros. of Ind. Policy*, 157-8]. But "during the period prescribed by the treaty for the Maharajah's minority, no crisis, no second struggle, could absolve the British Government from the obligations of Guardianship and management, so long as it professed to fulfil those duties, and was able to do so without interrup-

tion" [*Ibid.*, 152-3]. Lord Dalhousie has, as such, "violated Treaties, abused a sacred trust ... and [*made*] an acquisition as unjust as it was imprudent. ... This, I believe, will be the verdict of posterity and history, upon the transactions which have just passed under our review" [*Ibid.*, 179].

"This is perhaps the first instance on record in which a guardian has visited his own misdeeds upon his ward," says John Sullivan. "The British Government was the self-constituted guardian of the Rajah, and the regent of his kingdom; a rebellion was provoked by the agents of the guardian, it was acknowledged by the guardian to be a rebellion against the government of his ward, and the guardian, punished that ward by confiscating his dominions and his diamonds to his own use" [*Are We Bound by our Treaties*, 52].

"The duty of a Lord Paramount is to protect, and we assume this title with a view to destroy. We are bound by treaties to 'protect' the states, which we are now employed in annihilating" [p. 54].

"The verdict against us must be, that in matters Oriental this nation has no conscience" [*Ibid.*, 78].

According to John M. Ludlow : "Dhuleep Singh was an infant; his minority was only to end in 1854. We were his declared protectors. On our last advance into his country, we had proclaimed (18th Nov., 1848) that we came to punish insurgents, and to put down 'all armed opposition to constituted authority.' We fulfilled that pledge by annexing his whole country within six months. ... In other words, we 'protected' our ward by taking the whole territory from him. ... But having once recognised and undertaken to protect Dhuleep Singh, it was a mockery to punish him for the faults of his subjects. As between us and him, in putting down insurrection, we were simply fulfilling our duty towards him. No such act on the part of his subjects could give us any title against him. Fancy, if you can, a widow lady with a houseful of mutinous servants, who turn out and attack the police. The police knock them on the head, walk into the house and kindly volunteer to protect the mistress against any violence on their part. A quarrel again breaks out, the truncheons are again successful, and the inspector now politely informs the lady that her house and the estate on which it stands are no longer her own, but will be retained in fee simple by the police; that, on turning out, she will receive an annuity, equal to about one and six pence in the pound of her rental; and that she must hand over for the use of the chief commissioner her best diamond necklace. Is this an exaggerated version of our conduct towards that innocent boy Dhuleep Singh, now grown into a Christian gentleman?" [*British India*, ii, 166-7.]

In short, treaties entered into by the British Government with Maharaja Duleep Singh and protection offered to him therein ultimately turned out to be instruments of his deposition. The words of William

S.R. Hodson, of December 16, 1854, though written in a different context—negotiations between the British Government and the Amir of Kabul—were literally true in the case of Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Panjab.

“All our history shows that sooner or later connection with us is political death. The sunshine is not more fatal to a dew-drop than our friendship or alliance to an Asiatic kingdom” [Trotter, *Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, p. 150].

This is how the Panjab had lost her independence and Maharaja Duleep Singh his crown and kingdom.

Part II

MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Confiscation of Property

The first important act of the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, after the annexation of the Panjab was to confiscate the *Tosha-khana* property of the eleven-year-old deposed Maharaja Duleep Singh. In addition to jewels and treasures in gold, silver and precious stones, dishes, plates, cups, cooking pots, many valuable curiosities and relics of all kinds and vast store of Kashmir shawls, *choghas*, etc., and the sword of the Persian hero Rustam and *Wazir* Fateh Khan Barakzai of Kabul and the wedding garments of Sardar Maha Singh, father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, there were :

- (a) The *Kalghi* or plume of Guru Gobind Singh,
- (b) The Koh-i-Noor diamond,
- (c) Maharaja Ranjit Singh's golden chair, silver summer-house, gold and silver poled tents and equipage of rich Cashmere and his magnificent arms and armour,
- (d) Shah Shuja's pavilion, gorgeously embroidered.

[*Sir John Login and Maharaja Duleep Singh*, pp. 182-3.]

On November 28, 1849, Lord Dalhousie inspected the *Tosha-khana* articles and decided not only on the sale of the most of the property but also on the removal of certain valuables to England for presentation to the Queen and for preservation in official museums there. The Maharaja was allowed to take with him only a very small part of his things to Fatehgarh in the United Provinces where he was removed in February 1850. There were at least eight public sales of the so called '*Lahore Confiscated Property*.' The last two, of which the catalogues are available in reprints, were conducted by Messers Lattey Brothers and Mr J. Hayes, (the seventh) on Monday, December 2, 1850, and five successive days and (the last one) on Monday, February 10, 1851, and nine successive days.

No record is available of the sum of money realized by these sales. The only figure known is that Rs. 1,39,287 were realized for 95 items out

of 952 of the second catalogue. By rough calculation, it seems probable that the purchase money amounted to upwards of Rs. 10,00,000. This is for the second sale only. As there were, at least, seven other sales, it may not be too much to put the whole sum realized by the sale of the property at fifty lakhs of rupees.

The words used in the sales catalogues are "confiscated property." But it is clear from the general character of the articles specified in the catalogues that they were the private property of the Maharaja and could not properly be described as State property. According to the *Introduction* to the reprint of the catalogues of the seventh and subsequent sales :

When, however, such of the items as are described more at length are looked at, the matter is at once placed beyond a doubt. In the first Catalogue No. 615 is a miniature of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the father of Maharajah Duleep Singh. In the second, number 186 is described as being the favourite fowling-piece of Maharajah Runjeet Singh; numbers 220, 501, 722 and 744, are arms and armour which were personally worn by him; 207 is a necklace of pearls worn by one of his Queens; and 305 and 306 are swords made for Maharajah Kurruck Singh, the brother of Maharajah Duleep Singh, and for Maharajah Duleep Singh. The items numbered 61, 70, 139, 224, 366, 447, 537 and 635, some of which are of great value, are specially interesting. They formed part of the property of the Afghan King, Shah Shoojah, and were given up by him to Runjeet Singh with the *Koh-i-Noor*, and many other jewels, some almost as valuable.

The Treaty of 1849, already referred to, declared that all property of the State of Lahore shall be confiscated. Article 3 of the same Treaty treats the *Koh-i-Noor* as the private property of the Maharajah, for by it the Maharajah is made to surrender the *Koh-i-Noor* to the Queen of England—showing that it was not amongst the property confiscated in Article 2 ; and the same character holds good as to the other jewels derived from Shah Shoojah, for an emerald with Ahmed Shah's name engraved upon it, and a saddle pommel made of a single emerald, both from this source, were included among the articles which the Maharajah was allowed to retain at the annexation as his private property. Thus it was unjustifiable to characterize the property contained in the catalogues as having been confiscated by the Treaty of Lahore.

The word "confiscated" used in the Treaty is an arrogant expression, singularly ill-suited to the relationship in which the infant Maharajah stood towards the British Government. ...

Maharani Jind Kaur Escaped to Nepal

On her removal from the fort of Sheikhpura in the Panjab in May 1848, Maharani Jind Kaur was interned at Benares under a strong guard. In spite of it, however, it was alleged that she had been in correspondence

with Diwan Moolraj and Sardar Sher Singh Atariwala at Multan during the Anglo-Sikh war. Some of her women servants had also disappeared. She was, therefore, removed to the fort of Chunar. But its thick and lofty walls, with the main iron gate and bastion guarded by armed European soldiers, could not hold in prison the Maharani who managed to escape from it on April 18, 1849, dressed as a maid-servant. She crossed the River Ganges in a small boat and, then, in tattered clothes like a beggar woman's, she made for Nepal, arriving at Kathmandu on April 29. Unexpected and unwelcome guest as she was, the Nepal Government provided her with a small house at Thapathali and an allowance for her maintenance.

To Lord Dalhousie the Maharani's escape to Nepal was a clear gain. The Panjab had been occupied and was completely in British hands. The leading chiefs had all been arrested, imprisoned or exiled. The Sikh army had been destroyed. The Maharani could, therefore, do no harm. He, therefore, attached no importance to her escape. He, however, confiscated all her property in jewels and gold, worth nine lakhs of rupees, which had been lodged in the government treasury on her arrival at Benares, and resumed her pension of Rs. 1000 a month. Writing to Sir George Couper on May 2, 1849, Lord Dalhousie said :

The thing in itself is of no great importance now. I have confiscated her 9 lacs worth of jewels, and she has no money of her own, so that she can't do much harm. If she flies to Nepal and keeps quiet there, it will be a clear gain, for she will lose her pension, of course.

Resigned to her fate, the Maharani lived in a house at Thapathali in Kathmandu near the mansion of the Prime Minister of Nepal, Rana Jang Bahadur. She spent most of her time in the study of scriptures and in charity and social welfare through a temple that she built for the purpose near her house. This temple is still in existence. But "the British Residency would not leave her in peace" even in Nepal. "A whispering campaign," according to Dr B.J. Hasrat's *Anglo Sikh Relations*, "soon started against her imaginary conspiracies. ...It was alleged that she was a dangerous woman, engaged in organising political disaffection against the British and the revival of the Sikh dynasty in the Panjab. All this was of course nonsense, but the steady pressure of the British functionaries in Nepal led to the gradual antagonisation of the Nepalese Darbar against her, culminating in the imposition of most huminilising restrictions on her.

"But neither the misdirected zeal of the British officials at Kathmandu, nor the hostility and indifference of the Nepalese Court, could break the spirit of the forlorn widow of Ranjit Singh. After a decade of exile of isolation, she still retained her bold and imperious disposition. She patiently protested against the indignities and restrictions placed upon her by Jang Bahadur until 1860, when she could brook them no longer.

These, besides others, included the desire of Jang Bahadur for her public appearance in the Darbar to acknowledge Nepalese hospitality—which, of course, she contemptuously refused" [p. 365, f n. 2].

"Towards the end of 1860 it was signified to the Rani that her son Maharaja Dalip Singh was about to return to India and that she could visit him in Calcutta. The Rani was tired of living in isolation in Nepal, and being fed up with the indignities imposed upon her by Jung Bahadur, she readily welcomed the opportunity of joining her son, whom she accompanied in 1861 to England. There, two years later, she died" [pp. 358].

The Maharaja at Fatehgarh

On November 18, 1849, Lord Dalhousie told Dr John Login that it had been determined to remove the young Maharaja from the Panjab to the small village of Fatehgarh in the district of Farrukhabad, U.P., and that, as his guardian, he might take him to Agra, or Delhi, or any of the neighbouring places wherever he liked, and *eventually to England* in the course of a year or two. Having made the necessary arrangements for his escort and safety on the way, with instructions to the police to be alert, the Maharaja, accompanied by his nephew *Shahzada* Sheo-deo Singh (son of Maharaja Sher Singh) and the latter's mother Rani Dakhno, was removed to Fatehgarh where he arrived during the third week of February 1850.

Most of the Panjabi servants of the Maharaja returned to their homes and were replaced by local servants. Dr John Login proved a friendly and sincere guardian. He made arrangements for the prince's education. The Maharaja showed great eagerness to learn English and was gradually attracted to the English way of life. Observing his European companions at morning and evening prayers, Duleep Singh asked Dr Login to order his own Sikh priest to come to him at a fixed hour to read his holy book, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, to him. Writing to his wife on May 16, 1850, Dr Login said: "This, I think, indicates a devotional feeling, that may hereafter be directed aright; indeed, he shows a strong desire to walk according to the light which God has given him, and a wish to know His Will." But Dr Login did not wish to give an impression to anyone that the Government were in any way interfering with the Maharaja's faith. He, therefore, asked his wife to explain to Dr Duff in Edinburgh that "Lord Dalhousie is afraid that if he were asked to recommend a tutor that it might imply an interference with the boy's religious faith; I trust, however, that, God helping us, we shall be enabled, as 'written epistles,' to manifest the spirituality and benevolence of a Christian life, if we cannot otherwise 'preach to him'" [*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 216, 217].

There was soon a change in the companions of the Maharaja, favourable from his guardian's point of view. Mian Keema, a Muhammadan, who had been with him ever since his birth, returned to the

Panjab. His place as confidential personal attendant was taken by one Bhajan Lal, a young Brahmin of Farrukhabad, who had studied at one of the schools of the American Mission at Farrukhabad. His knowledge of English, which the Maharaja was anxious to learn, was his best recommendation. Bhajan Lal gradually introduced to him Christianity through the reading of the Bible, and on December 8, 1850, the Maharaja for the first time communicated to Captain Campbell, his acting guardian, his desire to become a Christian. Dr Login was then on leave in Calcutta where he had gone to receive his wife returning from England.

Bhajan Lal was a Hindu only in name. About Christianity, "his convictions," says Lady Login, "were very strong ; but in his own case he had not the courage to throw off the bondage of Hindooism, though he had certainly helped the Maharajah in his decision with all the energy of which his nature was capable" [*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p. 319].

It was at this time that the visit of Maharaja Duleep Singh to England was being discussed in official quarters. Writing to Dr Login on September 24, 1852, Lord Dalhousie suggested, "If Duleep Singh is to go to England, let him be quietly baptized before he goes and by his own name of Duleep Singh." The formal permission of the Governor-General of India to this effect was communicated by him to Dr Login in a demi-official letter of February 15, 1853, saying, "I have communicated with my colleagues, who concur with me in readily acceding to the Maharaja's wish that he may receive the rite of baptism at once." And on March 8, 1853, Maharaja Duleep Singh was formally admitted into the Christian Church with water brought from the River Ganges near-by at his own private dwelling house. The service was conducted by the Rev. M.W. Jay, with Dr John S. Login, Mrs. Login, Colonel Alexander and Mr Guise signing the baptismal register as witnesses [*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, pp. 297, 303-06].

Writing to his life-long friend Sir George Couper, Bart., on March 12, 1853, Lord Dalhousie referred to this event, saying :

This is the first Indian prince of the many who have succumbed to our power, or have acknowledged it, that has adopted the faith of the stranger. Who shall say to what it may not lead ? God prosper the seed and multiply it. I have never from the hour in which I signed the decree had one moment's hesitation or doubt as to the *justice or necessity of my act in dethroning the boy*. If I had had such a doubt, the sight of the blessed result for him, to which that act has led, would now have thoroughly consoled me for what I did then. As it is, my mind is doubly content as to what he lost ; immeasurably content as to the gain he has found in his loss ! [*Private Letters of Marquess of Dalhousie*, p. 249.]

While at Fatehgarh, the question of the marriage of the Maharaja also occasionally came under discussion. He had been engaged, as we

know, to the daughter of Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala—a sister of Raja Sher Singh. But Sir Frederick Currie, the British Resident at Lahore (1848-49), had refused to fix a date for the marriage. This, in addition to the annoyances from James Abbott at Hazara, had strengthened the doubts of Sardar Chatar Singh about the future of the Panjab, and he had raised the standard of rebellion against the British authorities during the second Anglo-Sikh War and had invited his son Raja Sher Singh to take up arms against them. With the removal of the Maharaja to Fatehgarh and the exile of the Sardars from the Panjab, that chapter had come to a close. Yet Lord Dalhousie would not entertain any suggestion regarding the Maharaja's marriage with a Sikh girl. He had written to Dr Login in April 1850: "The marriage of the Maharajah is a more difficult matter for us to arrange. I should object decidedly, and do not wish to countenance any relations henceforth between the Maharajah and the Sikhs, either by alliance with a Sikh family, or sympathy with Sikh feeling" [*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 230]. He was, therefore, willing to encourage his alliance with Princess Gourama, a daughter of the deposed Raja of Coorg, and said in the same letter, "If he chooses to marry one of the Raja of Coorg's daughters, after having had everything about her explained to him, I cannot see why he should not."

The Maharaja was then, in 1850-53, too young to take a decision on this matter, and the attention of the Governor-General and the Maharaja's guardian was directed more towards his education and development and conversion to Christianity and eventual settlement in England. The question of his marriage came to be shelved for some years to come.

With the news of Maharaja Duleep Singh's intended conversion to Christianity spreading about in 1851, there was a subdued excitement among the people of Ranee Dakhno, the widow of Maharaja Sher Singh, at Fatehgarh, with a marked change in their attitude towards the Maharaja. They were under the impression that her son Sheo-deo Singh would in future be looked upon as the true representative of the Khalsa Raj, and it was reported that the Ranee had encouraged these ideas.

"On its coming to the knowledge of the Governor-General that the Shahzadah had been assuming the airs of importance and announcing, unchecked by his relatives and attendants, that he would be placed on the *guddee* by the *Khalsa*, as soon as Duleep Singh went to England as a Christian," Sir Henry Elliot, the Secretary to the Government of India, was directed to inform Dr Login that the Ranee must be warned of the consequences of permitting the child to hold such language.

"You will inform the Ranee," wrote Sir Henry, "that the *Raj* of the Punjab is at an end for ever, and that any contemplation of the restoration of her son, or of anybody else, to sovereignty there is a crime against the State. It is her duty to instruct her son accordingly. If on any future occasion, either she or her son is detected in expressing or

entertaining expectations of restoration to power, or to any other position than that which he now occupies, the consequences will be immediate and disastrous to his interests..."— *Official letter, dated Simla, July 23rd, 1851; Sir John Login and Duleep Singh, 275-76.*

In his letter of November 28, 1849, the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie had written to Dr Login that Maharaja Duleep Singh had to be taken "eventually to England in course of a year or two." The concurrence of the Court of Directors was conveyed by His Lordship to Dr Login and to the Maharaja on January 31, 1854. He was not, however, willing for *Shahzada* Sheo-deo Singh to accompany the Maharaja. The boy on the other hand was rather anxious and wished Mrs. Login to persuade his mother Rani Dakhno to let him go. The Rani, however, did not agree.

Maharaja arrived in England

The Maharaja and his party headed by Dr and Mrs. Login sailed from Calcutta on April 19, 1854. He was also accompanied by Nehemiah (Nilkant) Goreh, a learned Brahmin convert missionary, who was to remain with him for three years as a tutor in oriental languages. A day before the Maharaja's departure, Lord Dalhousie presented to him a volume of Nisbet's *Bible*, in which he wrote the following inscription: "To His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh, This Holy Book, in which he has been led by God's grace to find an inheritance richer by far than all earthly kingdoms, is presented, with sincere respect and regard, by his faithful friend, DALHOUSIE : April 5, 1854."

In May 1854, the Maharaja reached Southampton on his way to London. In England the Maharaja made a very favourable impression and was received with greatest kindness by the Royal family, particularly by Queen Victoria, who showed great sympathy for the unfortunate prince.

"The Queen wishes to tell Lord Dalhousie," she wrote on May 26, 1854, "how much interested and pleased we have been in making the acquaintance of the young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh."

"It is not without mixed feelings of pain and sympathy that the Queen sees this young prince, destined to so high and powerful a position, and now reduced to so dependent one by her arms; his youth, amiable character, and striking good looks, as well as his being a Christian, the first of his high rank who has embraced our faith, must incline everyone favourably towards him, and it will be a pleasure to us to do all we can to be of use to him, and to befriend and protect him" [102/65].

Again on October 2, 1854, she wrote to Lord Dalhousie :

This young prince has the strongest claims upon our generosity and sympathy; deposed, for no fault of his, when a little boy of ten years old, he is as innocent as any private individual of the misdeeds which compelled us to depose him, and take possession of his territories. He has besides since become a Christian, whereby he is for ever cut

off from his own people. His case, therefore, appears to the Queen still stronger than the *former* one, as he was not even a conquered enemy, but merely powerless in the hands of the Sikh soldiery [105/68].

On one occasion when the Queen was pleased to place in the hands of the Maharaja the great *Koh-i-Noor* diamond, which had once belonged to him and which had been confiscated by the orders of Lord Dalhousie and brought to England and presented to Her Majesty, he looked at it with great interest, examined it closely, and, then with a deferential reverence, returned it to her with the words: "It is to me, Ma'am, the greatest pleasure thus to have the opportunity, as a loyal subject, of *myself* tendering to my sovereign, the *Koh-i-Noor*!" This chivalrous sentiment was highly appreciated by Her Majesty. In addition to innumerable other expressions of kindness, the Queen never forgot the Maharaja's birthday, and as regularly as it came round arrived the royal birthday-gift. The Prince Consort also treated him with the most gracious kindness and all the royal children treated him as if he were one of them.

The development of closer relations between the Royal family and the Maharaja and his association with the aristocracy and nobility of England was not very pleasing to the imperious bureaucratic Governor-General of India, as Lord Dalhousie was. He looked at things from a different angle. To him Duleep Singh was a subjugated deposed prince, exiled from his country, deprived of his crown and kingdom for all time to come, and was a *Maharaja* by courtesy extended to him by a treaty granted by him.

"It is very good for the Maharajah," wrote Lord Dalhousie to Sir George Couper, in his letter of October 22, 1854, "to have seen the Royal family under such an aspect as you describe at Osborne. But I am a little afraid that this exceeding distinction will not be for his future comfort. If he is to live and die in England, good and well; but if he is to return to India, he is not likely to be rendered more contented with his position there by being so highly treated in England; and, after breakfasting with queen, and princesses, I doubt his much liking the necessity of leaving his shoes at the door of the Governor-General's room, when he is admitted to visit him, which he will certainly be again required to do. The 'night-cappy' appearance of his turban is his strongest national feature. Do away with that and he has no longer any outward and visible sign of a Sikh about him" [107/69; Baird, 325].

Maharaja's Wishes for his Future

According to article 11 of the treaty of December 16, 1846, it had been recognized that the minority of the Maharaja would end on September 4, 1854 [p. 673], when he would attain the full age of sixteen years. As the time had now come, the Maharaja became naturally anxious to know what arrangements, if any, were contemplated for his

future. In October 1854, Sir John Login brought this question to the attention of Lord Dalhousie informing him of the Maharaja's own wishes on the subject. "He said," wrote Sir John, "that his own wishes at present were not to receive an assignment of land or any estate from the Government, as in that case he would feel under obligation to reside there, and could not, perhaps, have the power to dispose of it, if he wished to do so, but that he was anxious that such accumulations as may have taken place during his minority, by lapses of pensions from the allowance of 'not less than four lakhs, and not more than five lakhs, per annum,' to which he and his family and servants were entitled by the Treaty, would then be made over to him, and that from that sum he could appropriate a part to purchase an estate, and allow the balance to be deposited for him in Government securities. His Highness is evidently under the impression that the 'not less than four lacs' mentioned in the Treaty were to be allowed to him and his family and servants in perpetuity, and that he is entitled to such accumulations as may take place by lapses of pensions from this fund; and, as your Lordship may view the matter in a different light, it is very necessary that you should be apprised of it, to prevent any future misunderstanding" [*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p. 351].

But for reasons, best known to him, Lord Dalhousie had decided to extend the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh by two years. He also wrote back to Sir John Login to tell the Maharaja that he was mistaken in supposing that lapses from the four lakhs were to fall in to him to increase his allowances. This must have come to Maharaja as a surprise and a shock. But he was helpless and had only to look up to the British Government for justice and liberality.

On February 7, 1856, was annexed by Lord Dalhousie's order the kingdom of Oudh. The Maharaja naturally felt interested in it as it was the first case of the deposition of an Indian sovereign which could in some way be compared with his own. The handsome terms offered by Lord Dalhousie to Wajid Ali Shah, the notorious "discrowned debauchee," raised in the mind of the Maharaja hopes of a liberal interpretation to be placed on the treaty forced upon himself in 1849. "Wajid Ali Shah had, in fact, never been an independent king, like the Maharajah of Lahore, and he was deprived of his crown for his *own* malpractices."

The rulers of the Panjab, from the Maharaja Ranjit Singhto Duleep Singh, had been faithful allies of the British Government. According to the proclamation of November 18, 1849, of the British Resident at Lahore, the British Army *entered the Lahore territories not as enemy to the constituted government, but to restore order and obedience*, and the kingdom of the Panjab was annexed for political reasons, whereas the dynasty of Oudh, "in fifty years had broken all its pledges again and again," and Oudh had been taken possession of because its "rulers had long proved

their unfitness." Moreover, at the time of the annexation of the Panjab, Maharaja Duleep Singh was a minor and a ward of the British Government who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of the protection of his person and territories during his minority up to September 4, 1854. The Maharaja, as such, was an innocent political sufferer for no fault of his, as Queen Victoria had put it in her letter of October 2, 1854, to Lord Dalhousie.

The treaty proposed to Wajid Ali Shah provided "that title of King of Oudh should be continued to His Majesty and the lawful heirs male of his body; that the King should be treated with all due attention, respect and honour, and should have exclusive jurisdiction within the palace at Lucknow and the Dil Kusha and Bibiapur parks, except as to the infliction of capital punishment; that the King Wajid Ali Shah should receive twelve Lakhs a year for the support of his dignity and honour; that the Company should maintain for His Majesty a body of palace-guards at a cost not exceeding three lakhs of Company's Rupees per annum; that each of his successors should receive twelve lakhs a year; and that his collateral relations should be maintained separately by the British Government." —Aitchison, *Treaties*, ii, pp. 67-8.

The difference between the two was very great indeed. Before the occupation of the Panjab, Maharaja Duleep Singh was an independent sovereign of his country, and then a ward of the British Government. His father Maharaja Ranjit Singh had been a friendly ally of the British Government. Maharaja Duleep Singh's country was annexed to the British Indian dominions during his minority and wardship for no fault of his but for the political benefit of the British Government of India. In spite of it, he was given a pension of between four and five lakhs of rupees per annum "for the support of himself, his relatives and the servants of the State" [Aitchison, *Treaties*, 49]. Nawab "Wajid Ali" Shah of Oudh, in the words of Sir John Login, "had never been an independent king, like the Maharajah of Lahore, and he was deprived of his crown for his own malpractices as a ruler" [p. 390, f.n.]. A "discrowned debauchee, as L.J. Trotter called him, he belonged to a dynasty which had never been true to its pledges. Yet he was given fifteen lakhs for himself alone, with three lakhs for his palace-body-guards, and a *separate* maintenance for his collateral relations.

Commenting on this disparity, Lady Login says: "Even the outside amount offered to the Maharajah Duleep Singh, of five lakhs of rupees yearly, 'for the support of himself, his relatives and servants of the State' (with which, however, he was quite satisfied), looks rather meagre beside this fifteen lakhs (£ 150,00) per annum destined for the King of Oudh and his amusements alone!—other due provision being made for the members of his family" [Sir John Login and Duleep Singh, 393].

But Maharaja Duleep Singh uttered not a word of complaint about

Lord Dalhousie's liberality towards Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. He put a very charitable construction on it feeling, perhaps, that there was a change in the attitude of His Lordship towards the deposed Indian princes in response to the wishes of Her Majesty the Queen expressed in her letter of October 2, 1854. The letter contained these words: "it strikes the Queen that the more kindly we treat Indian princes, whom we have conquered, and the more consideration we show for their birth and former grandeur, the more we shall attach Indian princes and governments to us, and more ready will they be to come under our rule" [105/68].

On December 9, 1856, before proceeding to Italy on a visit, Maharaja Duleep Singh requested the Court of Directors of the East India Company to have his future clearly defined and settled as he had then become eighteen years old. "In taking the subject of my future settlement into consideration, I hope," he said, "that the circumstances, in which I have been placed under the protection of the British Government, may receive due consideration." Referring to the terms of the Treaty of 1849, he submitted that "there are certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by Treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now, in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome, and certain conditions as to the amount of income to be assigned to me, which, if carried out in accordance with the literal interpretation of the Treaty, may place me and my family in a less favourable position than the ministers and their families by whom the Treaty, on my behalf, was made. I trust, therefore, that in considering the subject of my future settlement, the whole circumstances of my position may be carefully reviewed and that such provision may be assigned to me as may appear liberal, considering my former rank, my present recognized position, and the expenses necessary for its proper and dignified maintenance" [112/71].

In reply to this, the Maharaja was informed on February 19, 1857, that "the Court will make a reference to the Government of India." The Maharaja intended to go to India in October. On his return from Italy in May, he was surprised to find that no reply had been received from the Governor-General to the Court's reference. Late in June 1857 was received in England the news of the mutiny of troops at Meerut and the occupation of Delhi by them. The Maharaja, therefore, not only felt it inadvisable to pursue the subject of his future but also refrained from asking to be released from guardianship which should have indeed ended in the first week of September 1856.

At this time the Court received from the Governor-General of India a copy of a letter said to have been written by the Maharaja to his mother in Nepal. This letter, it was said, had been intercepted by the Prime Minister of Nepal, Jang Bahadur. He gave it to the British Resident at Kathmandu who passed it on to the Government of India.

Eventually, it came to the Court with a minute of the Governor-General, Lord Canning. This gave rise to suspicions that the Maharaja had been in clandestine correspondence with his mother. "Sir John Login, however," says Lady Login, "was able to convince the Government that the letter in question was an impudent forgery and an attempt to extort money from Ranee on the part of some person in England." As Pandit Nehemiah wrote to Sir John later on in his letter of February 26, 1857, from Benares, he "had heard that she was cheated of some thousands of rupees by some man in this very matter" [*Sir John Login*, 399-401, 403]. According to J. Wm. Kaye, however, "the letter was a somewhat harmless one but the Nepal Government think," he added, "that all letters to Chund (Jind) Kowr should go through their hands."

The demand of the Nepal Government was unreasonable. The Maharani was neither a subject of theirs, nor a political prisoner for any crime against them. She had only sought asylum with them. This demand was tantamount to a censorship over the Maharani's correspondence which Jang Bahadur, evidently, wished to exploit for his political ends as and when an opportunity offered itself. This also lends support to the suspicion that there might have been working behind the forged letter the secret hand of Jang Bahadur himself.

Towards the end of 1856, Pandit Nehemiah Goreh, the Maharaja's tutor, returned to India. The Maharaja had entrusted him with a *personal* mission to his mother at Kathmandu. Lord Canning, the new Governor-General, who succeeded Lord Dalhousie, did not permit the Pandit to go to Nepal to see the Maharani. Goreh, therefore, wrote to her through an *Udasi Sadhu*, named Mani Ram. One can hardly imagine the feeling of an exiled mother who had been forcibly separated from her ten-year old son and whom she had not been able to see since. She had naturally been anxiously waiting for his messenger and, it was said, "that she was cheated of some thousands of rupees by some man in this very matter"—clearly, this matter of arranging communication between mother and son.

The news of the sack and burning the Maharaja's residence at Fatehgarh by the mutineers in 1857 and the loot and destruction of all his valuable property in his *Toshakhana* there and of the heartless murders of his English Steward, Sergeant Elliot, his wife and children, and of Mr Walter Guise, his former tutor, gave him a rude shock. But as he was not familiar with most of the other places and persons involved in the mutiny, he did not make any extensive enquiries on the subject of the revolt. He seems to have taken events in far-off India with an indifference not unnatural to a young man of his age and to one so capriciously treated by fate. This and some casual conversation of the Maharaja were misconstrued by Lord Clarendon into an unfeeling and cruel disposition. Writing about this to Colonel Phipps on September 30, 1857, Sir John Login tried to disabuse their minds of the misconception about

the Maharaja under which they were labouring, telling them that though disinterested and reserved in his views about the events in India, "with the conduct of the Sikhs and Punjabis in assisting us, he is very much gratified" [p. 409].

While people in England felt greatly horrified by the news of the "cruelties perpetrated by the sepoys," there was an equally sharp reaction among them against "the scarcely less horrid cruelties inflicted by our countrymen under the name of punishment and vengeance" which "will leave a desperate wound, which time can never heal," as Mr John Bright put it in his letter of September 1, 1857, to Sir John Login. "The fearful descriptions of the mutilations and outrage to which English ladies and children had been subjected were repeated and exaggerated to such an extent that men's minds were strung to an intensity of hatred to the native races of India, which forbade their listening to reason." A committee of gentlemen was, therefore, formed, of which Dr Sir John Login was one, to make enquiries at the ports of arrival into the cases of mutilation brought forward by newspapers. Sir John Login "had the satisfaction of establishing the fact, after interviewing both officers and passengers on those vessels, that at least among those who had returned to their native country, no single case of such mutilation was to be found. ... This evidence was of great assistance in strengthening the hands of Lord Canning whose 'clemency' to the rebels had raised a storm against him," says Lady Login in her *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* [p. 413-4]. Evidently, it was some such conflicting newspaper reports and the results of enquiries on which the casual observations of the Maharaja had given rise to the misunderstandings about him.

The mutiny in India was also responsible for prohibiting the Maharaja's return to India as planned by him. As he had to remain in England more from political necessity than his choice, it was suggested that "it would be advisable to provide him with an estate," "to induce him to settle contentedly in this country."

On December 29, 1857, the Court of Directors of the East India Company permitted Maharaja Duleep Singh to assume the management of his own affairs, and on February 27, 1858, Dr Sir John Login informed the Court that he had transferred all balances at the bankers, and other securities, to the personal credit of the Maharaja.

The question of the Maharaja's marriage with Princess Gourama of Coorg, as at one time suggested by Queen Victoria, had been lingering on for some time. In March 1859, the Maharaja informed Lady Login that he felt that the Princess "was not calculated to make him happy," and, therefore, "he could not ask her to be his wife." This unexpected announcement of the Maharaja was, no doubt, disappointing to Lady Login, but the Queen took it very calmly, as she was equally interested in the happiness of both the Maharaja and the princess.

The anxiety of the Maharaja's friends and well-wishers, however, ended with his marriage with Bamba Muller in 1864.

The question of the assumption of the management of his affairs by the Maharaja on coming of age had been hanging in the balance for over four years. It had been brought to the notice of the Government of India, to begin with, in October 1854, by Sir John Login. On December 9, 1856, the Maharaja had himself written to the Chairman of the Court of Directors on this subject. But nothing had been done up to 1859. The Maharaja felt helpless in this situation and wrote a very pathetic letter to his former guardian, Dr Sir John Login, imploring his help. "My patience," he said, "is quite exhausted !" Do, for *goodness sake*, get the Government to settle with me, and pay my arrears as soon as possible. *I do believe they will take another year to settle my affairs. I trust to you to stir them up, for I dread getting into debt*" [Sir John Login, 446]. Referring to this, Lady Login said, "Little did he think that *thirty years later* they would still be unsettled."

Shahzada Sheo-deo Singh had all these years been dependent on his mother Rani Dakhno's pension, and, as he wished to marry, he wrote to Dr Sir John Login to request the Maharaja, as head of his family, to make an allowance for his maintenance. After protracted correspondence, the Government of India gave to the *Shahzada* a small jagir of eight thousand rupees per annum (Rs. 666-00 p.m.), and in spite of the remonstrance of the Maharaja it was not persuaded to increase it.

To India to see his Mother

As the Government of India had forbidden Pandit Nehemiah Goreh, whom the Maharaja had commissioned to go to Nepal to see his mother, to have any direct communication with her, the Maharaja decided to go to India himself to see her and to make satisfactory arrangements for her residence in British territory. For some time past she had been feeling very unhappy at Kathmandu, being not unoften harassed by Jang Bahadur.

Colonel G. Ramsay, the British Resident at Kathmandu, said about Jang Bahadur on November 28, 1860 : "A more unprincipled scoundrel does not tread the earth. ... Jang Bahadur longs to get rid of her, for various reasons personal to himself, and declares that if ever she sets foot in British provinces, she shall never be allowed to re-enter Nepal. ... He also wants her mansion which is on his owa premises" [Sir John Login, 456-7].

The Viceroy, Lord Canning, had no objection to the Maharaja's visit to India, though he deemed it inadvisable that he should go to the Panjab. On his arrival at Calcutta in January 1861, Duleep Singh stayed at the Spence's Hotel. It was there that the mother and the son met after thirteen and a half years. The Maharaja was then trying to get a house outside Calcutta for her to stay. But this was not to be. In his letter of February 1861, he informed Sir John Login : "My mother has

decided she will not separate from me any more, and as she is refused permission to go to the hills, I must give up that intention, and, I suppose, we shall return to England as soon as I can get passage" [127/85].

There was another reason also for his early return. The Chinese War had just ended when he landed at Calcutta, and many Sikh regiments were returning home. The word had passed round the troop-ships, as they entered the Hooghly, that their deposed Sovereign was then in the city. In their thousands the Sikh soldiers flocked about the Spence's Hotel for his *darshan* and were so demonstrative in their joy, rending the skies with their shouts of *Sat Sri Akal*, that the officials became alarmed. Hearing of this, Lord Canning requested the Maharaja "as a favour to the Government, not in any way as a *command*," to drop his plan of a shooting trip and to return to England with his mother by the next steamer. Although the Maharaja had gone to a great expense in preparations for it, he gave up his plans and sailed for England.

Maharani Jind Kaur in England

On her arrival in London Maharani Jind Kaur was lodged at 'No. 1, Round-the-Corner' at the Lancaster Gate, close to where the Logins were then living. According to Lady Login, who visited her soon after her arrival, "Jind Kaur was truly an object of commiseration when one contrasted her present with her former state." "With health broken, and eye-sight dimmed, her once-famed beauty vanished, and an air of lassitude, it was hard to believe in her former charms of person and of conversation. Yet the moment she grew interested and excited in a subject, unexpected gleams and glimpses, through the haze of indifference, and the torpor of advancing years," revealed her real self.

The Maharaja then took her down to Mulgrave Castle, in Yorkshire, which he had taken on a lease from Lord Normandy in 1858. The Maharani was happy to be with her son and could not be persuaded to live separate from him at Lythe Hall as advised by Dr Login. He was under the impression that her influence on the Maharaja was not very healthy from the political angle of the Government who looked askance even at the continuance of his own relationship with the Maharaja and had at one time refused to recognize him as his attorney.

The Maharani seems to have apprised her son not only of the circumstances under which the treaties of the Panjab were signed in 1846 and 1849 and how the Panjab was annexed in 1849 but also of the large family estates belonging to his father Maharaja Ranjit Singh before he became the ruler of the Panjab. This prompted Duleep Singh to search for more information on these subjects and to study the *Punjab Blue Book* and other relevant documents.

For the first time the Maharaja makes a mention of his *private estates* in his letter of July 1861 addressed to Sir John Login, saying, "I wish very much to have conversation with you about my private property in

the Punjab and the *Koh-i-Noor* diamond and perhaps—if you really can come—you will kindly procure and bring with you the *Punjab Blue Book*" [130/86].

Sir John Login had by this time obtained the opinion of the well-known lawyer of London, Mr Leith, on the Maharaja's rights under the treaty of Lahore and had submitted it to Colonel Phipps. To this the Colonel replied on August 4, 1861: "The legal opinion may be a *perfectly correct one*, but these matters must be settled by the rules of common sense. ... the best course which the Maharajah can pursue is, as you suggest, to submit his claims to some impartial persons in whose judgment he might have confidence." "The arrival of the Maharanee in England is a misfortune," he added, "though it is impossible to oppose his filial wish" [131/86-87].

Feeling disgusted, the Maharaja announced in one of his letters to Sir John, in August 1861, his intention to throw up his pension, emoluments and other worldly prospects and to return to India with his mother, taking only a *jagir* at Dehra Dun, to devote the rest of his life to the welfare of native Christians. He was, however, dissuaded by Lady Login from taking any hasty step.

Maharani Jind Kaur seems to have become reconciled to her son's change of religion, but she felt very strongly about the uncertainty of his future. In this respect, Sir John Login, Sir Charles Wood and Col. C.B. Phipps were all of opinion that the Maharaja was thoroughly under her influence and the only way to rectification was to get him to live apart from her. On June 16, 1862, Phipps wrote to Login that "his mother should not be prevented from returning to India."

Sir John Lawrence was at this time a member of the Indian Council and he was not in favour of her return. "There is no doubt whatever," he wrote to Login on June 8, 1862, "that the Maharanee is better out of India than living in that country. There she is sure to do mischief; here, I admit, she will be equally an evil genius of the Maharaja." Some difficulties were at the same time made by the Government of India about the place of her residence there. In view of this, and of the pressure brought upon him by some of the higher bureaucrats, the Maharaja, willy-nilly, rented a separate house for her in London, with an English lady as her companion. And, there at Abingdon House, Kensington, she died on August 1, 1863. She had been a very devoted mother to him and he had been very much attached to her, and he was deeply grieved by her death so soon after her arrival in England.

The last wish of the Maharani was that her bones should not be allowed to rot in a foreign land and that her dust should be returned to the dust of her motherland. It was, therefore, decided in consultation with Sir John Login that her remains should be temporarily placed in a vault in Kensal Green Cemetery and then taken to India for final funeral rites.

Two and a half months later died (October 18, 1863) the Maharaja's most sincere and devoted guardian, Dr Sir John Login. Thus he was robbed of the friend on whose sympathetic understanding he depended the most for negotiations with the British Government for the settlement of his affairs. "Duleep Singh's grief at my husband's death was indeed most sincere and unaffected, writes Lady Login in her *Recollections*, and many at the grave-side spoke afterwards of the touching eloquence of his sudden outburst there when he gave vent to the words, Oh, I have lost my father !"

In dutiful compliance of his mother's last wish, the Maharaja left for India in the spring of 1864 and arranged for the cremation of her body at Bombay. Her ashes were scattered onto the waters of the Godavari at Nasik on the Panchvati side, on the left bank, where a small *samadh* was built as a memorial.*

On his way back, the Maharaja married at Alexandria in Egypt at the British Consulate, on June 7, 1864, Bamba Muller, the daughter of a German merchant Ludwig Muller and Abyssinian-Egyptian mother Sofia. Ever since the passing away of his mother and his old guardian Sir John Login, Duleep Singh had been feeling very dejected and lonely. Moreover, he had been disappointed in his hopes of the English marriage he had fixed on. On his way out to India he had visited the American Presbyterian Mission School at Cairo and, there, selected Bamba for his future wife.

Bamba Muller became the *Maharani* and came to England with Maharaja Duleep Singh.

The Maharaja and the Government

On his return to England, the Maharaja and Maharani Bamba lived almost in retirement for the first few years at the Elveden estate in Suffolk, of which he got possession on September 29, 1864. This was to be his home in England for over two decades. Hatherop Castle estate in Gloucestershire, which he had purchased in November 1862, for £183,000, had been sold in 1863 as it was not found to be suitable and profitable. The Maharaja had to spend a good deal in restoring and partly rebuilding the mansion house at Elveden with monies borrowed from his bankers. He also further extended his Suffolk property by fresh purchases with loans from the Government.

Maharaja Duleep Singh and Maharani Bamba had three sons and three daughters between the years 1866 and 1879 [*App. E.*, p. 680]. To the anxiety about his own future was now added the responsibility for his

*I visited the place on September 5, 1940, along with Pandit Tirath Ram of Kapurthala, Manager of the Kapurthala *Dharmshala* at Nasik. The *Samadh* had been demolished by the local municipality around 1935 to construct an outlet for sewage water. Only a small 2½ ft. pillar stood on the spot. It becomes visible in winter when the water level in the river recedes—G.S.

heirs. He had already been in correspondence with the Government for a settlement according to the Treaty of 1849 and the previous treaties of 1846 [*App. B*, xxi-xv, pp. 664-75]. The rejection of his claim to the lapses of pensions had greatly disappointed him.

During the mutiny of 1857, his residence at Fatehgarh was sacked and all his property worth £25,000 (Rs. 2,50,000) was looted and destroyed. After the Queen's proclamation of 1858, the Maharaja had requested that "he might at least be indemnified for this loss." For some years there was no response from the Government and then they offered him the sum of £3,000, 12% of his claim, which he felt was too inadequate. He declined to accept it.

The Maharaja's mother had informed him of the family's large private estates and properties in the Panjab he had inherited from his father. The Government would not accept this claim, nor were they prepared to make any official enquiry about it. In the absence of any documents in her possession, the exact location and details of the properties were not available to the Maharaja. He, therefore, wrote to the Government on July 14, and again on September 5, 1882, to enquire whether—"as I am now a naturalized English man"—"there is or there is not any legal difficulty to my going to the Punjab in order to obtain the requisite information, which I can procure in no other way, regarding my private landed property in that province." In reply he was informed by the Marquis of Hartington on October 23, 1882, that "it is improbable that permission will be accorded to you to visit the Punjab" [150/96, 154-5/108-09]. On August 15, 1883, the Viceroy of India informed the Secretary of State, London: "Having consulted Punjab Government we consider Maharajah cannot be allowed to visit Punjab or to go north of Allahabad. A large number of Ranjit Singh's devoted adherents still survive and appearance among them of Ranjit Singh's son would probably have most disquieting effect ..." [159/113-4]. In their despatch of August 15, 1883, Lord Ripon and six of his colleagues had written to Earl of Kimberley: "We think that the Maharaja should be informed, before leaving England, that he cannot be permitted to enter the Punjab or travel north of Allahabad" [161/116].

Thus the Maharaja's way to the land of his birth and ancestors was closed for all purposes and for all time to come. One alternative in front of him now was to request his cousin Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia of Raja Sansi, in the district of Amritsar, to find out the details for him. But in the absence of required facilities, the Sardar was not fully successful in getting all the requisite information and could submit to the Maharaja only an incomplete statement of his private landed properties in the Panjab. He wished to proceed to England to meet the Maharaja and discuss the matter with him personally. But the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab "would not accord me permission at this time and ordered

me to go back home." This is what Thakar Singh wrote to the Maharaja in his covering note to the statement, dated November 9, 1883 [162/118].

At this time the Maharaja also arranged for the compilation of a book, *The Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government—A Narrative*, published in June 1884 for *Private Circulation* among the officials concerned and among some of his friends and others as were interested in a detailed study of his case following his letters to the Editor of the *Times*, London, published on August 31 and September 8, 1882 [151-53/96-108], and by Major Evans Bell's *The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharajah Duleep Singh*, published by Trubner and Co., London, in 1882. *The Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government* included not only an historical sketch of the Panjab under his ancestors and its annexation by the British Government but also of his own life and fortunes up to 1884, with particular reference to his pecuniary embarrassments and painful disappointments at the hands of the British Government both in India and England. In dealing with *Guardianship and Trusteeship* and interpretation and result of the Treaty of 1849, the book explains the peculiar relations in which the Maharaja stood towards the Government, and "the causes of differences between them."

As guardians and trustees of the Maharaja and his property, it was the duty of the British Government to pay attention to the spiritual and material interests of their ward and to provide protection to his life and property. "When the interests of the ward clashed with those of the guardian, the latter could not in justice become the arbiter himself but should submit the question to the decision of an impartial tribunal." The British Government in India, however, thought it expedient—it was neither just nor right—to annex the kingdom of their ward Maharaja Duleep Singh for *no fault of his*.

As to his private estates and property, it was the duty of the new British governors of the Panjab to restore them undiminished to him when he came of age. But they were all appropriated without the slightest hesitation by those who constituted the new Government after the annexation of the Panjab. They were treated as if they had been the spoils of war, although they were untouched by the Annexation Treaty.

But what pained the Maharaja most was the decision of the Government to sell off the Elveden Hall Estate after his death. This meant that his wife, sons and daughters, would be uprooted from their home to find shelter he knew not where. They had no place to go to in England and no place to live in the Panjab from where he had been permanently banished.

This was the state of affairs to which Maharaja Duleep Singh, once the independent sovereign of the Panjab, was reduced by the all-powerful British Government which had become his guardians and trustees during his minority. Writing to Sir John Login in December 1861, Mr John

Bright had remarked: "The English Government knows nothing of forbearance and magnanimity when its opponent is weak or in trouble" [*Lady Login's Rec.*, 199]. Unfortunately, this turned out to be literally true in the case of Maharaja Duleep Singh.

Having no longer the means to support his rank and position in England, and no satisfactory future to assure for his eldest son, then seventeen and a half years old, the Maharaja had taken passage to India for himself and the whole of his family in December 1883, intending to resume Indian life, and be "done with England and her hypocrisies for ever," as he put it to Lady Login in July 1883. She felt that "unfortunately, he had much reason in his complaints" "and grievances and the injustice with which he had been treated by the British Government." This was also the opinion of Sir John Login who, to use Lady Login's words, "himself did not consider that the terms of the Treaty of Lahore were being carried out in the spirit which the ward of the British Government was warranted to expect" [*Sir John Login and M. Duleep Singh*, p. 513]. Lady Login, however, was able to persuade him to postpone his departure. She wished to seek for him, through a personal appeal, the intervention and help of Her Majesty the Queen, in whose unfailing kindness and affection towards him he had the fullest faith.

About thirty-eight letters, some of them documents of many sheets, passed between Lady Login and the officials of Her Majesty's Secretariat and of the India Office. As, during the years, there had come a new generation of officials who had little appreciation of the Maharaja's position and of what he had been, nobody was willing to take a sympathetic, much less liberal or generous, view of the case which the changed circumstances demanded.

"That Duleep Singh," in the words of Lady Login, "was willing and ready to come to some equitable agreement is evident, for he offered to abide by the arbitration of any three English statesmen to be named by the Queen—if they were unconnected with the India office. ... Up to that date (August 1883), he had no thought of disloyalty" [*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p. 493; *Lady Login's Recollections*, p. 252]. In the early sixties, Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie had submitted to the Government a report on the Maharaja's claims, but in consequence of some difference of opinion in the Council, no steps were taken to consider the report which was ultimately shelved as unacceptable to the Government. The Government insisted on being judges in their own cause to the neglect of justice on which, as Sir John Lawrence once said, "rested the real foundations of our power in India."

"For upwards of thirty years," says Lady Login at the end of her *Sir John Login and Maharajah Duleep Singh*, p. 549, "has he [the Maharaja Duleep Singh] been at with them [the British Government] on various points, small questions no doubt at first, which would have instantly

disappeared had the recommendations of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie been adopted, but which, as time went on, became more and more of vital importance to the Maharajah, and, in a corresponding ratio, less and less interesting to the officials who had to deal with the case, as they had no hand in the original Treaty."

In the spring of 1885, the air was thick with the rumours of war between England and Russia. The Maharaja apparently, thought that his offer to volunteer himself for service in the British Army would establish his *bonafides* and might win him the sympathy and understanding he so much needed. He wrote to the Earl of Kimberley at the India office on April 21, 1885, to inform the Government of India that it was his intention to join the British Army as a volunteer, should the war break out, "and proceed from Bombay via Karachi, and through Baluchistan to Afghanistan, thus entirely avoiding passing through the Punjab."

"My father," added the Maharaja, "was an ally of the British Crown, and I myself also have had the honour of being styled as such... I am determined to prove my loyalty to my sovereign by placing my life at her service.....I shall leave my family hostages in your Lordship's hands" [166/171-2].

The Government of India seems, however, to have put a different construction upon this offer of the Maharaja and the Viceroy rejected it telling the Secretary of State, London, in his telegram of May 1, 1885 : "We think it undesirable he should visit India, and we could not let him join the army" [168/172]. Lord Kimberley further added in his reply of May 5 : "If at any time you proceed to India, it will be necessary for you, whilst there, to regulate your movements in conformity with the instructions you would receive from the Viceroy" [169/173].

To this the Maharaja reacted sharply and pointed out to Lord Kimberley on May 7 that restrictions on his movements had been formally removed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company in their letter to him of February 19, 1857, and that the Secretary, Sir George Grey, by letter from Home Office of April 8, 1863, had informed him that he was entitled to all the privileges of a British subject, which he was by no means prepared to give up [170/173-74]. But the Secretary of State for India, Earl of Kimberley, did not consider India Office bound by what the East India Company's Court had done in 1857 or by what the Home Office had declared in 1863. According to him (June 4, 1885), the restrictions placed by the Terms of Lahore, of March 29, 1849, were still in force [172-174-175].

This was like adding insult to injury. The Maharaja felt furious and became further confirmed in his resolve to return to India and there to rejoin the faith of his ancestors through the ceremony of *pahul* or initiation into Sikhism, either at Abchal Nagar, Nanded, or at Amritsar [*Maharaja to Sardar Sarup Singh*, June 28, 1885, 176/177].

The desire to re-embrace Sikhism had evidently been enkindled in his heart by his cousin Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia of Raja Sansi, the originator and promotor of the Sikh renaissance symbolized by the Singh Sabha which was founded in Amritsar in 1873. He had been to England to see the Maharaja and had only recently returned to the Panjab. Through him, the Maharaja had sent Rs. 1000 for *Karah-prasad* and prayers at the *Darbar Sahib* (Golden Temple), Amritsar, on his behalf [178/177-8; *Koh-i-Noor*, August 25, 1885]. The Maharaja had also asked his family *prohit* Har Kishan Das, who had visited him in 1883, to offer *Karah-prasad* at the *Darbar Sahib*, Amritsar, and at the *Samadhs* of his father at Lahore and of his grand-father, Sardar Maha Singh, at Gujranwala. The offer and distribution of the *Karah-prasad* at the *Darbar Sahib* was done between August 20 and 22, 1885. The following prayer was also offered by the priests at the Golden Temple at the Akal Bunga :

May Maharaja Duleep Singh, who has sent presents, money and *Karah-prasad*, enjoy good health and *Sikhi-dan* (blessing of the Sikh faith).

Captain Gulab Singh of Atari, Sardar Kahn Singh of Majitha and a number of other gentlemen were present at these ceremonies [180/179-80].

Maharaja Prepares to Leave for India

Having finally decided to leave for India by the P. & O. Steamer the *Verona* on December 16, 1885, he requested Lord Randolph Churchill on October 7 to let him know if he could expect before his departure a satisfactory reply to his letter of March 10 to his predecessor, Earl of Kimberley, regarding his private estates in the Panjab. He was leaving England, he said, "in order to provide my family with such a home in India as shall not be sold at my death." He further requested that specified amounts might be deducted from his stipend and paid regularly as life pension to Lady Login, Mrs James Oliphant and others named by him [182/183-84].

The Maharaja intended on landing at Bombay to proceed to Delhi where he proposed to reside quietly, going to the hills in the hot weather. But the Government of India was not prepared to let him reside anywhere near the Panjab and decided "to stop him at Aden and intern him there," if he persisted in carrying out his intention. But if he were permitted to land in India, Madras, with Ootacamund in the hot weather, was considered to be suitable for his residence. The Secretary of State also endorsed the decision of the Indian Government in his telegram of November 9, "to employ force if you think proper in order to prevent his travelling to that city (Delhi)" [187/187, 195/191].

With a view to finding some solution of the vexatious problem, even through further negotiations with the Government in England, the Maharaja deferred his departure and sent to the Secretary of State for India a representation on January 16, 1886, appealing for an enquiry into

his claims :

I need not say that I court the fullest legal investigation, and should much desire a decision by a court of Arbitration consisting of eminent Law Lords of the House of Peers.

I shall be willing to be bound by the equitable award of such a Court if they take my whole case into their consideration and to accept it as a satisfactory termination of all my differences, even if it should turn out to be unfavourable to my expectations.

I make the last appeal to Your Lordship before finally taking leave of this country [213/224].

The Maharaja had also an interview with Sir Owen Burne on January 28, 1886. The Memorandum of this interview prepared by Sir Owen himself on the following day and submitted to the Government contains the following as the last sentence :

It is only fair to add, however, that the Maharajah emphatically repeated, "If I am granted an enquiry, and adjudged to receive nothing, after a fair examination of my claims, I shall be satisfied" [216/229].

Duleep Singh also saw the Secretary of State for India on February 8, and according to the latter's note :

In taking leave of me he said—"I see it is all of no use, but I shall wait a few days to see whether I get any satisfaction, and, if not, I shall go broken-hearted to India."

I should add that he complained he had never received an answer with respect to his claim for '*private estates*,' which was referred to India. How is this ? He ought to have some definite answer [219/230-31].

The main objects of the Maharaja's return to India were—

1. to rejoin the faith of his ancestors at Abchal Nagar, Nanded, or Amritsar where his kindred could be present at the ceremony of his taking the *pahul*;
2. to live in a less expensive place (than England) to be able to effect as much saving as possible to lay by something for his descendants after his death;
3. to provide his family with such a home in India "as shall not be sold at his death," and
4. to arrange for the marriages of his sons and daughters who were growing up—his elder son, Prince Victor, born on July 10, 1866, was in his twentieth year while his eldest daughter Bamba born on September 29, 1869, was in her seventeenth year [206/198, 222/232, etc.].

These objects could best be fulfilled in the Panjab or in its immediate neighbourhood. But the Government of India refused to permit him to reside anywhere in northern India. He was, therefore, helpless and was

left with no choice except to agree to reside in South India at Ootacamand, as suggested by them. On February 9, 1886, he requested Sir Owen T. Burne to arrange through the Government of India "to hire an inexpensive house at my expense at Ootacamand." And on the next day, February 10, he begged of the Secretary of State, Earl of Kimberley, "kindly to ask His Excellency (the Viceroy) by telegram, for reasons explained by me at the interview, to reconsider objections to my living at Delhi" [220-1/231-32]. But there was no change in the attitude of the Governor-General and of the Government of the Panjab who were always trying to frighten the higher authorities with the prospect of excitement that might be created by the visit of the Maharaja among his countrymen and sympathizers.

Bhai Ram Singh, the leader of the Kookas, had died in exile in November 1884, and, during his lifetime, he had denounced Maharaja Duleep Singh in his letters numbered 6 and 15 as a beef-eating alien and had asked his followers to treat him as a foreigner if he returned to the country [*Kookiān dī Vithiā*, pp. 234, 252]. Yet the British officials in the Panjab represented the Kookas as a bugbear and a likely source of disturbances on the arrival of the Maharaja in the country. The Kookas were purely a revivalist religious group unconnected with any political movement. It is true that some of them had, in misguided religious frenzy, attacked and killed a few cow-killing butchers. But they had done nothing against the Government of the country or against any British official. To dub them as political disturbers of peace and a source of danger to the Panjab, was a misrepresentation of facts. Moreover, a police post had been established at the Kooka headquarters at Bhaini in Ludhiana district and their activities were being closely watched throughout the province. They could, therefore, do nothing with impunity, nor were they so decisively inclined in favour of the Maharaja.

On March 18, 1886, however, the Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State, London, that "we are willing to afford the Maharajah such relief as can be obtained by a maximum grant of £50,000. . . on the understanding that the Maharajah abandons all claims to mines or other private estates; that he gives acquittance in full and effectual *undertaking never to return to India*, and that no further payment will be made hereafter on any ground. Grant would preclude all future claim regarding five-lakh fund and provision for family" [236/247]. The Maharaja "unhesitatingly refused the grant" when it was officially offered to him on March 24, calling it a "paltry sum," and said that his claims to private estates alone reached £ 400,000 a year; . . . and that on no account whatever would he sign any paper either in renunciation of his claims or binding him never to return to his own country" [236, 243, 245/247, 249, 251].

Maharaja Duleep Singh at this time seems to have been fed upon the fanciful prophecies of his coming sufferings and ultimate rise to greatness as mentioned in the *Sau-Sākhī*, the authorship of which has, by some

gullible people, been ascribed to Guru Gobind Singh. On a close scrutiny, the book would appear to be full of interpolations made in it from time to time by interested people in the post-Ranjit Singh period.

On March 25, 1886, the Maharaja appealed to his countrymen for "prayers to the *Sutgooroo* on that solemn occasion" of his initiation into the Sikh faith again. "I am compelled to write this to you," he said, "because I am not permitted to visit you in the Panjab as I had much hoped to do. . . *With Wah Guru Jee ki Futteh*, I remain, my beloved countrymen, Your own flesh and blood, Duleep Singh" [253/257].

Commenting on this letter of the Maharaja, the editor of the *Tribune*, Lahore, April 17, 1886 [290/283], observed that "the refusal of the Government to permit Duleep Singh to live in the Punjab or even to visit it, is casting unjust slur upon the loyalty of the brave Sikhs," and ended his note saying :

"Poor Duleep Singh ! your countrymen can weep only for you."

Maharaja Arrested at Aden

Maharaja Duleep Singh left England from Gravesend for Bombay on March 31, 1886, in the P. & O. steamer *Verona*, accompanied by Maharani Bamba, his three sons and three daughters, a Sikh attendant, an Indian servant, a European nurse and an *āyāh*. Soon after his departure, there was a marked change for worse in the attitude of the British Government and the Government of India, who decided not to permit him to proceed towards India beyond Aden and to detain him there. A warrant to that end was issued at Simla on April 18, 1886, under Regulation III of 1818, justifying it "on the ground that it is necessary for the security of the British dominion from internal commotion" [267/266,265/263]. Similar warrants were also issued in the names of his wife, and sons and daughters. On the same day the Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State : "It is needless for us to point out great inconvenience which would arise, were His Highness allowed to take up his abode in India with the avowed object of exciting revolt in the Punjab, without the Government of India taking every precaution to render abortive so mischievous a design" [278/176].

On the arrival of the steamer *Verona* at Aden on April 21, 1886, the Maharaja and his family were arrested by the British Resident before all the passengers and refused permission to proceed further to reside in India—even at Ootacamand or Kudaikanal in the southern province of Madras. Writing to the Viceroy from Aden on April 27, the Maharaja expressed his great surprise at the insulting treatment that had been given him :

... It is incomprehensible to me and appears extremely hard on me that, whereas the Maharaja Sindia and Holkar, as well as the Nizam and others, who all possess both great wealth and armies that might cause some anxiety to the Government, are permitted liberty of

movement, poor I, who have but only some score of servants in all and a very limited income, am about to be entirely banished from setting foot in my native land, where I had hoped by strict economy (which is not possible to observe in England) to have laid by something for benefit of my unfortunate children, . . .

Yours Excellency, the late Marquis of Dalhousie, immediately after the annexation, when many of the old Sikh Sardars and soldiers were still alive, did not think it dangerous to the stability of English rule to appoint Fatehgarh as a permanent residence for me, but now after the lapse of some 35 years, during which period the British *Raj* has been now firmly established in the Punjab, my mere setting foot in India is about to be prohibited because I have published some documents for reasons already explained, and am placed under arrest here under false and, to me, most hateful accusation of issuing a disloyal address [311/290-91].

The letters of the Maharaja to his 'beloved countrymen' and to Sardars Sant Singh, Sarup Singh, Thakar Singh Sandhanwalla, etc., only expressed his intention to rejoin the faith of his forefathers and his helplessness to see them in the Panjab. There was not a word therein that could be interpreted as disloyal. The offer of prayers (*Ardās*) and *Kārāh-prasād* at the Sikh temple is every Sikh's privilege and right. Thousands of them do it every day during their visits to their Gurdwārās or temples. The performance of *Akhandpath* (the continuous reading of the Sikh holy book) is also a purely religious ceremony. Yet the Government of India construed them as dangerous political activities and treated the Maharaja as a rebel undesirable to be allowed to reside in India. In the words of the editor of the *Tribune*, Lahore, of May 1, 1886 :

To treat the recent letters of Maharaja as a political manifesto is to put a bad and unjustifiable construction on the motives of the Maharaja and to raise hurricane in a tea kettle [321/295].

As desired by the Central Government, the Panjab Government were keeping a strict watch on all persons who had been or were likely to be, in communication with the Maharaja. Mr W.M. Young, however, wrote to H.M. Durand on April 28, 1886, that "the Lieutenant-Governor has no reason to think that the rumours of the Maharajah's coming or frustration of his plan of visiting India will cause any serious excitement among the Sikhs of the Punjab" [314/292]. With the passage of time, he, however, fell in with the views of the Government of India "that Dalip Singh ought not, under any circumstances, to be permitted to visit India," and should be allowed "to live anywhere west of the meridian of Suez" [356/314-15]. While the Maharaja decided to stay on at Aden for some time more for negotiations with the Government, Maharani Bamba and family sailed for London on May 6.

At this time arrived from India on May 8, Sardar Thakar Singh son

of Sardar Jawahir Singh of Wagah by a daughter of Maharani Jind Kaur's sister on a visit to the Maharaja who, by a special request to the Secretary of State, was allowed to see them in the presence of an English Officer. The Maharaja availed himself of the presence of Sardar Thakar Singh to be reinitiated into Sikhism and the ceremony of *pahul* (or *amrit*) was gone through on the morning of May 25, 1886. Of the four other Sikhs who took part in it were Roor Singh of Kohali, Police Station Lopoki, Amritsar, Jawand Singh of Barki, Lahore, and two other Sikhs from a transport-ship which then happened to touch at Aden. The Resident sent both of them off to India on the next day by the S.S. *Mecca*, and the Viceroy desired the Punjab Government to keep an eye on Thakar Singh [359-60/321-2, 366/324, 402/346].

In his correspondence with the Viceroy, the Maharaja, as a naturalized Englishman, demanded, on May 28, a "*public trial* in order to prove my innocence of having issued address alleged to be disloyal and for imprisonment here," and "to be punished, if found guilty, or set at liberty if otherwise" [367-68/324-25]. As in the opinion of the Government of India, "there is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by such a trial," the Viceroy replied on June 1, that "Government of India has no power to make any promise of the kind" [380-81/334-35].

On May 30, however, His Excellency had informed the British Resident at Aden "to let the Maharajah go to Europe unconditionally, but give him to understand in as gentle terms as you can that if he comes to India we shall be forced to take very decided steps" [376/333].

Maharaja Returns to Europe

This ended all hopes of the Maharaja to receive any justice from the Government of India and of England, and, in utter disgust, he telegraphed to the Viceroy the same day saying: "I return to Europe. From 1st of July next I resign stipend paid to me under Treaty of Annexation, thus laying aside that iniquitous document" [382/335]. On June 3, he left by French Mail Steamer for Marseilles [387/337]. In his letter to the *Times of India*, also published in the *Tribune*, Lahore, on July 3, 1886, the Maharaja wrote:

I am travelling on my way back to Europe in order to drink the German waters. Although the India Government succeeded in preventing me from reaching Bombay lately, yet they are not able to close all the roads that there are to India, for, when I return, I can either land at Goa or Pondicherry, or if I fancy an overland route, then I can enter the Punjab through Russia. ... I hope to appeal for pecuniary aid to the oriental liberality of both my brother princes as well as the people of India. Should, however, the Government place its veto upon their generous impulse, then I shall have no alternative but to transfer my allegiance to some other European power who, I dare say, will provide for my maintenance" [400/345].

With his repudiation of the terms of 1849, the Maharaja felt that, according to the treaty of Bharowal, 1846, he was still the king of the Panjab and the accredited leader of the Sikh people. He lived for some months in Paris in the strictest *incognito* and issued from there three proclamations under his signatures as (i) *Maharaja of the Sikhs under the treaty of Bharowal*, 1846, (ii) *The Lawful Sovereign of the Sikh Nation* and (iii) *Sovereign of the Sikh Nation*. In his first proclamation of July 15, 1886, he set aside the *Terms* of 1849, while in the second of 1886 he appealed to "Brother Princes and Nobles and the People of beloved Hindustan" that "if that spirit of noble chivalry is not quite dead among you, then aid a brother Prince and countryman in adversity." The third proclamation, bearing the date as February 1887, expressed the hope that "by the help of Almighty, Aryavarta shall once more be free," and called upon his countrymen to "rise up and make common cause with us and share with us also in the glory of *liberating our mother country*." The last proclamation was evidently intended to be issued when the Maharaja was to be actually in the field of action against the British Army [416 ABC/361-65, 438V/414-15].

He also got in contact with the advance Russian revolutionary party whose members aimed at weakening the power of England all over the world. From Paris he travelled under the name of Patrick Casey whose passport he carried. At the station of Berlin, his handbag containing his passport, £ 500 in notes, 498 sovereigns and 3000 Frs. was stolen. The German police having failed to recover the passport and money, he wrote to some of the influential people at Moscow, and, with the help, presumably of General Bodganovich, M. Katkoff, M. DeGiers, and Count Tolstoi, he was able to travel to the Russian capital with a special permission.

According to the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* [pub. *Tribune*, June 8, 1887], "he went to Russia with the object of seeking permission of the Russian authorities to be allowed to proceed through Central Asia to the Afghan frontier" and also to persuade them to invade India [423/370-1, 426/372-3, 436/383-5].

On May 10, 1887, the Maharaja wrote to the Emperor of Russia "to lay before the Imperial Government the humble prayer of the Princes and people of India for deliverance from their oppression" "from under the yoke of the British rule." He believed that on his arrival on the Indian frontier it would be easy for him "to raise the entire Punjab in revolt and cause the inhabitants to attack in their rear the British forces sent to oppose the Imperial [Russian] Army. ... By wrenching India out of the hands of England, the Imperial Government will acquire a source of *Great Wealth*, whereas I greatly doubt that so much will be gained by taking Constantinople" [428/374-77].

It was at this time that the Maharaja's eldest son Prince Victor

Duleep Singh wrote to him to "write and ask for the money said to belong to me at the India office." In the course of his reply, the Maharaja wrote to the Prince from Moscow on May 2, 1887: "Look upon me as dead. But I will never swerve from my purpose. ... I could see you starve and even would take your life to put an end to your misery, but will never return to England" [430/379].

The Maharaja's efforts through his friend M. Katkoff and others to obtain Russian naturalization and to see the Emperor at St. Petersburg were not successful, nor was any official encouragement given him by the Russian Government to proceed through Central Asia to Afghanistan and the Indian frontier. The Russian invasion of India also turned out to be a day-dream. The running about of the emissaries and agents of the Maharaja in Europe, Egypt and Central Asia, as also in British India and some of the Indian States, proved to be fruitless from his point of view. Some of them seem to have been exploiting him for their own selfish ends while some seem to have been playing a double game and acting as spies of the British Government. The Maharaja appears to have been working under a mistaken idea in placing reliance on the co-operation of the Indian states without any positive understanding and unity of political thought among them. The various regiments of the Indian army had been recruited and named on regional and religious basis and had been nurtured on similar prejudices. It was with their help that the various Indian kingdoms had been extinguished, one after the other, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Panjab was the last independent kingdom in India and it was they who had helped the British Government destroy and subjugate it in 1845-6 and 1848-9. This had filled the people of the Panjab with rage against them. It was for this reason, that they had marched—of course, as a part of the Indian Army—into the United Provinces during the mutiny of 1857. Nationalist or patriotic feeling had not yet crystallized in the country. For Duleep Singh to expect the people to make a common cause with him was to hope against hope.

The leaders of the Sikhs themselves were divided on this issue. The Singh Sabha movement for religious awakening among them was only thirteen years old and was looked upon with suspicion by the British officials. Situated as they were then, they were helpless and could not do anything for the Maharaja beyond shedding tears of sympathy. But there were also some 'loyalists' among them, too. The chief secretary of the Khalsa Diwan, Lahore, went out of his way to denounce Bawa Nihal Singh and suggest his excommunication from the Singh Sabhas affiliated to the Diwan for an innocent sentence, he had written in his book the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*, published in 1885, wishing for the restoration of Maharaja Duleep Singh and of the descendants of Bakhshi Bhagat Ram and Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia.

Bakhshi Bhagat Ram had not agreed to sign and seal the document whereby Maharaja Duleep Singh was to be exiled from the Panjab and had, therefore, been deprived of his *jagir* by Sir John Lawrence.

Sardar Thakar Singh had been actively interested in the affairs of the Maharaja. He had supplied him with information about his ancestral estates to substantiate his claim to them. He was the founder of the Singh Sabha Movement and had, during his visit to England, enlightened the Maharaja about the history and religion of the Sikhs and had implanted in his mind the wish to return to the faith of his ancestors. All this could not have been relished by the Government of India, and Sardar Thakar Singh became a political suspect in their eyes.

Later, when Maharaja Duleep Singh decided to return to India, Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia applied to the Government for permission to meet him on his arrival at Bombay. This he was not allowed to do. He, then asked Thakar Singh of Wagha and Jawand Singh of Barki to go to Aden for reinitiating the Maharaja into the Sikh faith. On the Maharaja's arrest at Aden and return to Europe, the Sardar left Delhi on October 27, 1886, and went into voluntary exile in Pondicherry in French territory, where he reached on November 6, to avoid arrest in British India and to be able to work, from outside, in furthering the cause of the Maharaja among the people of British India and Indian States. The Maharaja at this time authorized him to designate himself as the Prime Minister of the State of Lahore and as the Maharaja's chief agent in India. The Maharaja, however, cautioned Sardar Thakar Singh not to accept any allowance from the French Government who, it was said, were willing to allow him a thousand francs a month. This the Sardar had already declined with thanks and had asked only for their protection as long as he might stay in their territory.

The efforts of the Sardar, however, were not destined to bear fruit. The British Government in India, with all its police and civil and army network, was too strong to be shaken by a handful of ill-provided and unorganized workers that the Sardar could at best gather round him. Heart-broken, Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia died at Pondicherry on August 18, 1887, leaving his descendants to suffer for his patriotism. In the postscript to his letter of August 22, 1887, about the death of the Sardar, McCracken told Durand: "Another of Dalip Singh's supporters gone!"

On September 18, a month after the Sardar's death, passed away in London the Maharaja's wife, Maharani Bamba, leaving behind her three sons and three daughters, between the ages of eight and twenty-two, to be looked after by their elder brothers. While the children of the Maharaja were reduced to a helpless state by the death of their mother, he himself was in an equally bad plight. His only dependable friend in Russia, Mr Katkoff, had as well died. There was nobody in Moscow

then to take a helpful interest in his cause. In January 1888 his request to the Emperor for an audience was refused and it was said that he had also been requested to leave the country [530-31/517-8]. He had received no financial assistance either from India or from any other source. He was further straitened by the robbery of all of his ready money at Berlin, and he lived in Moscow on the proceeds of the sale of his jewels, and his 'Maharajah's dresses', having contracted with the Hotel Billow at Rs. 80 per month his lodging and board. For the sake of economy, he left the hotel in February and shifted to a kind of private boarding house called 'Paris' [532/519]. From Moscow he moved to Kieff in June and left it for Odessa in Ukraine on October 10. On November 3, 1888, he arrived at Paris, in France, and settled down there for the rest of his life [583/563]. He married on May 21, 1889, an English girl, Ada Douglas Wetherill, who had accompanied him from France to Russia and had stayed with him throughout this period. It is believed by some that she had been a great hindrance in the execution of his plans. A.S. in his letter of May 22, 1888, says: "A.R. ... told me that the Maharaja would have gone to the Punjab long ago but for this woman who insists on going wherever he goes" [542/536]. Princess Bamba Sutherland, the eldest daughter of the Maharaja, told the writer of these lines at Lahore on March 3, 1942, that, in her view, she had been planted on him as a British spy.

The last days and death

In July 1890 the Maharaja had a severe attack of paralysis, from which, he felt, he might never recover. In a remorseful state of mind he seems to have recollected that in an outburst of emotion he had, in one of his letters to Lady Login, used some unguarded words against her and her relations [586/584-5]. To apologize to her for them before it was too late was, he thought, his moral duty. He, therefore, wrote to her on July 19, 1890, from Grand Hotel, Paris, where he was then lying ill: "I have been struck down by the hand of God! I am lying here with a stroke of paralysis and as the sickness may be up to death, I pray you to forgive me all that I might have said against you. I have written to ask pardon from the Queen" [642/606].

In the same strain, he wrote to Lord Cross on July 27 and begged Her Majesty's pardon, and on August 1, he was informed by his Lordship that "Her Majesty, by the advice of Ministers, has been graciously pleased to accord you the pardon that you have sought" [644/607].

Under instructions of the Home Government, the Government of India also authorized the Government of the Panjab to inform the Sandhanwalia Sardars, Gurbachan Singh and his brothers, sons of Sardar Thakar Singh, that they were, if they chose, at liberty to return to British India, without fear of arrest for their past activities. They were, however, not allowed to return to the Panjab, nor was their *jagir* to be restored to them. They were desired to live at Delhi and, for their support, the

three brothers were given a charitable allowance of Rs. 33-5-4 apiece (Rs. 100 in all) per mensem [645/608, 651-2/611-14].

In spite of his shattered health, the Maharaja did not avail himself of the royal pardon to return to his family and home in England and continued to stay in Paris. It was only once, during this period, that he paid a short visit to Folkestone in April 1893 to see his youngest son Prince Edward who was then very ill and who died a few days afterwards. The Maharaja himself passed away six months later on October 22, 1893, in the Grand Hotel in Paris. Thus, after a troubled life of hard struggle marked by many vicissitudes, he died in a foreign land, far away from his motherland. His body was removed to England by his son Prince Victor and laid to rest in the Churchyard of the Elveden Hall. The Elveden Hall Estate was sold to Lord Iveagh in 1894, as had been decided upon by the Government and which was one of the painful grievances that had led him to leave England for India in 1886 [151/100, 165/166].

With this went out the flicker that momentarily burnt to show the way to freedom.

MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH CORRESPONDENCE

1. FROM THE KING OF THE BELGIANS TO QUEEN VICTORIA OF ENGLAND¹

WIESBADEN, 2ND OCTOBER 1840.

...There is an idea that Mehemet Ali suffers from what one calls *un charbon*, a sort of dangerous ulcer which, with old people, is never without some danger. If this is true, it only shows how little one can say that the Pashalik of Aleppo is to decide who is to be the master of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and Asia, the Sultan or Mehemet ? It is highly probable that if the old gentleman dies, his concern will go to pieces ; a division will be attempted by the children, but that in the East hardly ever succeeds. There everything is personal, except the sort of Caliphate which the Sultan possesses, and when the man is gone, his empire also goes. Runjeet Singh² is a proof of this; his formidable power will certainly go to the dogs, though the Sikhs have a social link which does not exist in the Egyptian concern. If we now were to set everything in Europe on a blaze, have a war which may change totally all that now exists, and in the midst of it whole boutique broken up, would it not be really laughable, if it was not melancholy ? And still the war once raging, it would no longer put a stop to it, but go on for other reasons.

2. FROM LORD ELLENBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON³

BARRACKPORE, NOVEMBER 20, 1843.

In the Punjab, affairs are tending to another change. Either Heera Singh will be murdered or he will retire. He has lost all authority, but still holds the treasury, into which, however, nothing comes, and from which must flow. The mother of the boy Dhuleep Singh seems to be a woman of determined courage, and she is the only person apparently at Lahore who has courage. The result will probably be the early separation of the Hills from the Plains, and when Dost Mahomed can gather a little strength, the annexation of Peshawar to his territories. There is no move-

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. I, 294.

2. Runjeet Singh, known as the King of Lahore, had died in 1839, having consolidated the Sikh power. As an outcome of the Sikh wars in 1846 and 1848, the Punjab was annexed by Great Britain in 1849.

3. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 464.

ment against us, nor is there any present prospect of any, unless a complete break up should send some plunderers amongst us.

3. FROM SIR ROBERT PEEL TO QUEEN VICTORIA¹

WHITEHALL, 23RD APRIL, 1844.

Sir Robert Peel, with his humble duty to your Majesty, begs leave to acquaint your Majesty that he has every reason to believe that the Court of Directors will tomorrow, by an unanimous vote, resolve on the actual recall of Lord Ellenborough.²

4. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO SIR ROBERT PEEL³

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 23RD APRIL, 1844

The Queen has heard with the greatest regret from Sir R. Peel that the Court of Directors, after all, mean to recall Lord Ellenborough. She cannot but consider this very unwise at this critical moment, and a very ungrateful return for the eminent services Lord Ellenborough has rendered to the Company in India. They ought not to forget so soon in what state Lord Ellenborough found affairs in 1842. The Queen would not be very sorry if these gentlemen knew that this is her opinion.

5. INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XIV (1845)⁴

...In India, which during nearly the whole year enjoyed peace, the Sikhs in December assumed the aggressive, and crossed the Sutlej, invading British India. They were signally defeated by Sir Hugh Gough at Moodkee and Ferozshah. In Scinde Sir Charles Napier prosecuted operations against the mountain desert tribes...

6. PLEDGE OF THE SIKH ARMY, ASSUJ 12, 1902 Bk. (26 SEPTEMBER, 1845)⁵

We, the sepoys and officers, big and small, of the *Ram Rajman* (Ram Regiment) with Colonel Jodh Singh, Commandant Gulab Singh, together with General Budh Singh Man, give this in writing and do hereby promise

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II, 10.

2. This anomalous privilege was exercised by the Directors in consequence chiefly of what they considered Lord Ellenborough's overbearing demeanour in communication with them, his too aggressive policy, and his theatrical love of display.

3. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 10.

4. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 35-36.

5. Translated from the original in Persian in possession of Dr. Ganda Singh, Patiala.

that as the entire *Khalsaji*, after consultation and unanimous decision, have accepted *Badshah* Dalip Singh and *Wazir* Maee Sahiba, none of us shall turn away from this pledge and, with the grace of the *Satguru*, we do hereby acknowledge King Dalip Singh as the Great *Sarkar* and the Maee Sahiba [Queen Mother Maharani Jind Kaur] as his *Wazir*. These few lines are committed to writing to serve as document.

Secondly, on the first *Naurata* the royal standards of the valiant *Fauj-i-Ain* (the Imperial Regular Army) shall move towards Ferozepore. As the *Khalsaji* have decided to march upon Ferozepore on the first *Naurata*, the *Sarbat Khalsaji* who will meet the *Ferrangis* at Ferozepore, shall by their *Dharm-o-nem* present themselves on the banks of the *Sat-loodar* (Sutlej) on the *Dusserah* day, that day having been fixed to cross that river. May it be so.

The War Camp of the Chiefs *Sarbat Khalsaji*, Ichhra

Sd. Budh Singh, General.

„ Gulab Singh, Commandant.

„ Ashraf Ali, Major.

„ Fateh Singh.

„ Kahan Singh, 1st Cavalry.

„ Ram Singh, 2nd Cavalry.

„ Sawan Singh, 3rd Cavalry.

„ Jiwan Singh, 4th Cavalry.

„ ... 5th Cavalry.

„ Dhian Singh, 6th Cavalry.

7. INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XV (1846)¹

...In India the British Army was successful in its operations against the Sikhs, Sir Harry Smith defeating them at Aliwal, and Sir Hugh Gough at Sobraon. Our troops crossed the Sutlej, and terms of peace were agreed on between Sir Henry Hardinge (who became a Viscount) and the Sirdars from Lahore, peace being signed on 8th March.

8. FROM SIR HENRY HARDINGE TO QUEEN VICTORIA²

CAMP, LULLIANEE, 24 MILES FROM LAHORE,³

18TH FEBRUARY, 1846.

The territory which it is proposed should be ceded in perpetuity to your Majesty is a fine district between the Rivers Sutlej and Beas, throwing our frontier forward, within 30 miles of Amritsar, so as to have 50 miles of British territory in front of Loodiana, which, relatively with Ferozepore,

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 84.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 87-88.

3. The Sikhs were defeated at Sobraon on 10th February by the British troops under Sir Hugh Gough, reinforced by Sir Harry Smith, fresh from his victory at Aliwal.

is so weak, that it appeared desirable to the Governor-General to improve our frontier on its weakest side, to curb the Sikhs by an easy approach towards Amritsar across the Beas River instead of the Sutlej—to round off our hill possessions near Simla—to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself to be too strong—and to show to all Asia that although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjab, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its powers in a manner which cannot be misunderstood. For the same political and military reason, the Governor-General hopes to be able before the negotiations are closed to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gholab Singh, declaring the Rajpoot Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs, pay the indemnity of one million and a half, and will probably offer Cashmere as an equivalent. In this case, if Gholab Singh pays the money demanded for the expenses of the war, the district of Cashmere will be ceded by the British to him, and the Rajah become one of the Princes of Hindostan.

There are difficulties in the way of this arrangement, but considering the military power which the Sikh nation has exhibited of bringing into the field 80,000 men and 300 pieces of field artillery, it appears to the Governor-General most politic to diminish the means of this warlike people to repeat a similar aggression. The nation is in fact a dangerous military Republic on our weakest frontier. If the British army had been defeated, the Sikhs, through the Protected States, which would have risen in their favour in case of a reverse, would have captured Delhi, and a people having 50,000 regular troops and 300 pieces of field artillery in a standing permanent camp within 50 miles of Ferozepore, is a state of things that cannot be tolerated for the future.

The energy and intrepidity displayed by your Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, his readiness to carry on the service in cordial cooperation with the Governor-General, and the marked bravery and invincibility of Your Majesty's English troops, have overcome many serious obstacles, and the precautions taken have been such that no disaster or failure, however trifling, has attended the arduous effects of your Majesty's Arms.

9. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO LORD RIPON¹

CAMP KANHA KACHWA, FEB. 19, 1846.

It was further arranged that the Maharaja with Bhaee Ram Singh and the other chiefs remaining at Lahore should forthwith repair to the

1. From the Collection of Lord Ripon—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

Camp of the Governor-General and place themselves in the hands of Governor-General to accompany his camp to Lahore.

It was determined that the Maharaja should meet at Lulleanee on the 18th yesterday when the camp arrived at that place. Afternoon of 17th it was announced to me that the Maharaja with Bhaee Ram Singh and other chiefs had instantly on receiving the summons from Raja Golab Singh, hastened from Lahore and that they had arrived at Raja Golab Singh's camp pitched about a mile beyond our picquets, and that His Highness was ready at once to wait upon me.

I considered it right to abide by the first arrangement and I directed that it should be intimated to the Maharaja and the chiefs that I would receive His Highness on the day appointed at Lulleanee 11 miles in advance, on the road to Lahore.

Yesterday afternoon the Maharaja attended by Raja Golab Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fukeer Nooroodeen, Bhaee Ram Singh and ten or twelve other chiefs had an interview with me in my Durbar tent, where the Commander-in-chief and staff had been invited by me to be present to receive them.

As on the occasion of Raja Golab Singh's visit I omitted the usual salute to the Maharaja and curtailed the other customary ceremonies on his arrival at my tent causing it to be explained that until submission had been tendered by Maharaja in person he could not be recognised and received as a friendly prince.

Submission was tendered by the minister and chiefs who accompanied the Maharaja and the pardon of the British Government was requested on such conditions as I should dictate in the most explicit terms after which I stated that the conditions having been distinctly made known to the minister Rajah Golab Singh and the chiefs accredited with him, it was unnecessary to discuss them in that place and in the presence of the young Maharaja who was of too tender an age to take part in such matters, and that as all the requirements of the British Government had been acquiesced in, and their fulfilment promised in the name of Maharaja, I should consider myself justified, in treating the young Maharaja from that moment as a Prince restored to the friendship of the British Government.

After some remarks regarding the fame and character of the late Maharaja Runjeet Singh and my hope that the young prince would follow the footsteps of his Father and my desire that such activities should henceforward exist between the two states as would tend to the benefit of both, I broke off the Durbar.

On his taking leave I caused the customary presents to be made to the Maharaja and on his returning from my tent the usual salute was fired

from 24 Pounders drawn up at the bottom of the street of tents for the purpose.

In the course of discussion the minister asked if the young Maharaja should now return to the Ranee at Lahore or if it was desired that he should remain at my camp, intimating that it was for me to dispose of the young chief as I pleased and as I might consider best for His Highness's interests. I replied that I thought it desirable that His Highness's camp should accompany mine and, that I should myself conduct him to his capital which I proposed reaching in two marches—that is by tomorrow morning.

10. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO SIR HENRY HARDINGE¹

OSBORNE, 4TH MARCH, 1846.

The Queen is anxious to seize the first opportunity of expressing to Sir Henry Hardinge her admiration of his conduct on the last most trying occasion, and of the courage and gallantry of the officers and men who had so severe a contest to endure.² Their conduct in every way worthy of the British name, and both the Prince and Queen are deeply impressed with it. The severe loss we have sustained in so many brave officers and men is very painful and must alloy the satisfaction everyone feels at the brilliant successes of our Arms. Most deeply do we lament the death of Sir Robert Sale, Sir John M'Caskill³ and Major Broadfoot,⁴ and most deeply do we sympathise with that highminded woman, Lady Sale, who has had the misfortune to lose her husband less than three years after she was released from captivity and restored to him.

We are truly rejoiced to hear that Sir H. Hardinge's health has not suffered, and that he and his brave son have been so mercifully preserved. The Queen will look forward with great anxiety to the next news from India.

11. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO THE RT. HON'BLE SIR J.C. HOBHOUSE⁵

RECEIVED 23RD }
ANSWERED 25TH } JANUARY 1847.

DATED 5.4.1846.

My dear Sir John,

...

The education of the boy Dhulip Singh and the first place in the

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 89-90.

2. At Moodke on 18th December, and Ferozeshah on 21st and 22nd December.

3. Who had commanded a brigade under Pollock in the second Afghan campaign.

4. Major George Broadfoot, C.B., Political Agent on the north-western frontier.

5. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

Durbar might be assigned to Lena Singh.

Yours very sincerely,
Hardinge.

12. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO SIR HENRY HARDINGE¹

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 6TH APRIL, 1846.

The Queen must write a line to Sir Henry Hardinge in order to express her extreme satisfaction at the brilliant and happy termination of our severe contest with the Sikhs, which he communicated to her in his long and interesting letter of the 18th and 19th February. The Queen much admires the skill and valour with which their difficult operations have been conducted, and knows how much she owes to Sir Henry Hardinge's exertions. The Queen hopes that he will see an acknowledgement of this in the communication she has ordered to be made to him relative to his elevation to the Peerage.

The Prince, who fully knows all the Queen's feelings on this glorious occasion, wishes to be named to Sir Henry Hardinge.

13. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO HOGG (SIR JAMES)²

CONFIDENTIAL

SIMLA,
APRIL 17, 1846.

My dear Hogg,

The Maharaja through the chiefs publicly asked pardon for offence of the Sikh government and followed the Governor-General's camp to Lahore and was sent back to his palace escorted by British troops. ...

Yours, my very dear Hogg,
very sincerely,
(Sd.) H. Hardinge.

14. FROM LORD RIPON TO LORD HARDINGE³

INDIA BOARD,
APRIL 24TH, 1846.

My dear Hardinge,

The Ranee not having asked for troops to help her to keep up her authority at Lahore is probably a sign that she and her advisers think that they can hold their ground against the ambition or treachery of the great Sirdars but much blood has been split in the intrigues of that...she

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 91-92.

2. From the Collection of Lord Ripon — microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

3. *Ibid.*

cannot feel much certainty that she may not after all become a victim. But it is no use to dwell upon all these speculative points; no possible settlement could have been free from such chances; at all events any renewal of such a danger as that from which you have saved us, can not be contemplated as in the remotest degree probable under the provisions of your Treaty.

Yours most truly,
(Signed) Ripon.

15. FROM LORD RIPON TO PRINCE ALBERT¹

INDIA BOARD,
JUNE 4TH, 1846.

May it please your Royal Highness.

...
The Ranee has been, and still is, very seriously ill; but it is to be hoped that no evil consequences will result from her decease if it should take place. ...

I have the honour to be with utmost respect Sir, Your Royal Highness' most dutiful and devoted servant,
(Signed) Ripon.

16. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH²

SIMLA, JUNE 7TH, 1846.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,

...
The Ranee desired to make Lal Singh minister—an appointment distasteful to the troops and the Sikh chiefs, and accordingly to avoid the appointment of any other minister she held the Government in her own hands. ...

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) Hardinge.

17. FROM HENRY LAWRENCE TO SIR FREDERICK CURRIE³

LAHORE,
6 P.M., 16TH.

My dear Currie,

The Ranee has been insensible since yesterday evening. People say she is dead—but I do not believe she is, as her nurse is told there she will

1. From the Collection of Lord Ripon—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

be paid for quick news only. There does not however seem much chance of life.

Rajah Lal Singh and other Darbar people have just left me. They say the Ranee is very much better.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) H. Lawrence.

18. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO SIR FREDERICK CURRIE¹

CAMP BHYROWALL, DEC. 10TH, 1846.

My dear Currie,

...
If the Sardars and influential chiefs, and especially the Attarewala family, urge the B. Govt. to be Guardian of the Maharaja during his minority, the Ranee's power will cease silently and quietly, the admission being recorded that the B. Govt. as the Guardian of the Boy and administering the affairs of the State is to exercise all the functions and possess all the powers of the Regent acting on behalf of the Prince.

The family of the betrothed infant, by being introduced into the Durbar or Council, will represent the interests of the infant, and the more Singhs you have the better.

19. HENRY LAWRENCE'S REPORT¹

DECEMBER 17, 1846²

"During the last day or two her whole energies have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sirdars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of independent government of which she herself was to be the head. In this her chief aid and counsellor had ostensibly been Dewan Dena Natta, ever ill-disposed to the English, and now probably contemplating with alarm the possibility of our becoming the guardians of the young Maharaja." (*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, ii. 85-86.)

20. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO EARL RIPON³

CAMP : LEFT BANK OF THE RIVER BEAS,
DEC. 21, 1846.

...
That the country shall be so governed until the year 1854 when the Maharaja will be of age or for such short period as may deem fit to the British Government.

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 13.
2. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars* [106].
3. From the Collection of Lord Ripon—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

The little Maharaja will arrive in this camp on the 26th and to ratify the articles on 29th. The Governor-General will escort him back to Lahore marching through the Lahore territory with 2 Rgts and 8 guns.

21. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 2 AUGUST, 1847.

JUNE 9TH, 1847

ANSWERED 7 AUGUST, 1847.)

My dear Sir John,

...

The Lahore conspiracy now 3 months old, remains as before involved in doubt—the evidence is vague and weak—the object unknown whether political or personal—and the whole affair of no great importance, with the exception after suspicion which in Lawrence's opinion still rests on the Ranee, I send you two letters of the Resident addressed to me on the subject, if we can find the lady implicated in this miserable plot, I shall send her across the Sutlege—after the Gwalior arrangement—there were similar intrigues—but that all have subsided and you will observe Lawrence reports perfect peace throughout the Punjab as well as hill territories of Golab Singh.

...

Yours very sincerely,
Hardinge.

22. FROM VISCOUNT HARDINGE TO QUEEN VICTORIA²

27TH JULY, 1847.

Lord Hardinge, with his most humble duty to your Majesty, humbly acknowledges the letter in which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of his conduct in the Government of your Majesty's Eastern Empire, and to sanction his return to Europe the end of this year.

It will always be a source of happiness to Lord Hardinge to have contributed his efforts towards maintaining the stability of your Majesty's Indian possessions committed to his charge, that the approbation of his Sovereign is the most grateful distinction to which honourable ambition can aspire.

The Governor-General entertains the most sanguine expectations that peace has been securely established beyond the north-west frontiers, as well as throughout India, and in this confidence he has ordered nearly 50,000 men of the native force to be reduced, which reductions have

1. From the Broughton Collection of papers — microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 147-148.

caused no discontent, being for the most part voluntary on the part of men and accompanied by gratuities in proportion to the service performed.

As regards internal danger, there is no native power remaining able to face a British army in the field. The people are very generally engaged in trade and agriculture, and to a great extent in the British Provinces no longer carry arms. Confidence in the Protection of the Government has superseded the necessity. Formerly trade and wealth were concentrated in a few large cities, and Indian manufacturers have been ruined by cheaper goods sent from England but wealth and comfort have, under British rule, been more extensively diffused through the agricultural districts, and all classes, including the warlike tribes, are becoming more devoted to the happier and safer pursuits of peace.

In this state of things Lord Hardinge entertains a very confident expectation that the Government of India, by judicious attention to the native army in time of peace—which may have its peculiar dangers—will maintain due subordination in its ranks and by abstaining from all interference in the religious prejudices of the people, will secure their loyal attachment to your Majesty, and their willing obedience to the Governor acting in your Majesty's behalf.

Lord Hardinge has the honour to subscribe himself your Majesty's most humble and dutiful Subject and Servant.

23. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 4TH OCT., 1847.

ANSWERED 7TH OCT., 1847.)

AUG. 14, 1847.

My dear Sir John,

...

I send you under a separate cover some letters which have passed between me and Col. Lawrence, referring to the policy of sending away the Ranee from Lahore. He promises to send me translated copies of some depositions which in his opinion implicate the Ranee in what is termed as Prema plot. The immediate cause however of the desire to deport Her Highness across the Sutlege is her intrigues with the little Maharaja, on a late occasion when Tej Singh was made a Raja and 45 other chiefs made Sirdars. The measure was a popular one and I urged it upon Col. Lawrence 3 or 4 months ago.

When Tej Singh knelt at the little prince's feet, to have his forehead annoited by the Boy dipping his finger in the perfumed oil, he refused, and when he was pressed to do so he tucked his little hands under his arms

1. From Broughton Collection of papers — microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

and resolutely resisted any entreaty. One of the Gooroos or Priests instantly performed the ceremony, and in succession to the whole of the Sirdars, and consequently the public affront intended was only perceived at the time by them is from the persons near the prince. However, all consider themselves included in the indignity and as it is known that the Ranee had drilled the Boy to play his part 2 days before, and in the evening refused to allow him to be duped to attend the fire works given in honour of this occasion, until Her Highness's brother was sent to insist upon the Boy's appearance, there is a general feeling amongst the Council and Sirdars that these systematic efforts on her part in training up the child to counteract the Govt. and make him hate all the chiefs who deprived her of power as regent, can only be prevented by separating the mother from the son.

He is a very fine little fellow and grows more intelligent every day—has a good temper—a turn for mechanics and in short a very promising Boy of 8 years old. His education requires that he should be taken out of the *Zenana* and have a regular course of education laid down.

I agree with Col. Lawrence that the half measures of restricting the Ranee to the Palace and the gardens according to Eastern custom, would not answer the end in view; on the other hand to deport Ranjit Singh's widow across the Sutlege, and the mother of the prince to be denied all access to her son for this exercise of her spite in affronting those whom she considers her enemies, would if made the sole ground of H.H. expulsion from Lahore savours something of injustice if not of the indications—I have therefore desired Col. Lawrence to take up broad ground in justification of a measure, which I have always considered would in a short time become indispensable. Last November in my instructions to Sir F. Currie I stated that Ranee must be deprived of all power, and there can be no doubt that it is for the Boy's interest that he should now be withdrawn from the evil example of his mother which is too notorious to require any comments.

Her power of obstructing the Govt. by constantly making the mind of the Boy to resist and hate those who are endeavouring to save the Raj must be effectively prevented. It is a measure more required for the welfare of the Boy under British guardianship than for the convenience of the govt.—although in this respect a deposed Regent in the Eastern court, known to be bold and clever woman, would at any time be a serious obstacle to any govt. She is the person towards whom all eyes are directed who wish for a change and think it may be brought about by a person of her well known experience in acts of astute intrigue. The Ranee was the prime mover in the plot by which Heera Singh the minister was assassinated at the close of 1844—she was the Heroine who instigated the Sikh Soldiery to cross the Sutlege in 1845, and therefore with same reason

she is feared by the Council and by the Chiefs who sanctioned the arrangement by which she lost her power in December, 1846.

The depositions taken in the Prema plot promised to be sent by Col. Lawrence have not arrived. I strongly doubt whether they can be fairly brought to bear against the Ranee, and, if they ought not, I shall at once discard them. She has sins enough of her own, without loading her with those of which we have no proof. The general notoriety of her misconduct is sufficient to justify the measure of separating her from her son—but not for her deportation across the Sutlege to be kept under surveillance by the British govt. for misconduct of which we have no right to be the judges. But as Guardian of the Boy we have the right to separate him at 8 years of age from the...

If I decline to admit the depositions, then the measure will probably be limited to separation.

If the depositions clearly implicate her in the political and criminal offence of conspiring the death of Tej Singh, which I very much doubt, then the deportation across the Sutlege may justly be resorted to.

Yours very sincerely,
Hardinge.

24. FROM SECRETARY WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO
SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, RESIDENT, LAHORE¹

AUGUST 16, 1847.

"It would not be advisable, however, in his Lordship's opinion, to found any formal proceedings against Her Highness, such as sending her out of the Punjab, on depositions which, on the whole, are not sufficiently conclusive against her....

"There is,...in the Governor-General's opinion, a sufficient justification, on political grounds, for separating the Prince from his mother at the present moment."

25. FROM BIBI [JIND KAUR] SAHIB TO LAWRENCE²

[Translated from Panjabi]

I had entrusted my head to your care. You have thrust it under the feet of traitors. You have not done justice to me. You ought to have instituted an enquiry, and then charged me with what you found against me. You ought not to have acted upon what the traitors told you.

You have kept no regard of the friendship of the Maharaja. You

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 114 (Footnote).

2. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 489-490.

have caused me to be disgraced by other people. You have not even remained true to treaties and agreements. Raja Lal Singh was true and faithful to me. He was loyal. Having levelled charges against him, you sent him away. Then we never said anything to you. We thought that as the Sahib himself was with us, we had no fear of anyone. We could never imagine that we would be put into prison with baseless charges concocted against us. Produce any writings of ours. Prove any charges against me. Then you could do anything you liked.

Myself, the Maharaja and twenty two maid servants are imprisoned in the Samman [Burj]. All other servants have been dismissed. We are in a very helpless condition. Even water and food are not allowed to come in. Now that you persecute us in this way, it is better that you hang us instead of it.

If you administer justice to us, well and good, otherwise I shall appeal to London headquarters. Even the allowance of one lakh and fifty thousand that had been fixed has not been paid by anybody. The amount of fifty-one thousand that I had spent in four months, I have paid to Missar Megh Raj after having sold my ornaments. I never begged for anything from anyone. Having sold my ornaments I was managing to live on. Why should you have caused me to be disgraced without any fault? What was the fault of Manglan that she too has been turned out?

The Maharaja came to me today and wept bitterly for a long time. He said that Bishan Singh and Gulab Singh had been frightening him. If something happened to the Maharaja through fright, then what shall I do? He was told that orders of the Sahib for him were to reside in the Shalimar. He wept very bitterly when he heard this. The treatment that is thus meted out to us has not been given to any ruling house.

Why do you take possession of the kingdom by under-hand means? Why don't you do it openly? On the one hand you make a show of friendship and on the other you have put us in prison. Do justice to me or I shall appeal to the London headquarters. Preserve three or four traitors, and put the whole of the Punjab to the sword of their bidding!

(SEAL)

Akal Sahai

Bibi Jind Kaur

26.

[Translation]

With the Grace of the Great Guru

FROM BIBI SAHIB TO LAWRENCE SAHIB¹

We have arrived safely at Sheikhpura. You should send our luggage with care. As I was sitting in the Samman, in the same way I

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 491.



MAHARANI JIND KAUR (JINDAN) (1816-1863)
Mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh

To face p. 13

am in Sheikhpura. Both the places are same to me. You have been very cruel to me. You have snatched my son from me. For ten months I kept him in my womb. Then I brought him up with great difficulty. Without any fault you have separated my son from me. You could have kept me in prison. You could have dismissed my men. You could have turned out my maid servants. You could have treated me in any other way you liked. But you should not have separated my son from me.

In the name of God you worship, and in the name of the king whose salt you eat, restore my son to me, I cannot bear the pain of this separation. Instead of this you put me to death.

My son is very young. He is incapable of doing anything. I have left the kingdom. I have no need of kingdom. For God's sake, pay attention to my appeals. At this time I have no one to look to. I raise no objections. I will accept what you say. There is no one with my son. He has no sister, no brother. He has no uncle, senior or junior. His father he has lost. To whose care has he been entrusted? Without any fault, why is so much cruelty being done to me?

I shall reside in Sheikhpura. I shall not go to Lahore. Send my son to me. I will come to you at Lahore only during the days when you hold darbar. On that day I will send him. A great deal [of injustice] has been done to me. A great deal [of injustice] has been done to my son also. You have accepted what other people have said. Put an end to it now. Too much has been done.

27.

[Translation]

With the Grace of The Great Guru

FROM THE QUEEN-MOTHER TO JOHN LAWRENCE¹

16TH BHADON (AUGUST 30, 1847).

Your letter has been received. It is a matter of great pleasure that you remember me. I am very glad to learn from your letter that Maharaja is happy. Since the day I left Lahore, it is today that I have heard of the Maharaja being happy. Whatever you write may be true. But my mind does not believe that the Maharaja is happy. How can he, whose mother has been separated from him, be happy? You call him Maharaja and then treat him like this. On the one hand he is very young, on the other he had never separated [from his mother]. You are an intelligent and a wise man. Think over it in your mind how the Maharaja can be happy. You write to me that on account of friendship between the two Governments you are very particular of the welfare of the Maharaja. How far you look to the welfare of the Maharaja is now well known all over the

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 492-493.

world. Weeping, he was torn away from his mother and taken to Shalimar Garden, while the mother was dragged out by her hair. Well has the friendship been paid. You never thought in your mind how the Maharaja who was very young, could live happily without his mother.

You had been kept for the protection of our honour and dignity. But the traitors have robbed us of these also. It is a matter of sorrow that you did not weigh things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors. Whatever you have done has earned a good name for you ! I have lost my dignity and you have lost regard for your word (*Meri Izzat abru aur tumhara zaban ka sukan gaya*). The treatment that you have given to me is not given [even] to murderers. Having renounced everything, I had become a faqir, but you have not allowed me to live even like a faqir. I am very much hard up for money.

I have sent Bandhujit to you. Keep him with you. Half of my luggage has been received by me. The other half, they do not give. Get that sent to me and also get the allowance and have it sent to me.

To John Lawrence,
Superintendent and Commissioner, Jullundur Doab
and Acting Resident, Lahore.

28. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

RECEIVED AND }
ANSWERED } 4TH NOV., 1847.

SIMLA, SEPT. 5TH, 1847.

My dear Sir John,

...

She begins one of her letters to Lawrence, "I placed my head in your lap and you have cast it at the feet of my enemies." However, you will perceive that I have desired that all the orders for her deportation may be given on my sole authority, to relieve Lawrence and the Durbar from the odium of the measure, if (which I doubt) it really causes any sensation and if you want proof of H.H. disqualification to educate her son, desire any one in your office, to exhort from the Parliamentary papers of Nov. 1846—the official reports of her misconduct stated by Major Broadfoot chiefly in Aug. 1843—these were not made to justify the measure taken against her and are strong proofs of her personal incapacity to be entrusted with the care of a Boy of 8 years old, who is as precocious as an English Boy of 11 years.

Yours very sincerely,
Hardinge.

1. From Broughton Collection of papers — microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

29. FROM H.M. LAWRENCE TO LORD HARDINGE,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL¹

(ENCLOSURE IN LORD HARDINGE'S OF SEP., 1847)

LAHORE, AUGUST 12TH, 1847.

My Lord,

We all went to Durbar this morning—Sirdar Hira Singh returned from Duleepgarh yesterday and on my questioning him as to what he had said on Saturday to the Maharajah he told me he had drawn his attention to the different things present, the fire works laid, and I added you said, "You would bring a Company". Yes I said I would show him one was the reply on which I remarked what would the company have been for, on which he chuckled himself and said he had not mentioned a company but he had tried to amuse the Maharajah in various ways—Dewan Dena Nath then again brought him round to allow that he had attended to a Company, but the fact of his denial of having said anything about a Company after first allowing that he had mentioned one is to my mind a greater proof of evil thoughts than if he had gone on allowing that he had talked of bringing one—for these are plausible enough excuses for him to have made—no one of course supposes him to have actually at that time intended to have brought a Company with any hostile purpose but what the Durbar does think is that he said it in a sort of bravado and if to the speech must have been in connection with similar connection at previous period.

I told the Chiefs that they must determine what arrangements should be made to guard the Maharajah against sinister influences for the future—one said one thing—another another but all wanted to know my opinion—Sirdar Lena Singh asked plainly for it, and while I was standing talking apart to Rai Kishan Chand just before our departure, Attar Singh went up to my brother John and hastily remarked that mother and son ought to be separated, and on John remarking that even if in different dwellings, they could not long be kept apart, the Sirdar said, "Well then, she ought to be sent to Goojranwala" which is almost 35 miles from Lahore.

In my opinion such a scheme would answer for as long as the Ranee is within reach. She would have sympathizers but out of sight it would be out of mind. The Councillors have promised their opinion today but I do not expect anything decided.

Yours I am,
Signed H.M. Lawrence

1. From Broughton Collection of papers — microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

30. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO COL. (HENRY) LAWRENCE, RESIDENT, LAHORE¹

(ENCLOSURE IN LORD HARDINGE'S OF 5TH SEPT., 1847)

SIMLA, AUGUST 14, 1847.

My dear Lawrence,

... her general misconduct and habits of intrigue are sufficient to justify her separation from her son—but not for her departure across the Sutlej—now especially as the British Government being the guardian of the Maharajah have a right to separate him from the contagion of her evil practice ... under any circumstances the Ranee's separation from her son must be resorted to. Indeed the Governor General has long entertained this opinion.

Yours sincerely,
Hardinge.

31. FROM H.M. LAWRENCE TO LORD HARDINGE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL²

(ENCLOSURE IN LORD HARDINGE'S LETTER OF 5TH SEPT., 1847)

LAHORE, AUGUST 20, 1847.

My Lord,

...

I desired that the Maharajah should be taken to Shalimar to spend the day time so that in the afternoon the Ranee might be quietly taken across the Ravee and moved during the night to Shekhupura which is about 25 or 30 miles from Lahore. There was some opposition mainly in allowing the Maharajah to leave the palace and finally he only came out into the town and returned in a few minutes on the plea of heat. The escort has gone across and I hope that His Highness will be induced to go out this evening when the Ranee will be moved.

20TH AUG., 9 A.M.

This much of the letter I wrote yesterday afternoon before going to Durbar where we stayed from 5 till 8 O'clock and might have been there yet if we had not pushed the Sirdars into action. They were all paralyzed with fear, and not a man I could get to take the necessary message to the Maharanee. Each wished to push forward the other, but at last I suggested that all should go and they only went on my accompanying them to the lower courtyard because there again there was a parley, but finally at

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Ibid.*

7 O'clock the Ranee was informed and submitted much more quietly than was expected. Elephants and palakees were brought in for herself and for all attendants but it was 9 O'clock before she started. The Residency party left at 8 leaving M. Barring with the chiefs. My chief news-writer went with the cavalcade to the River and brought me back word that the lady became violent latterly and declared she would carry her complaints to London. At six O'clock, the Maharajah had been induced to ride to Shalimar where he is now and will remain till tomorrow evening.

Yours I am,
(Signed) H.M. Lawrence.

32. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO H.M. ELLIOT, SECRETARY
TO GOVERNMENT, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT¹

(ENCLOSURE IN LORD HARDINGE'S LETTER OF 5TH SEPT., 1847)

SIMLA, AUGUST 27, 1847.

My dear Elliot,

The letter from Lawrence which I have just read is written under excitement after receiving the Ranee's letter which are very clever productions.

We must expect these letters in various shapes which a woman of her strong mind and passions will assume as best suited either to gratify her vengeance or obtain her ends—and I have no doubt exclusive of her ambitious objects that she is affectionately attached to her son but all that she has said in these letters was to be expected from a mother pleading favourably to be restored to her son—and she will of course omit no efforts to induce the Governor-General to reverse the decision.

On a mother's part this is so natural that the attempts made in these letters by alternate threats and prayers constitute no ground in justifying me in removing her from Shekhupura to Kangra—the removal being out of the Punjab would be an increase in punishment. To change the decision already come to on account of the very natural burst of a mother's feelings in a letter would not be right. There must be some ostensible cause for the change of our decision.

...

If I assume that the first decision will be adhered to by me of allowing her to reside in the Punjab at Shekhupura, it will be necessary that the Resident should address and inform H.H. that the act by which she was separated from son was the act of Governor-General deliberately taken and that it will not be revoked—that the Governor-General is the

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

guardian of the Boy during his minority—and that at his age he ought to be educated in a manner becoming his future status—that H.H. has misused her favour over her son by causing him to counteract the Govt. which is attempting to save the Raj, brought to the very verge of ruin during the time that H.H. was regent and only saved by the moderation of the British government—that H.H. mode of life since March, 1846 when at her dictation a British force occupied Lahore, has been of a nature to induce me no longer to entrust the Prince to be brought up under her tutition—that the motive of Governor General's motif has been proclaimed to the Sikh people that it now only remained for H.H. to be resigned to the decision which is irrevocable during H.H. minority.

Yours sincerely,
H. Hardinge.

33. FROM SIR HENRY HARDINGE TO HENRY LAWRENCE¹

OCTOBER 23, 1847.

"In all our measures taken during the minority we must bear in mind that by the Treaty of Lahore, March 1846, the Punjab never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause I added, the chief of the State can neither make war or peace, or exchange or sell an acre of territory or admit of a European officer, or refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories, or, in fact, perform any act without our permission. In fact the native Prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do our bidding." [Edwards and Merivale, ii, 100-101.]

34. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO SIR HOBHOUSE²

RECEIVED AND }
ANSWERED } 4TH NOV., 1847.

SIMLA, SEP. 20TH, 1847.

My dear Sir John,

...

The Prince is at his country Palace, leading his usual life of unrestrained independence and the Boy Prince quite unweaned and as good humoured as usual.

...

Yours very sincerely,
Hardinge.

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 118.

2. From Broughton Collection of Papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.



LORD DALHOUSIE

(Governor General of India January 1848 to February 1856)

Born April 22, 1812—Died December 19, 1860

To face p. 21

35. FROM LORD HARDINGE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED FEBRUARY 1848)

CALCUTTA, DEC. 23RD, 1847

My dear Sir John,

The Maharanee is very quiet—in the East as elsewhere a clever woman may be profligate and if the scandal be not proclaimed, it is tolerated as would be the case with any other constitutional mistake.

I have not received your letters and I apprehend they have been sent from Bombay by the Agra route—but I perceive by the official despatch, you hint of difference of opinion and would have preferred the deportation into British territory—my Council entirely concur with me, to that the mother of the prince and all the Sikhs and the widow of Ranjit Singh as being so abandoned in her conduct as to justify the govt. in proclaiming her...to Asia, by marching her into Hindostan, would have given great dissatisfaction and would have converted her into martyr—the political offence was too slight—but by quietly separating the mother from the son, may not object to be desired has been gained, and the result has shown how powerless H.H. is within 15 miles of the capital—a giant surrounded by dwarfs has the power to be obeyed—but a great govt. has no strength by exercising its power with moderation—and in the East where women are concerned, it is better to err on the side of indulgence—a persistence in political intrigues under the future ways of the Govt. quite carry and it is known she has firm warnings...

Yours very sincerely,
Hardinge.

36. INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XVII (1848)²

The treacherous murder of two Englishmen in the Punjab led to the operations against the Sikhs, Lord Dalhousie who had recently become Viceroy, after some hesitation, reinforcing Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and proceeding in person to the frontier; a British force sustained a reverse at Ramnuggur on 22nd November, and a decisive result was not arrived at till 1849.

37. SARDAR JIWAN SINGH'S APPEAL TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DATED FEBRUARY 23, 1848.³

"The confinement in which the Ranee is now kept, is of the most close and rigid description. She is shut up in the fort of Sheikhpura,

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 167.

3. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 116-117.

formerly used as a gaol for common felons, under the custody of those Sirdars from whose dangerous machinations against her own life, and that of her son, she first solicited the protection of a British force stationed at Lahore; all intercourse with her friends and advisers or even the ministers of her religion, is strictly prohibited, and the only attendants allowed her are few female servants, not of her own selection, but appointed by her keepers. So penal is the nature of the treatment she undergoes, that she is not allowed even the privilege of choosing her own diet...“The friends of the Ranee now in Lahore, are so much intimidated that they dare not call the attention of the Resident to the hardships which she suffers. ...“And on the same behalf, I further request that the Resident at Lahore be directed to institute an investigation into the charges under which the Ranee has been imprisoned, and to take down, and transmit to his Lordship in Council, the evidence of all witnesses which may be produced, in support, or in rebuttal, of the accusation. His Lordship, in directing such investigation, will, no doubt, order that, under all precautions which may appear to him prudent, or necessary to prevent an abuse of the privileges, the Ranee shall be allowed such intercourse with her friends and advisers as will enable her to plead her cause effectually.”

38. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 22 APRIL, 1848.

ANSWERED 24 APRIL, 1848.)

CALCUTTA, MARCH 8TH, 1848.

My dear Sir John,

Everything in the provinces continue to go on smoothly.

In the Punjab there is quiet. The Ranee lately sent a vakeel to Calcutta who together with a solicitor as agent sent her letters praying to be heard and complaining of illtreatment. We refused to recognise the vakeel, and sent an answer to her through the Resident at Lahore, telling her that any communications she has to make must come through the representative of the Government in the Punjab. The assessment is going on rapidly and successfully and the only discontent I have heard of is that of the little Maharaja who complains that they give him too many lessons. His tutor has let him off a little accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Dalhousie.

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

39. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR FREDERICK CURRIE¹

BARRACKPORE, MAY 15TH, 1848.

My dear Sir Frederick,

...

You will doubtless have taken such precautions as, without imposing any unnecessary restrictions upon His Highness, will effectually secure of possession of the person of the Maharaja, and preclude the possibility of any abstraction or secretion of his treasure, jewels and property. The moment is so favourable for the exercise of her powers of intrigue, and so well calculated to excite anew her ambitious hopes that I cannot doubt the Ranee is prepared for and already busy in mischief. Every fact which comes to me from the other side of the Sutlej proves the hopelessness of relying on the fidelity of any portion of that people. Having regard to the influence which her presence as well as her abilities would have with the insurgent force, if she could escape and join them, and not having any confidence in the trustworthiness of the Sikh custody in which she is placed, I request you to take steps for obtaining the consent of the Durbar to her immediate removal into British territories for her temporary safe custody there. In the event of the Durbar showing any reluctance to do this, which in their present perilous position in relation to the British Government I can hardly conceive to be possible, you will take your own measures and remove her accordingly, without waiting for their consent. I do not wish entirely to fetter your discretion in this matter, but I am so fully convinced of the probability of her escape and estimate so highly the mischief she could do that unless reasons very urgent indeed lead you to a different conclusion, I request your adoption of this measure.

40. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE²

(RECEIVED 25TH JULY, 48.

ANSWERED 7TH AUGUST, 48.)

(WITH ENCLOSURE)

CALCUTTA, JUNE 2ND, 1848.

My dear Sir John,

...

In this respect the Resident had acted upto my wishes. I further suggested to him, in fact, I did positively order him, to lose no time in obtaining the consent of the Durbar to the removal for temporary safe custody of the Maharanee within the British territories. If the Darbar hesitated about consenting, I told him to remove her without their consent.

1. *Private correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars, 56-57.*

2. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

I did so because at such a season as this of political turmoil her spirit was sure to be a tread of the storm. As a woman of great resolution and great ability and as widow of Sirdar Ranjit Singh she had influence with the army. Had she escaped, her name alone would have been a tower of strength to Moolraj. She was guarded by Darbar troops. Who could have confidence in them? She was in confinement at Shaikhoopoorah because she had conspired against the British Government and that of Lahore, and I thought it expedient that the place of confinement should be a safe one within the British territories instead of an insecure one within 20 miles of Lahore. Therefore, I considered myself justified in directing not an increase of the security but a change of the place of detention.

Besides if we had had a less valid reason, the prospect of a revolt in the Punjab placed as in circumstances when it would have been a simple stupidity to stand upon ceremony with the Maharanee, or to be trifled with by pretended humiliations among the members of the government who had proved themselves unable—even if they were not unwilling to fulfil the obligations of their treaty with us. As it has turned out, abundant grounds for the Maharanee's removal are not wanting, and before my letter reached him, Sir F. Currie had in this instance also gone before my wishes. The confessions of the Maharanee's vakeel who was hanged and the revelations of the prisoners who were reprieved fully implicated the lady in the proceedings of which the vakeel was a principal manager. The facts were laid before the Darbar. They altogether concurred in the measures proposed, a small detachment was sent to Shaikhoopoorah to escort her, next morning she was moved off, and she was in the cantonment at Ferozepore before a soul knew anything about her removal. It was very well done.

All her property and her principal friends are to accompany or follow to Benaras, where she will reside in honourable privacy under the superintendence of Major W. Sayer with the understanding that if she is detected intriguing in state matters any more, she will be sent to the fortress of Chunar. The newspapers here say she was got away from Shaikhoopoorah by a stratagem. Sir F. Currie's despatches give no ground whatever for such a supposition. These two events—the rigorous proceedings against the conspirators and the removal of the Maharanee will, it is hoped, have a great effect in suppressing any inclination of turbulence in Lahore and I feel confident you will approve of both measures.

Such is the present state of affairs in Punjab. Every precaution has to be taken to secure our own position during the rains.

Believe me always,
Sincerely yours,
Dalhousie.

41. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR FREDERICK CURRIE¹

(ENCLOSURE IN LORD DALHOUSIE'S OF 2 JUNE, 48)

GOVT. HOUSE,

PRIVATE

MAY 28, 1848.

My dear Sir Frederick,

...

Nothing could have been better planned, more speedily, more secretly or better executed than the removal of the Maharanee with the sanction of the Darbar.

Believe me,
Dalhousie.

42. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE²

(RECEIVED 31 JULY, 48.

GOVT. HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

ANSWERED 7 AUGUST, 48.)

JUNE 9TH, 1848.

My dear Sir John,

...

The Maharanee is on her road to the Provinces. Lahore itself is quiet.

...

The Vakeel of the Maharanee is likely to plague us still. An attorney in Calcutta has got him...and I doubt you may yet hear of him...

I have written to Lahore respecting her allowance, the amount of which will greatly affect the attorney's views of the strength of the case. By the treaty she was allowed a lac and a half. We are under the impression that after the Prema Conspiracy that was reduced to 50,000 a year. I do not now propose to recommend to the Council of Regency that she should have more than 25,000 Rs. a year in her privacy at Benaras, a sum which is very ample for her wants and luxuries.

Believe me,
My dear Sir John,
Yours sincerely,
Dalhousie.

43. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO QUEEN VICTORIA³

(RECEIVED 20 AUGUST, 48.)

GOVT. HOUSE, CALCUTTA,

JULY 3RD, 1848.

In other districts peace has been preserved. A conspiracy was detected at Lahore for seducing the sepoy from their fidelity. The authors were convicted. The evidence of those concerned deeply implicated the

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

Maharanees in their intrigue. The Durbar having given their consent, Her Highness was at once removed from Shekhopoora and is now on her way to privacy at Benaras.

A Goroo—a leader, half priest, Bhai Maharaj Singh appeared and gathered a large force. He was attacked, defeated, pursued, driven into the river Chenab, and drowned.

...

The Resident intimates that many high Sirdars and official persons are implicated in the rebellion and in the proceedings of the Goroo; and proofs are promised of the fact.

...

44. DIWAN MUL RAJ'S PROCLAMATION TO THE KHALSA¹

[Translated from the original in Persian]

Sarbat Khalsa ji

After [compliments] Wahi Guru ji ki Fateh.

You may read [this]: Now that the question of *dharma* has risen, three things are being written [placed before you].

If you know that the *dharma* of the Hindus and of the Khalsajio shall remain safe and the lives of the family of ours shall also be safe, and Mai Sahiba [Maharani Jind Kaur] shall be released, and Maharaja [Duleep Singh] Sahib—may he live long—shall reign in his own right, then the keys of the fort [of Multan] are at your disposal. You may give them to whomsoever you wish. But if the situation does not appear to be like this, then it is incumbent upon them [Khalsajio] that, remaining firm in their *dharma*, they should come to this side [join us], receive their rewards and salaries, so that with the grace of Sri Maharaj [God], all the above four things may come about, and that after the army accompanying Mr. Edwardes is defeated we will move towards Lahore with the grace of God, as in the house of God it is not much that He may grant sovereignty to an ant. But if you cannot do any of the two, then come out openly in the field to fight so that both sides, having been freed from the misery of this world, go to heaven, because there is no other [better] occasion than this.

(Sd) Didar Singh, Commandant

(Sd) Jagat Singh Nihang

(Sd) Jaimal Singh

(seal) Mul Raj

(Sd) Baba Anandgir Sannyasi

(seal) L...Singh

(Sd) Sardar Attar Singh

(seal) Gosain...Gir

(Sd) Sucha Singh

(seal)

1. From the Collection of Dr. Ganda Singh, Patiala.

On the other side of the proclamation in the Persian language is given its Punjabi translation in Gurmukhi script.

45. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 30 OCT., 48.)

GOVT. HOUSE,

ANSWERED 6 OCT., 48.)

AUGUST 15TH, 1848.

My dear Sir John,

...

By the treaties of Lahore and Bhyrowal the British promised peace and friendship ; a force to protect the Maharaja and preserve the peace of the country ; and respect to the institutions and customs of the country. The promised peace and friendship on their part; subjection to the controlling authority of the Resident in every department of the state.

...

The escort who deserted our officers wrote a circular addressed to all the Khalsa, part of which I quote, a little while ago, calling on all true Sikhs to join them at Mooltan when "The Maharaja Dhulip Singh will by the Goroo's grace be firmly established in his kingdom. There will be no more cow killing and our holy religion will prosper. ... The Maharaja and his mother are in sorrow and affliction. By engaging in their cause, you will obtain their favour and support" (April 22).

Words could not express more plainly that the rebellion is a rebellion not against the Maharaja but against the cow killing. ...

There is however higher authority for the belief. An intercepted letter of Moolraj to Sirdar Shamsher Singh Sindawalla recognising him as of the royal lineage, says :

"By the will of the Holy Goroo this affair has taken place for the maintenance of our religion."

The Maharaja was no source of danger to their religion. He adds, "If you do not listen to my words, the opportunity will not again come. The religion and the Government of the Khalsa are still extant. I exist only in the service of the Maharaja and am now as ever your servant."

The last sentence is in Moolraj's own handwriting.

Here again is no rebellion against the Maharaja, but against the supposed enemies of the religion and the Khalsa.

...

After the proofs we have had of the want of all control over the army by the chiefs, there seems to me no reason to doubt that whether we quit Lahore, leaving these miserably in the Council of Regency, or whether we retire in 1854 leaving the government in the hands of a boy of 10, the Khalsa will re-assert their power, advantageous supremacy, and scenes similar to those as have witnessed will be renewed. Our position can no

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

long remain safe under such circumstances, and annexation of the Punjab will follow.

Believe me,
My dear Sir John,
Sincerely yours,
Dalhousie.

46. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 1 NOVEMBER, 48.
ANSWERED 7 NOVEMBER, 48.)

GOVT. HOUSE,
SEPT. 20TH, 1848.

PRIVATE

My dear Sir John,

...

The Lahore Durbar have brought down the Maharanee to Rs. 1000 per mensem, and I do not propose to make any alteration at present—nor why it should be altered at all—although a fall to 12,000 from 150,000 per annum which she was allowed by the Treaty of 1846, is very great,

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
Dalhousie.

47. MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA²

30TH SEPTEMBER, 1848.

...The course of events, as they have developed themselves, and long and anxious considerations of this important subject, have finally and immovably confirmed in my mind the conviction which the earlier events of the insurrection at Mooltan long since had founded, that there will be no peace for India, nor any stability of Government in the Punjab, not any release from anxiety and costly defensive preparations on our frontier, unless the British Government, justly indignant at the unprovoked and treacherous aggression once again committed against them by the Sikhs, shall now effectually provide against future dangers by subverting for ever the Dynasty of the Sings, by converting the Punjab into a British province and by adopting the only measure which will secure the observance of peace by the Sikhs, namely depriving them utterly of all the means of making war. I continue as fully convinced as ever that the establishment of a strong, friendly, Hindoo Government in the Punjab would be the best

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 233-234.

settlement that could be made for the interests of British India, if it could be formed. But I am convinced that such a Government cannot be formed.

The Chiefs of the Punjab are utterly powerless and worthless. The great body of the nation is adverse to all control, and in no degree submissive to the authority of those who are professedly their rulers.

Even admitting, which I am by no means prepared to do, that the Sirdars are not treacherously or hostilely disposed to the British Government, of what advantage, what defence to us is the fidelity of the Chiefs, if they are confessedly unable to control the army which is as avowedly hostile to us? That which we desire to secure is a peaceful and well-governed neighbour, and frontier free from alarm, nor demanding a permanent garrison of 50,000 men. If their army are able to disturb, and eager to disturb on every occasion, the peace we seek to render permanent, of what profit to us is the assumed fidelity of the Chiefs, who cannot repress their soldiers' turbulence, or command their obedience?

I discredit altogether the assurances of the fidelity of the Chiefs on the evidence of the facts before us. ...

To all these recommendations my colleagues in the Council have yielded their ready assent.

I have to the last sought to avert, or to avoid, the necessity, if it could prudently or fitly be avoided.

The Sikh nation have forced the necessity upon us. Having resolved at once, and fully, to meet it, I shall proceed with all speed to the frontier, and shall endeavour by every exertion, and by all the means in my power, to carry into effect vigorously the measures on which the Government of India has resolved, and which, in my conscience I believe, are imperatively called for by regard to the peace of India, to the security of our Empire there, and to the happiness of the people over whom we rule.

48. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 19 NOVEMBER, 1848.

ANSWERED 24 NOVEMBER, 1848.)

GOVT. HOUSE,

OCTOBER 8TH, 1848.

My dear Sir John,

...

The mother of the Maharaja has been banished for conspiring for the corruption of the British army in order to the destruction of our power at Lahore. The father-in-law of the Maharaja with the whole state army

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

there is in rebellion in the North, the brother-in-law of the Maharaja has joined with the whole state army there, the rebellion in the South. Sirdar Gholab Singh, the brother-in-law and guardian of the Maharaja was detected preparing for flight and it is his declared wish to carry the Maharaja with him. ...Is there any doubt as to the power against which the rebellion is directed? The proclamation and letter I quoted in my letter of 4th August were clearly conclusive of this point. Raja Sher Singh, however, has put it in very plain and sultry terms, in his proclamation quoted in our letter to Secret Committee, declaring that he acts for the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh and bidding all true Sikhs to "murder the Fringeers". In another since received, he calls on all true servants of the Sovereign of the Khalsa, Maharaja Dhuleep Singh to march without delay for the "work of eradicating the Fringeers from the country of the Punjab."...

I have done my duty utmost honestly to avoid the necessity for war and conquest. I made no attempt to stir a quarrel with the State of Lahore for the act of Moolraj, and the treachery of a portion of their troops; I told the Durbar they should hereafter be judged by their acts; I have not put any restraint on the Maharaja or the Durbar notwithstanding every suspicion; I have not seized the citadel at Lahore knowing we were safe in our power; the Resident has not hitherto seized Govindghur (as by the way he ought to have done). These occupations were authorized by the treaty but I have not made them; and no arms have been assembled. ...The citadel of Lahore is occupied by H.M. 53rd Regt.—the Maharaja, his property...under the British Guard, and himself carefully looked to. Raja Gholab Singh and others at Lahore who are implicated are under guard.

49. FROM SIR FREDERICK CURRIE TO LORD DALHOUSIE¹

PRIVATE

LAHORE, OCT. 12, 1848.

My dear Lord,

...

This declaration should not be made till the Commander-in-Chief is in a commanding attitude at Lahore, and the sooner the H.E. is here, with, at any rate, a portion of his army, the more easily will all the future operations of the Punjab be conducted. I think that the declaration to be made by the Government should be to the purport above expressed, very briefly recapitulating the nature of our position here, and the circumstances by which the treaty of amity and friendship, on which our relations with the State of Lahore are based, has been violated, setting forth that the British Government will now occupy the Punjab Province, with its own troops, and district officers, making such arrangements for the future administration of the country, as may seem to it fit and proper, that all consideration

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 104-105.

will be paid to the interests of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, who, from his tender years cannot be held personally responsible for the misconduct of the Lahore State, and that the just rights and property of those who have been in no way concerned in the hostile proceedings, and who do good and faithful service at this juncture will be respected.

I think that in the first instance nothing more explicit of the Government intentions need be proclaimed, and that this proclamation should not be made till we are in circumstances to follow it up. In the meantime I have and will do nothing to pledge the Government to any line of policy or in any way to embarrass any proceedings which may be eventually determined to adopt. I think we may quickly annex the Punjab districts to the British Provinces, making a suitable provision for the state and comfort of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, who may continue to occupy the Palace in the Fort of Lahore, the Fort being in our possession, in the manner decided in the papers lately sent to your Lordship.

...

50. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR FREDERICK CURRIE¹

PRIVATE

ON GANGES NR. BUXAR, NOV. 3RD, 1848.

My dear Sir Frederick,

...

You have taken a perfectly correct view of the line of policy to be observed at present, and have rightly concluded that the intentions of the Government, whatever they may be, should not be declared until the preparations of the C. in C. are completed. Before that event is accomplished, I shall myself be at hand and enabled to communicate on all points rapidly with you. Meantime the course of the Government and yours is clear.

...

The subsequent destiny of the Sikh dynasty and Sikh nation will be pronounced upon when the objects, above mentioned, are accomplished.

...

51. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE²

(RECEIVED 1 FEBRUARY, 49.
ANSWERED 7 FEBRUARY, 49.)

LOODIANAH,
DEC. 22ND, 1848.

My dear Sir John,

...

"There are many objections but of all objections that which is founded on the minority of the Maharaja is the feeblest and funniest. That old women and young ladies should say, "Poor little fellow," is all very well ;

1. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 115.

2. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

but that a man of vigorous understanding like Lord Auckland should rest his foot on such a ground—a ground so utterly repudiated by the law of nature and inconsistent with a firm view of great public interest—is marvellous indeed to me. Above all is it inconceivable that the recognition of such a principle should be introduced into the discussion of the states over for the first time in case of Dhuleep Singh—a child notoriously surreptitious, a brat begotten of a *Bhishtee*, and no more the son of old Ranjit Singh than Queen Victoria is; wah! wah! as the Sikh exclaim: for I can find no exclamation of wonder in the English language sufficiently strong on hearing this doctrine preached in Cabinet."

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
Dalhousie.

52. INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER XVIII (1849)¹

The British operations against the Sikhs were brought to a successful termination; the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, with inferior numbers, had engaged the enemy at Chillianwalla, with indecisive and virtually unfavourable results, and Sir Charles Napier was sent out to supersede him. Mooltan, where the outrage of the previous year had taken place, had been besieged, and fell on the 22nd of January. Dalhousie had established himself at Ferozepore. A week or two later, the Sikhs and Afghans were overwhelmingly defeated at Gujerat, and on the 29th of March, the Punjab was incorporated in the British Empire; the "Koh-i-noor" was, in token of submission, presented by the Maharajah to the Queen. Lord Dalhousie received a Marquisate, and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to all concerned.

53. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO BRIG. MOUNTAIN²

PRIVATE

CAMP FEROZEPUR, JAN. 31, 1849.

My dear Mountain,

I have received your letter of 28th.

I believe I have received all the letters you mentioned, but the dates of arrival from camp are very irregular.

I am much obliged by the promise of a larger plan.

It must have been hard on Lt. Bowie to come and go from you again.

The pretences of the Sikhs of their anxiety to get back the Ranee, whom they were perpetually seeking to destroy when she was there, are preposterous. And the more sincere they are, the stronger are the grounds

1. *Letters from Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 247.

2. *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, 167.

Private Camp & Ferozepore
Sept. 31 1849

My dear Mountain

I have recd.

of letter of 28th

I believe I have recd all the
letters you mention - but the
dates of arrival from Camp
are very irregular.

I am much
obliged by the promise for
larger

larger plan.

It must have been
hard on Mr. Bowie to come
& go from you again.

The pretences of the
Liths of their anxiety to get
back the Rance, when they
were perpetually seeking to
destroy when she was there
are preposterous. And the
more sincere they are, the
stronger are the grounds
for

for not according to them -
She has the only manly
understanding in the Punjab.
and her dictation w^d furnish
the only thing w^d is wanting
to under the present movement
truly formidable, namely
an object and a head

†
must we then is too
time for going back or
giving back or winking
an

an eyelid

Emp. mountain

A. Althouse

Emp. Mountain
C.B.

←

22

End of Althouse
Set by 01.
Real July 3.

To face p. 32

for not acceding to them. She has the only manly understanding in the Punjab; and her restoration would furnish the only thing which is wanting to render the present movement truly formidable, namely, *an object and a head*.

Trust me this is no time for going back or giving back or winking an eyelid.

54. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE¹

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6TH FEBRUARY, 1849.

The Queen has not yet thanked Lord Dalhousie for his long and interesting letter which she received in the summer. Since that period many important events have taken place in India, and the last news have naturally made the Queen feel very anxious. She deeply laments the loss of General Cureton and Colonel Havelock, officers who will not be easily replaced. The Queen thinks that Lord Dalhousie has throughout acted more judiciously and has thwarted more mischief being done. She will abstain from remarking upon the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, as she knows that the Duke of Wellington has written fully to Lord Dalhousie on the painful subject. The Queen concludes with expressing her hopes that Lord and Lady Dalhousie are in good health, and with the Prince's kindest remembrances to Lord Dalhousie.

55. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE KING OF BELGIANS²

OSBORNE, 6TH MARCH, 1849.

... The news from India are very distressing, and make one very anxious, but Sir Charles Napier is instantly to be sent out to supersede Lord Gough, and he is so well versed in Indian tactics that we may look with safety to the future after his arrival. ...

56. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE³

(RECEIVED 2 MAY, 1849.
ANSWERED 7 MAY, 1849.)

CAMP FEROZEPUR,
MARCH 24TH, 1849.

My dear Sir John,

Letters professing to be from the Maharanee to Chuttur Singh and Moolraj have been captured from a horseman who was suspected, persued and taken. They were concealed in amulets. They are of a most ferocious and turbulent nature, and if I am furnished with reasonable evidence

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 252.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. II., 255-56.

3. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

of their authenticity, I will instantly confiscate all her property and shut her up closely in the fort of Chunar.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
Dalhousie.

57. FROM THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE TO QUEEN VICTORIA¹

CAMP, FEROZEPUR, 24TH MARCH, 1849.

The Governor-General presents his most humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour of acknowledging the receipt of the letter which your Majesty most graciously addressed to him on the 5th of February.

He is deeply sensible of your Majesty's goodness, and most grateful for the expression of approbation which it has conveyed.

The Governor-General is not without fear that he may have intruded too often of late upon your Majesty's time. But he is so satisfied of the extreme pleasure which your Majesty would experience on learning that the prisoners who were in the hands of the Sikhs, and especially the ladies and children, were once again safe in the British camp, that he would have ventured to convey to your Majesty that intelligence, even though he had not been able to add to it—as happily he can—the announcement of the surrender of the whole Khalsa army, and the end of the war with the Sikhs.

Major-General Gilbert pushed on rapidly in pursuit of the Sikhs, who were a few marches in front of him, carrying off our prisoners with them.

At Rawulpindee, half way between the Jhelum and Attock, the Sikh troops, as we have since heard, would go no further. They had received no pay, they were starving, they had been beaten and were disheartened; and so they surrendered.

All the prisoners were brought safe into our camp. Forty-one pieces of artillery were given up. Chuttur Singh and Sher Singh, with all the Sirdars, delivered their swords to General Gilbert in the presence of his officers; and the remains of the Sikh army, 16,000 strong, were marched into camp, by 1,000 at a time, and laid down their arms as they passed between the lines of the British troops.

Your Majesty may well imagine the pride with which British Officers looked on such a scene, and witnessed this absolute subjection and humiliation of so powerful an enemy.

How deeply the humiliation was felt by the Sikhs themselves may be judged by the report which the officers who were present have made that many of them, and especially the grim old Khalsa of Runjeet's time,

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 257-259.

exclaimed as they threw their arms down upon the heap : "This day Runjeet Singh has died !"

Upwards of 20,000 stands of arms were taken in the hills. Vast quantities were gathered after the flight of the Sikhs from Gujerat. As a further precaution, the Governor-General has ordered a disarming of the Sikhs throughout the Eastern Doabs, while they are yet cast down and afraid of punishment. He trusts that these measures may all tend to ensure the continuance of peace.

The Sirdars will arrive at Lahore today, where they will await the determination of their future places of residence. The officers who were prisoners have also reached Lahore, together with Mrs George Lawrence and her children.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the admirable spirit which this lady has displayed during many months of very arduous trial.

By the kindness of others, the Governor-General has had the opportunity of seeing constantly the little notes which were secretly despatched by her from her prison. The gallant heart she kept up under it all, the cheerful face she put upon it, and the unrepining patience with which she bore the privations of captivity and the dangers which it threatened to her children, her husband, and herself, must command the highest respect and make one proud of one's country women.

General Gilbert, by the latest intelligence had seized the fort of Attock, had crossed the Indus, and was advancing on Peshawur, whither the Afghans had retired.

By next mail the Governor-General trusts that he will be able to announce that every enemy has been swept away by Your Majesty's Armies, and that the Afghans have either been crushed like the Sikhs or have fled to Cabul again.

He has the honour to subscribe himself, your Majesty's most obedient, most humble and very faithful Subject and Servant.

58. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

RECEIVED AND }
ANSWERED } 24 MAY, 1849.

CAMP NEAR LOODHIANA,
APRIL 4TH, 1849.

My dear Sir John,

Elliot's paper on the conference at Lahore you will find very interesting. Testimony is borne to his personal merits elsewhere.

The Paper of Terms was drawn up by me on the model of similar document executed by the Peshwa in 1818.

1. From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

The Council of Regency all signed it first and Dhuleep Singh ratified it by his signatures in the same manner as he had ratified the Treaty of Lahore.

...

The confiscation of the Crown property was quite necessary for two reasons :

1. that means of mischief hereafter might not be left to the Maharaja;
2. that the great debt which is due to this Government today nothing of the expenses of the war may be diminished by the amount of this property, at all events.

Whatever my "affectionate friends" in London-hall should or may think, you at least will find no fault with my having regarded the *Koh-i-noor*—a thing by itself, and with my having caused the Maharajah of Lahore, in token of submission, to surrender it to the Queen of England.

The *Koh-i-noor* has become in the lapse of ages a sort of historical emblem of conquest in India. It has now found its proper resting place.

The pension to the Maharajah is fixed at not less than 4 lacs. His own stipend, I mean, and always meant, to be 1,20,000 Rs. like the Raja of Sattarah. He has a large territory but he is a boy. Balancing the two facts, 1,20,000 Rs. is liberal; and the Sirdars think it.

But I concluded in the clause the allowance for life to all, because it sounds better. The widows of Ranjeet Singh and the Council &c must in justice have been allowed to retain their stipends, and in the 4 lacs I have included the whole.

The Maharaja is allowed to remain this year, as the hot weather is on. Next year he must go.

I am sorry for him, poor little fellow, although it is a superfluous compassion. He does not care two pence about it himself—he will have a good and regular stipend, ("without income tax") all his life, and will die in his bed like a gentleman; which under other circumstances, he certainly would not have done.

Yours very sincerely,
Dalhousie.

59. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 23 JUNE, 1849.

ANSWERED 25 JUNE, 1849.)

SIMLA, MAY 2ND, 1849.

Dear Sir John Hobhouse,

We have no intelligence of Sir C. Napier, and the express of the

¹ From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

mail 24th March has not arrived. Letters intimate that Sir C. will land at Calcutta, take his seat in Council, and then proceed to Simla but I have no means of knowing whether this intelligence is accurate or not.

Everything in the Punjab and throughout India remaining perfectly quiet. The only incident which I have to report by this mail is more annoying than important. The Maharanee has effected her escape from the fortress of Chunar, whither she was suddenly removed by Major McGregor, in consequence of one of her slave girls having escaped at Benaras. Before many days the alarm was given, and she was missing from Chunar; if indeed she ever really was there.

I attach no importance to this now, and regret it only because of the discredit which it will cast on the officers of Government whose custody has been so...It is partly the result of tenderness which has been shown to H.H. scruples, and the respect which has been shown to her feelings in not insisting that her face should be seen by an officer everyday. She was duly identified by her voice, which was peculiar and supposed—erroneously it seems to be sufficient evidence of her bodily presence.

While I say that her flight is of little consequence now, I have expressed great dissatisfaction at her escape; because if it had happened three months ago it would have been a serious addition to our difficulties. I have, therefore, taken measures for having a strict inquiry made, and if those who had charge of her are convicted of corruption or even of negligence they shall be severely punished.

Sometime ago I mentioned to you that letters of a very ferocious character from the Maharanee to Chuttur Singh had been intercepted by the Government. Sher Singh had since voluntarily given up another which had been addressed to him. This renewal of intrigues on H. H.'s part, and the bitter hostility which her letters displayed, induced me to resolve to punish her and to deprive her of the means of creating mischief hereafter. Her flight still further confirmed me in this resolution. I have, therefore, confiscated all her property, amounting in jewels and gold to nine lacs of rupees, which was lodged on her arrival from Lahore in the Treasury at Benaras. Her pension of 1000 Rs. a month will also lapse if she could not be caught.

You will see from my minute that I had no intention to retain her in the state of confinement in which I considered it only common prudence to place during the Sikh war. I should have gradually relaxed the restraint in which she was held, and should shortly have permitted her to reside at Benaras under easy surveillance, like Rajah Lal Singh at Agra.

Even if she is recaptured now, I shall watch her only for a time, and gradually relax. W. Elliot supposes that she has fled in alarm at the consequences which she expected from the seizure of her letters to which

I have referred. The Sowars who carried them escaped after their seizure, and thus she probably knows that her letters were taken. At all events she would infer that they would be discussed on the capture of the Sirdars. He concurs that she has gone to Nepal, where the raja of Ladwa who fled from Allahabad is also supposed. At present, however, we have no intelligence whatever of either of them.

Believe me
Yours faithfully,
Dalhousie.

60. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

(RECEIVED 28 JUNE, 1849.

ANSWERED 7 JULY, 1849.)

SIMLA, MAY 11TH, 1849.

Dear Sir John Hobhouse,

The Maharanee has arrived at or near Kathmandu. The Nepaul Minister communicated the fact to the Rest, apparently annoyed at her coming, but intimated that she must be received.

You are aware that no native state can surrender anyone, even an immoral, who takes refuge within its limits, without incurring reproach and dishonour. A demand, therefore, on the court of Nepaul for the surrender of the Maharanee would unquestionably meet with a refusal. The demand once made could not creditably be abandoned and if persisted it would lead to a breach between the states. I see no such danger in the escape of H. H. and no such advantage in her profession as would justify now incurring the risk of quarrel with Nepaul.

I have, therefore, not made a demand which I know would be refused; but I have addressed the court of Nepaul, intimating my expectation that as a power friendly to us, it will, in giving sanctuary to the Maharanee, take effectual measures for preventing her engaging in intrigues against us, either within Nepaul or beyond its limits.

I do not think there is any chance of her doing mischief there. The Nepaulees have no such love for her as to embroil themselves with us on her account and she has no money and property whatever, which are essential for political mischief.

The inquiry as to her mode of escape is not yet closed.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
Dalhousie.

¹ From Broughton Collection of papers—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

61. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE¹

RECEIVED AND
ANSWERED } 24TH JULY, 1849.

SIMLA, MAY 25TH, 1849.

Dear Sir John Hobhouse,

...

The Maharanee is at Katmandhu and has made no communication as yet. She stated to the minister that she had gone out of Chunar in the character of one of her own servants. The evidence given before the court inquiry led them to the conclusion that the Maharanee was let out by the Havildar of the Guard as a sempstress belonging to her establishment.

The Maharanee's statement, therefore, separately given, confirms the conclusion of the court and I have no doubt that she owes her escape, not to corruption or collusion, but simply to the stupidity of the Havildar and to her own impudence.

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
Dalhousie.

62. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO LORD JOHN RUSSEL²

OSBORNE, 26TH MAY, 1849.

The Queen has to say, in answer to Lord John Russel's communication respecting India, that she quite approves the annexation of the Panjab, and is pleased to find that the Government concur in this view. The elevation of Lord Dalhousie to a Marquisate is well deserved, and almost the only thing that can be offered him as a reward for the services; but considering his want of fortune, the Queen thinks that it should be ascertained in the first instance whether the increase of rank will be convenient to him. Lord Gough's elevation to the dignity of Viscount has the Queen's sanction.

63. FROM SIR HENRY ELLIOT, K. C. B., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, WITH GOVERNOR-GENERAL, TO THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION FOR THE AFFAIRS OF THE PUNJAB³

CAMP BULLOKHEE, DEC. 11TH, 1849.

Sirs,

The Governor-General has from the first considered it essential that Maharajah Duleep Singh should not continue to reside in the Punjab after its annexation to the British Empire.

1. From Broughton Collection of papers — microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II., 262.

3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 200-203.

2. The lateness of the season in April last and His Lordship's unwillingness to expose him to the fatigue of a long journey in the hot weather, induced the Governor-General to defer his removal until the end of the year.

3. The Governor-General having had an opportunity of showing all due respect and courtesy to His Highness at Lahore, conceives that his departure should no longer be delayed.

4. Preparation for this purpose have already been made. A residence has been provided for the Maharajah at Futttehghur, befitting his rank and station.

5. The troops which were to escort the Maharajah have been provided. A squadron of the Body Guard will arrive at Lahore in a few days, and two companies of Her Majesty's 18th Regiment are waiting there also.

6. The Governor-General lately requested His Excellency, the commander-in-Chief to give orders for the escort of a regiment of native infantry being added to the troops already mentioned. Application should be made to the Major-General commanding in the Punjab for the further arrangements of the escort, His Excellency's intentions having no doubt been communicated to him.

7. The Governor-General, I am further directed to state, is entirely satisfied with the past service of Dr. Login, in the position he has occupied towards the Maharajah. His Lordship thinks that nothing could be more advantageous to the future comfort and happiness of the boy, than that Dr. Login should continue for the present to have charge of him and of all his affairs.

8. The Governor-General begs that the full approbation of the Government for his past services may be conveyed to Dr. Login, and His Lordship's confidence that in the future discharge of his duties he will continue to merit the praise of the Government, and will confer lasting and real benefit on the young Maharajah.

9. Dr. Login will continue to draw a consolidated salary of 1,200 rupees a month. It is not just that the whole of this salary should be defrayed by the Government, and His Lordship considers that a fair division should be made, and that one-half should be paid by the British Government, the other half defrayed from the annual income of His Highness.

10. Dr. Login will have entire authority over His Highness's household during his boyhood. He will be placed under the direct control of the Governor-General, after leaving the jurisdiction of the Board of Administration in the Punjab. Monthly diaries or reports should be made by him to the Secretary to the Government of India in this department, and copies of his accounts should be rendered quarterly in the same department.

11. Dr. Login will, as soon as practicable after his arrival, report on the precautions to be taken for His Highness's security in the event which His Lordship thinks an improbable one—of any design being entertained for carrying him off; and he will suggest such measures as he may consider necessary. Care must be taken to guard against any intrigues on the part of his mother, the Maharanee, who is now residing under guard at Kathmandoo, and who has refused to return to the British territories, but whose avowed intention is to regain possession of her son, the Maharajah.

12. The Governor-General conceives it to be desirable to remove at the same time from the Punjab the child who is, it is believed, the only legitimate son of the Maharajah Shere Singh. He can, for the present, occupy the same residence as the Maharajah, under such regulations as may be thought right. He should be treated as a companion of the Maharajah, but as in all respects his inferior.

13. In both cases every careful selection should be made of the attendants who are to accompany them. In the case of the child, especially, there can be no reason for taking almost any servant from Lahore,¹ and both should be prevented from having any one about them; except such persons as Dr. Login may consider from his experience to be worthy of trust.

14. The Governor-General finally requests that a report may be forwarded of the arrangements made by the Board in pursuance of the foregoing instructions, and of the servants, property, &c... to be taken, after the departure of the Maharajah.

I have, &c,
H. M. Elliot, Sec.
to the Government of India.

(In forwarding a copy of the above to Dr. Login, Major H. P. Burn, Deputy Secretary to the Punjab Board of Administration, after some remarks on the earlier portion of it, adds by direction of the Board that—

No man of doubtful character should be permitted to accompany the camp. You should keep, he says, two or three trusty persons, at all times with the Maharajah in addition to the armed guard. Care should be taken against his being inveigled away at night, quite as much as

1. In an official letter to Secretary to Government, dated February 6th, 1850, Login says, that owing to the Shahzada's tender age (six and half years,) and the suddenness of the order for his removal, he had thought it advisable, to prevent any appearance of undue harshness, to permit the mother to accompany the child, in the hope that afterwards, "When the boy could dispense with female attendance...she might more easily be induced to leave him" in Dr. Login's care, and return to her own family at Kangra. In thus departing from his instructions he acted with the approval of Sir H. Lawrence.

against armed violence. The Board have much pleasure in being the medium of conveying to you the present handsome tribute of the approbation of the Government, in which they cordially join.)

64. FROM MAJOR H. P. BURN, DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION, TO J. S. LOGIN, ESQ., M. D., AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, IN CHARGE OF THE EX-MAHARAJAH, BY DIRECTION OF SIR H. M. LAWRENCE, K. C.B., PRESIDENT¹

LAHORE, DEC. 21ST, 1849—7 A.M.

Sir,

1. I am directed by the Board to call upon you for a reply to my letter of the 14th inst. ...detailing the arrangements you propose to make for the safety of Maharajah Duleep Singh during the march to Futteghur, and forwarding a list of servants and establishment accompanying the camp.

2. The Board cannot too strongly impress on you the necessity of the utmost watchfulness. The strong escort will prevent all chance of open rescue; your chief care should, therefore, be against secret abstraction, especially at night.

3. Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert has been requested to inform the officer commanding the escort that you, as Agent of the Governor-General, are responsible for the Maharajah, and that therefore your instructions are to be attended to. This, of course, merely refers to guards, hours of marching, &c.,...and will not in any way interfere with the authority of the commanding officer, in the event of the troops being called on to act. Cordiality and free intercourse with the military will, of course, be observed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours most obedient servant

H. P. Burn, Major.

P. S. 4—Since this letter was written, the President has witnessed your departure at nine a. m. although the hour of seven was fixed. He was surprised to perceive that you were only accompanied by twenty of the Body Guard, without an officer.

5. The Board wish to impress on your mind that your chief danger is an attempt to rescue on the road, on which account you should be accompanied on the march by at least one hundred horsemen, and a portion of the infantry should be ready to receive you on the new ground,

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 204-205.

and one or so should leave the old encampment, so as to be fallen in with by the Maharajah's Party about midway of the march. It is not the attack of an army that you have to guard against, but of a hundred or more desperadoes ready to sell their lives.

6. Lights should be kept in the Maharajah's tent, and a double sentry at each door. The Europeans should be saved as much as possible during the day, and employed at night.

H. P. Burn, Major.

65. FROM MAJOR H. P. BURN TO DR. JOHN SPENCER
LOGIN¹

FEROZPUR.

LAHORE, DEC. 23RD, 1849.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., No. 2, and to inform you that the Board consider your arrangements judicious and proper. The plan of European orderlies is very good. Your explanation regarding the absence of the European officer when leaving Lahore, is satisfactory as far as he is concerned, but the Board would observe that the whole of the Body Guard, excepting those required with their baggage, should march with the Maharajah.

2. The Board desires me to repeat the expression of their sense of the value of your services while employed under them, and trust implicitly to your continued attention and good management, for the safety and comfort of the Maharajah on his march to Futtehghur.

3. Copy of a circular to the Commissioners of Ferozepure, Loodiana, and Umballa is herewith enclosed for your information; and also of one to the magistrates of Saharunpore, Mozuffernugger, Bolundshuhur, and Furruckabad.

4. You are requested to briefly post progress daily until you cross the Jumna, and then weekly until arrival at Futtehghur.

I have the honour, &c.

H. P. Burn, Major.

66. FROM THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE TO QUEEN
VICTORIA²

SIMLA, 15TH MAY, 1850.

... When the Governor-General had the honour of addressing your Majesty from Bombay, the arrangements for the transmission of the Koh-i-noor were incomplete. He therefore did not then report to your Majesty

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 205-206

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria* Vol. II., 286-287.

as he now humbly begs leave to do, that he conveyed the jewel himself from sea at Bombay. One of your Majesty's ships had been ordered to Bombay to receive it but had not then arrived, and did not arrive till two months afterwards, thus causing delay. The *Medea*, however, sailed on 6th April, and will, it is hoped, have a safe and speedy passage to England.

By this mail the Governor-General transmits officially a record of all that he has been able to trace of the vicissitudes through which the Koh-i-noor has passed. The papers are accurate and curious.

In one of them it is narrated, on the authority of Fuqeer [Noor]-ooddeen, who is now at Lahore, and who was himself the messenger, that Runjeet Singh sent a message to Wufa Begum, the wife of Shah Sooja, from whom he had taken the gem, to ask her its value. She replied, "If a strong man were to throw four stones, one north, one south, one east, one west, and a fifth stone up into the air, and if the space between them were to be filled with gold, all would not equal the value of the Koh-i-noor." The Fuqeer, thinking probably that this appraisalment was somewhat imaginative, subsequently asked Shah Sooja the same question. The Shah replied that its value was "good fortune; for whoever possessed it had conquered their enemies."

The Governor-General very respectfully and earnestly trusts that your Majesty, in your possession of the Koh-i-noor, may ever continue to realise its value as estimated by Shah Sooja.

He has the honour to subscribe himself, with deep respect, your Majesty's most obedient, most humble, and most faithful Subject and Servant.

67. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER¹

CAMP, LAHORE, DECEMBER 1ST, 1850.

...

Yesterday I selected two sets of armour and arms for the Queen. Little Duleep, hearing of it, begged to be allowed to send a set of his own, in small, for the Prince of Wales, which I have ventured to include. They are exceedingly pretty, and, I think, will please—at all events, they ought to do so.

68. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO DR. LOGIN²

FUTTEHGHUR, 2ND DEC., 1850.

My dear good friend,

I hope you continue quite well, and that I shall soon receive another letter from you.

1. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 147.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 249.

We are all well here. Captain Campbell presided at our examination, and I got twenty three marks; but Shahzada only got ten, Tommy seventeen, and Robby eighteen.

Will you kindly send me a nice Bible, for I like very much to read, because yesterday Bhajun Lal was reading to me; and also do send me a chest of fine tools, for carpenter's work.

Yours very sincerely,
Duleep Singh,
Maharajah.

P. S. Bhajun Lal's most respectful compliments may reach to my master's honour.

69. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO DR. LOGIN¹

FUTTEGHUR, DEC. 7TH, 1850.

My dear good friend,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter. I am quite well, and I hope that you found Mrs. Login quite recovered, on her arrival in Calcutta. I amuse myself every evening by making Bhajun Lal read to me.

I have begun the Bible, and generally hear one or two chapters.

Yours very sincerely,
Duleep Singh,
Maharajah.

Bhajun Lal's best services to his master; prays for his master's safety and good health. Everything is going on rightly. His attention towards the hawks is not as you left, but it is increasing towards his lessons.

He has been so much pleased upon his servant, that he has presented a *safah* of *jhallars* (muslin turban with gold fringe).

Excuse me if anything incorrectly written.

70. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO DR. LOGIN²

FUTTEGHUR, DEC. 9TH, 1850.

My dear good friend,

I hope you are quite well, and Mrs. Login also. I am well and happy. You will be surprised to learn of my determination to embrace the Christian religion. I have long doubted the truth of the one I was brought up in, and convinced of the truth of the religion of the Bible, which I have of late made Bhajun Lal read portion of it to me.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 249.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 250.

I have asked Captain Campbell to write to you on this subject.

Yours very sincerely,

Duleep Singh,

Maharajah.

Bhajun Lal, who acted as secretary to his master, has added, it will be seen, some quaint postscripts of his own to these letters. Their English is in somewhat odd contrast to that of the letters themselves, which were dictated to him by the Maharajah.

71. CAPTAIN J. CAMPBELL'S (7TH MADRAS CAVALRY) REPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT¹

DATED 20TH DECEMBER, 1850.

... On Sunday the 8th inst., His Highness the Maharajah communicated to me, through Master Thomas Scott, his desire to become a Christian, as he termed it. In an hour or so after this abrupt disclosure, I took His Highness aside, and carefully questioned him on the subject; the substance of his answer was, that he had for a long time been convinced of the falsehoods put forth by the Pundits, that he could no longer restrain himself from professing his belief in our Bible (which he had of late caused one of his attendants to read him), and that he was determined to embrace the Christian faith. At His Highness's request, I next day communicated the intelligence to Dr. Login. ...

72. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER²

CAMP BORHAN, 3RD MARCH, 1851.

...

My little friend Duleep has taken us all aback lately by declaring his resolution to become a Christian. The pundits, he says, tell him humbug—he has had the Bible read to him, and he believes the sahib's religion. The household, of course, are in a grand state. Politically we could desire nothing better, for it destroys his possible influence for ever. But I should have been glad if it had been deferred, since at present it may be represented to have been brought about by tampering with the mind of a child. This is not the case, —it is his own free act, and apparently his firm resolution. He will be a Christian, he says; "and he will take tea with Tommy Scott," which his caste has hitherto prevented! This last cause is a comical point in his profession of faith! I have thought it right to report the thing to the Court for their orders. But, as you may suppose, I have intimated that if the lapse of time shall show that this is not a fantasy of the boy, that

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 241-242.

2. *Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 156-157.

he knows the effects of what he is doing and still persists in his desire to be instructed in Christian truths, I can be no party to discouraging, still less to opposing it. He is a remarkable boy in many ways.

...

73. FORM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER¹

MUHASSOO, JUNE 8TH, 1851.

...

The court have sanctioned all I proposed regarding Duleep's instruction in the Christian faith. Effect has been given to it at once; and I have enjoined in peremptory terms that, while there was nothing which required to be concealed, there shall be no publicity, no flourish, no newspaper paragraphs or articles in the 'Missionary Record', but that everything shall go on as quietly as if it had been a matter of course. You will approve, I am sure. ...

74. SIR HENRY ELLIOT TO DR. LOGIN²

SIMLA, JULY 23, 1851.

[On its coming to the knowledge of the Governor-General that the Shahzada (Sheo Deo Singh) had been assuming airs of importance and announcing, unchecked by his relatives and attendants, "that he would be placed on the *gudde* by the Khalsa, as soon as Duleep Singh went to England as a Christian, "Sir H. Elliot was directed to inform Dr. Login that the Ranee (Dakhno, wife of Maharaja Sher Singh) must be warned of the consequences of permitting the child to hold such language.]

"You will inform the Ranee that the Raj of the Punjab is at an end for ever, and that any contemplation of the restoration of her son, or any body else, to sovereignty there is a crime against the State. It is her duty to instruct her son accordingly. If on any future occasion, either she or her son is detected in expressing or entertaining expectations of restoration to power, or to any other position than that which he now occupies, the consequences will be immediate and disastrous to his interests ...

75. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO M. DULEEP SINGH³

SIMLA, AUG. 2ND, 1851.

I had the honour of receiving the letter which your Highness addressed to me lately, and learnt, with sincere pleasure, the satisfaction your Highness had experienced, on receiving the reply of the Court of

1. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 164.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 275-276 (footnote).

3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 266-267.

Directors to your wish for full instruction in the truths of the Christian religion.

Your Highness will readily understand that my wish to refer the subject to the Court of Directors did not proceed from any reluctance on my part to meet your views, still less from any doubt of the wisdom of the step you wished to take.

I was desirous only that it should be clearly seen that the act was your own, springing from your own heart, and that you had not been led into it hastily, and while you were yet too young to have deeply considered the importance of your act. I rejoice to learn that your Highness remains firm in your desire to be instructed in the doctrines of the Bible, and that you have resolved to embrace a faith, whose teaching, if duly practised by the help of God, will tend to increase your happiness in this life, and will secure it in another that is to come.

During the next cold weather I propose to return to Calcutta. On my way I hope to have the pleasure of meeting your Highness again, and I will not fail to make known to Dr. Login, when I am likely to be in the neighbourhood of Futtehghur. Your desire to visit Agra and Delhi is very proper; they are both of them noble cities, containing some works unsurpassed in beauty in any country in the world. The sight of them will afford your Highness great pleasure. Your Highness has much to see in your own country before the visit to England, which your Highness so earnestly desires to accomplish, can be undertaken with full advantage to yourself.

With every good wish for your health and happiness,

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,
Your Highness's faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

76. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER¹

SIMLA, AUGUST 11TH, 1851.

...

I had a letter from little Duleep, greatly pleased at being allowed to be brought up as a Christian. He behaves with great propriety and judgment in the matter. The poor boy is dying to go to England, while the court rather discourages it.

77. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER²

CAMP MORADABAD, DECEMBER 8TH, 1851.

...

Touching Duleep Singh and his Christianity, I do not know what under-currents there may be, but officially the court have done and said

1. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 171.

2. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 184.

everything I could wish. He is going on very well. The Queen has never taken the least notice of his homage to the Prince of Wales, though she has taken the homage itself. I am going to ask Hobhouse to remind her.

...

78. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH¹

CAMP ALLAHGUNGA, DEC. 24TH, 1851.

It has given me sincere pleasure to hear from Dr. Login of your Highness's good health, and to receive from him the very kind and friendly letter which you have done me the favour of addressing to me. It will afford great pleasure both to Lady Dalhousie and myself to dine with your Highness on Saturday next; and during the time we remain at Futtehghur I shall hope to have the honour of seeing you at the time and in the manner most agreeable to your Highness, and of visiting the improvements you have been making around your residence. In the hope of soon having the pleasure of meeting your Highness again,

I have the honour to be, with much respect,
Your Highness's very faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

79. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER²

CAMP FUTTEHGHUR, DECEMBER 26TH, 1851.

Tomorrow we are to dine with little Duleep Singh, who is becoming more and more European every day, and was very anxious that I should do so.

80. FROM DR. LOGIN TO LORD DALHOUSIE³

MUSSOORIE, MAY 10TH, 1852.

My Lord,

At the request of His Highness, I beg to forward the enclosed note, I am happy to say that the Maharajah's portrait has at last been finished by Mr. Beechey, and that it has been despatched to Calcutta; your Lordship will, I hope, be able to gratify His Highness's wish to possess your portrait when a favourable opportunity occurs.

I am glad to say that the Maharajah continues to enjoy his residence in the hills greatly. I have availed myself of the opportunity of getting a

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 272.

2. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 185.

3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 288-292.

drawing master and music master to give him lessons, and he really makes good progress. He now speaks English with fluency and much more correctly, and with better pronunciation, than natives of Central India generally. He takes great pleasure in the society of English boys, of whom a few come every Saturday from Mr. Maddock's school to join him at play, and I have also been able to secure him constant companions in the two sons of Major Boileau, of the Artillery, who come to study Urdu with him. They have just arrived from England; and as they are very intelligent lads of fifteen and sixteen, who appear to have been carefully educated, and are very diligent and attentive to their Urdu studies. I have little doubt that their example will be in every way beneficial to His Highness.

From all that I have seen of the Maharajah's disposition, I am more satisfied as to the great advantage and stimulus of example in his case. His disposition is naturally indolent, and nothing but his strong good sense, and his desire to be on an equality in knowledge and accomplishments with lads of his own age, enables him to overcome the natural slothfulness of his character. It is on this account that I am so anxious that he should be permitted to visit England, as he so earnestly desires it, while he is young, and while he can have an opportunity of mixing with lads of his own age, and incur less risk of being spoiled by too great attention.

As His Highness's residence is at some distance from Mussoorie, he lives as quiet and retired a life as he did at Futtehghur, enjoying, however, all the advantages of the delightful climate, and the active out-door exercise which it enables him to take. I have been able to clear a sufficient level space for a play-ground on the Manor House estate, so as to admit of his playing cricket, in which he takes great delight. Having overcome the difficulty of reading English, he now takes much more pleasure in his lessons and makes greater progress. On the subject of his desire to be educated as a Christian, his determination continues unchanged, and his progress in religious knowledge is fully as great as that of most Christian boys of age.

As the distance at which His Highness resides from Mussoorie prevents the regular attendance of a clergyman, his religious instruction is almost entirely conducted by Mr. Guise; but I am in hopes that the Rev. Mr. Dawson, of Landour, may also be able to visit him during his stay here. After we left Futtehghur the Maharajah regularly joined us at table, and now takes his meals with Mr. Guise and Master Scott, occasionally inviting Major Boileau's sons and some of Mr. Maddock's pupils, and sometimes coming over to our bungalow, at a short distance, to dine with us. He generally eats the Punjabi dishes to which he has been accustomed, but he is evidently acquiring the taste of an English boy with great

rapidity.¹ With respect to the Shahzada, I am glad to give a good report. Ever since he came under my charge I have observed a certain degree of distrust in his manner, and high ideas of his rank and importance. These had been rather increased than diminished since the Maharajah expressed his determination to be educated as a Christian; and it was pretty evident that these ideas were encouraged, if not by his mother (who is really, I believe, very well-meaning and thoroughly respectable), at least by her attendants. I hailed, therefore, the opportunity of the Maharajah's temporary residence in the hills to separate the boy for a time from such influences. The manner in which the poor little fellow had from his infancy been brought up, separated from all companions of his own age, and taught to consider all around him at Lahore as his enemies, was of itself sufficient to account for much of the distrust and selfishness apparent in his character; and as these feelings, if permitted to gain strength, would, under his peculiar circumstances and position, cause him much unhappiness as a man, and perhaps be productive of other inconveniences, I considered it of great importance to eradicate them if I could. To effect this, I have taken a step which I trust your Lordship will approve, and which, so far as I can judge from a short trial, is likely to be successful.

As it seemed desirable that young Tommy Scott should have the benefit of regular school work and emulation, while at Mussoorie, I determined to allow the Shahzada also to go for a few hours daily, not only to enjoy the benefit of Mr. Maddock's excellent tuition, and to allow Mr. Guise more time to devote to the Maharajah, but also to become acquainted with boys of his own age, and to join in their sports and amusements.

As the boys are all sons of gentlemen in the services, and are carefully looked after by Mr. Maddock, the Shahzada's ideas of his dignity have not received too rude a shock on being sent to school, while the natural feeling of equality on which boys of that age meet on the playground are likely, I think, to have a wholesome effect upon him. Mr. Maddock has kindly entered into my views with respect to the boy, and is careful to prevent any undue deference being shown to him on account of his rank; and as the hours at which he attends are not those when religious instruction is given, any objections on that point are obviated. The little fellow appears to like the arrangement very much; he makes good progress with his work, enjoys the society of his school-fellows, and joins in their amusements with great delight.

I may add, that I am more than ever careful to avoid any appearance of restraint in his religious observances, and that he and his people are not

1. The Maharajah has never tasted wine in any form, and from his recollection of the effects of intoxication on his uncle, Jawahir Singh, he appears to entertain a dread of being habituated to its use.

in any way interfered with in this respect, but, on the contrary, every care is taken to avoid offence to their prejudices in any way. It is curious that the priests have never taken any trouble to make the boy a Sikh, by administering the *Pahul* to him, by which alone he could become a Sikh. The Ranee has lost caste by marrying a Sikh, and her people do not eat with her in consequence; nor do they eat with the Shahzada, the son of a Sikh.

I feel sure this absence from his mother will do the boy good; he is getting older, and will gain self-reliance. By the time he sees her again they will probably have been separated ten months.

I have, &c.,
J. S. L.

81. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN¹

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, JUNE 7TH, 1852.

My dear Login,

All that you are doing in regard to the Maharajah seems to be very judicious, and considering birth and early habits, I think you have very good reason to be satisfied with his progress, and with the results of your care of him in all respects, if you could only keep down his fat. But there you don't set the best of examples.

I see no objection to the line you have taken with the Shahzada; quite the contrary. It is calculated to do him great good, if directed with tact. So far your trip to the hills has been very successful. Your friend Fraser² has not only turned up a trump, but the ace of trumps. He has gained great distinction in Burmah, and will, I have no doubt, achieve more if he has the chance.

Yours very truly,
Dalhousie.

82. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH³

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
JULY 17TH, 1852.

At last, after a long delay upon the river, your Highness's portrait has arrived. It is in excellent condition, not at all injured by the weather. It is very like you, and does great credit to Mr. Beechey as an artist. Your Highness has done me really a great favour in offering to me this likeness

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 292.

2. Colonel Hugh Fraser, Bengal Engineers; afterwards in military command of the fort at Agra, when besieged by the mutineers in 1857.

3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 293.

of yourself. If it pleases God that I should live till I am old, I shall look upon it with strong feelings long after my connection with this country shall have been dissolved, and always with a renewal of the interest which I feel in yourself, and in everything belonging to your fate and fortunes. You have gratified me, too, by asking for my portrait in return. I shall have great pleasure in sending one to you as soon as I can get one worthy of your acceptance. But Mr. Beechey, I fear, won't come to Calcutta, and there is no good artist here.

On Monday I start for Rangoon, to make arrangements for the war. As I hate the sea and everything belonging to it, and as the weather will be very bad, I do not look forward with pleasure to the voyage.

Your Highness will have heard that many of your countrymen have volunteered to go to Burmah, and I greatly hope they will have an opportunity of meeting the Burmese, and of giving them a lesson which they are very well able to do.

I beg you to believe me, my dear Maharajah,
Your Highness's sincere
and faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

83. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN¹

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SEPT. 24TH, 1852.

My dear Login,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the ninth, enclosing one from the Maharajah, to which I now send a reply.

The sketch is really nicely done, and if it was, as you say, not doctored by the master, it does him great credit. All you say of his progress, and of the Shahzada, is more favourable than could be looked for. If you cannot make the Maharajah industrious or learned, you will, at all events, have given him the means of finding interests and occupations for himself, if he chooses to have recourse to them.

I am an advocate for his going to England, and shall do my best to persuade the Court to it; and if it should help to a marriage between him and little Coorg, I shall be very glad, for it will reconcile much which would otherwise be a considerable perplexity both in her case and his. I would not renew the overtures for marriage just at present, because it might look as if he had moved to it by the notice taken of her in England. The Rajah will return in a few months, and you can then propose it to the Government, if the Maharajah wishes to reopen negotiations.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 295-298.

I have been greatly disgusted with notoriety they have given to this man in England, though I had carefully provided against it here, and had warned them on the subject. It has been calculated only to turn the girl's head, and his too, for he will now be more convinced than ever of his accomplishing his object of marrying her to an English nobleman. Whether he would prefer a Maharajah pukka to a nobleman in prospect, I don't know ! nor do I feel sure that the Maharajah would do well to arrange any marriage until he has seen the young lady; for, as he is a Christian and can't get Ranees in duplicate, he may as well see how he likes her first. The little heathen sister, whom Jung Bahadoor took away with him to Nepal, was really very pretty. The orthodox one was not nearly so good looking.

Consider these points, and let me know what you think. You are aware that I have been most anxious that there should be no fuss or display connected with Duleep's profession of Christianity, in order that I might feel satisfied in my conscience that the boy had not been, unintentionally by us, or unconsciously to himself, led into the act by any other motives than that of conviction of the truth. To that end your management of the matter has been most judicious and highly satisfactory to me, I should wish that course steadily pursued. I consider that the Coorg christening in St. James Chapel, with royal godfathers, and godmothers, and the name of Victoria given her, has been a great mistake, calculated to make the child regard a sacrament as a Court pageant, and to lead all the world to believe (as I verily believe myself) that the father's motive was not so much that his child should be an "heir of salvation," as that she should be a goddaughter of Queen Victoria: I do not think I am uncharitable in concluding that the man could have no higher motive who, while he was leading with one hand his elder child to Christianity, gave over the younger with the other to Hinduism and Jung Bahadoor ! Let us avoid all such reproach. If Duleep is to go to England, let him be quietly baptized before he goes, and by his own name of Duleep Singh. Indeed, I am prepared to advise his being baptized now, as soon as his minister can declare that he is sufficiently instructed, and is willing to be baptized at all, he is quite old enough to take the obligations directly upon himself, and to be baptized without the intervention of godfathers and godmothers.

Dr. Carshore goes to Jhelum. He is to be succeeded by Mr. Jay, whom I have never seen, but whom I understand to be a learned, gentle, and pious man.

I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject after your return to Futttehghur. There will be no objections to the Maharajah being accompanied by his young companions.

I am in a difficulty about my portrait for Duleep. There is nobody

here who can paint a good one. Mr. Beechey can't be got, and I should not like to send a bad one. Do you think the Maharajah would be disappointed by my delaying, in order to get a good artist, either here or in England?

I am, very truly yours,
Dalhousie.

84. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH¹

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
SEPT. 24TH, 1852.

The drawing which your Highness was so good as to send to Lady Dalhousie shall be given to her as soon as she returns from Ceylon, where she has been obliged to pass the hot season from ill-health. She will, I am sure, be much pleased by your Highness's attention to her.

The drawing itself shows a progress most creditable to you. I cannot advise you too strongly to cultivate the art; it will be a resource to you in many various forms, both in the house and out of doors.

When I was a boy, like yourself, I foolishly neglected the opportunities I had of acquiring it, and a thousand times since have I regretted it when I desired to possess a sketch of some scene which I admired among the many beautiful and the many famous places I have visited, and which, if I could have used my pencil, I might have preserved by the labour of half an hour.

Your interest in the conduct of your countrymen is very pleasing to me. Their volunteering for Burmah gave me great satisfaction, and I have been glad to reward them for it by allowing two regiments, the 4th Sikh Local Regiment and the Loodiana Regiment, to go to Burmah. The first goes immediately. I have perfect confidence in them. The British never had braver enemies than your countrymen, and I am confident that they will show the same bravery now that they fight upon our side.

Shere Singh Attareewalah, who is now confined in Fort William, was very anxious to go also. I would not permit him to do so. He was an unfaithful and bad servant to your Highness, as well as a faithless friend to the British Government, and I would, therefore, not allow him to have the honour of taking part in a war on our behalf.

In the hope of hearing again from your Highness by-and-bye,
I beg to assure you that I am always

Your Highness's sincere and faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 294-295.

85. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO DR. LOGIN¹

FEB. 8TH, 1853.

My dear good friend,

I think I now sufficiently understand the Christian religion, and the duties to which it binds me, and have a strong desire to be baptized, which I trust, therefore, I may be considered fit for,

I remain,
Yours very sincerely,
Duleep Singh.

86. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FEB. 15TH, 1853.

My dear Login,

I have communicated with my colleagues, who concur with me in readily acceding to the Maharaja's wish, that he may receive the rite of baptism at once.³ I have written to the Bishop to address Mr. Jay. The station church being under repair, His Highness's own house would be the best place for the performance of the rite. I desired no secrecy, but at the same time deprecate notoriety and all approach to a tumasha.

Don't bring people from a distance. Invite if you please to do so, the principal persons of the station, but only those who will regard the occasion as a solemn administration of a Holy Sacrament, and not a common festivity.

Probably it will not be necessary to give a name at all, but if requisite, let it be his own name "Duleep Singh."

I pray, God to bless this act to his eternal good.

Believe me,
Yours truly,
Dalhousie.

87. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH⁴

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FEB. 15TH, 1853.

My dear Maharajah,

I have received with the most lively satisfaction the letter in which you express your desire to be at once baptized, and to be admitted a member of the Church of Christ. When you first showed an inclination to believe in the truths which you found declared in the word of God, I advised you

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 301.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 303-304.

3. The official permission of the Governor-General in Council followed this.

4. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 304-305.

not to act hastily, to continue your study of the Bible, and to test by time the strength and sincerity of your belief.

You have followed my advice, and I have learnt with real pleasure from the statements of the Archdeacon and Mr. Jay that they have found you quite fit to receive the baptism you desire to obtain. I, on my part, most readily assent to your wish, and I thank the God and Saviour of us all, who has put into your heart a knowledge of, and belief in, the truth of our holy religion.

I earnestly hope that your future life may be in conformity with the precepts of that religion, and that you may show to your countrymen in India an example of a pure and blameless life, such as befitting a Christian prince.

I beg your Highness to believe in the strength and sincerity of the regard which I shall ever feel towards you, and to remain, now and always,

Your Highness's sincere and affectionate friend,
Dalhousie.

88. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER¹

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MARCH 3RD, 1853.

...

Duleep, after two years' patient probation, has written to ask my consent to his being baptised. The boy's sincerity is unquestionable—his knowledge the Archdeacon vouches for—and he is to be quietly baptised in his own house, and (at his own desire) by his own name. This is a remarkable historical incident, and if ever the finger of God wrote upon the wall, it did in the sight of this boy, and to the touching of his heart.

...

89. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MARCH 12TH, 1853.

...

A strange and interesting event has now to be recorded in the history of India, for it is well worthy of a place there—I mean the baptism of Maharajah Duleep Singh. He was baptised in the presence of his own servants and of the principal residents of Futttehghur. I have told you from time to time of the course of the boy's conversion. I am convinced that if ever the shadow of the hand of God was made visible to mortal sight, in a human transaction of these later days, it has been visible here in the turning of this boy's heart from darkness to light. This is the first Indian prince of many who have succumbed to our power;

1. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 248.

2. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 249-250.

or have acknowledged it, that has adopted the faith of the stranger. Who shall say to what it may not lead? God prosper the seed and multiply it. I have never from the hour in which I signed the decree had one moment's hesitation or doubt as to the justice or necessity of my act in dethroning the boy. If I had such a doubt, the sight of the blessed result for him, to which that act had led, would now have thoroughly consoled me for what I did then. As it is, my mind is doubly content as to what he lost; immeasurably content as to the gain he has found in his loss. I hope that before long the court will allow him to go to England. He is wild to be allowed to do so,—not that he wishes to be made a fool of, like the Rajah of Coorg, or Jung Bahadur, but because his fancy is to be European in all his tastes, and he is dying to see Europe and all its wonders. He told me he used to dream every night that he was visiting the Duke of Wellington. That dream, unhappily, can never come true.

90. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN¹

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MARCH 16TH, 1853.

My dear Login,

I have the pleasure to receive yours of 8th, enclosing one from the Maharajah. I rejoice deeply and sincerely in this good issue to the great change the boy has passed through, with so much satisfactory evidence of the reality and genuineness of his convictions. I regard it as a very remarkable event in history, and in every way gratifying.

Let me add that, under circumstances of peculiarly great delicacy, and of great difficulty I have been most highly satisfied with the judgment and discretion, the prudence and kindly tact, which have been exhibited by yourself through them all.

Believe me to be, my dear Login,
Yours very truly,
Dalhousie.

91. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MARCH 16TH, 1853.

My dear Maharajah,

I have received, with the liveliest satisfaction, the letter which you wrote to me on the 8th inst., announcing to me that the rite of baptism had been administered to you, and that you had been admitted into the Church of Christ.

1, *Lady Login's Recollections*, 98.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 305.

I rejoice in the opportunity it affords me of again offering you the assurance of my affectionate interest in your welfare, and of my most earnest wishes for your happiness, both in this world and in that which is to come.

I beg your Highness to believe me,

Yours sincere and faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

92. FROM SIR FREDERICK CURRIE TO MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH¹

CALCUTTA, APRIL 11TH, 1853.

Maharajah,

I wish to write to your Highness before leaving India to offer you my warm congratulations on the important event which has just been communicated to the Government by your friend, Dr. Login, viz., your Highness's admission into the Christian Church by the rite of baptism.

I have long regarded you with very sincere esteem (ever since we first met on that memorable occasion in February, 1846); and those feelings are much enhanced by the contemplation that I can now regard you as a fellow-Christian, animated by the same hopes; cheered by the same promises, and seeking the same consummation of all our objects and desires in life—the love and glory of our common Saviour in time, and His presence in eternity.

I have in no degree lost the interest which I had in your Highness during the eventful year 1848; but I have thought it better, considering our respective position, and hearing of the feelings which were at work in your heart, and which have led to such a happy result, that I should not write to you.

Any communication between us might have been misrepresented to your Highness's detriment, both in the Punjab and in Hindostan. But now there is no longer any cause for such reserve; your Highness has taken the irrevocable step, and I am about to leave India by the steamer of the 8th prox.; when my connection with the Government will be at an end. I therefore now write these few lines to assure your Highness that I have taken the most lively interest in all that has happened in regard to you since I saw you—that I have read the reports of your progress in knowledge and of the development of your character, sent from time to time by Dr. Login, with high gratification; and that the last reported event above referred to has given me unfeigned joy.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 309-310.

I do not know if there is any possibility of your Highness visiting England, but should you do so during my life time, it will give me very great pleasure to renew our acquaintance.

I remain, Maharajah,
Yours sincere friend,
F. Currie.

93. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN¹.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
AUG. 4th, 1853.

Dear Login,

I have to ask your pardon for the long delay which has occurred in replying to the letter I had from you about middle of June. Since that period, though I have not allowed public business to be retarded, I fear I have left many letters unanswered, among them yours. Your account of the Maharajah continues to be as satisfactory as we have any right to expect. Your plans for at once instructing, diverting, and training him as a member of European society are excellent, and can leave on your mind no doubt of your meeting with full cooperation, as far as it depends on me.

With regard to the future, I cannot go quite so entirely with you. We are at one in thinking that he should go to England. It is my opinion, as it is yours, that he should go while he is yet what we should consider a boy. I shall therefore be prepared to ask permission from the Court to let him go next spring, if you consider him ready and desirous, as before to go. I will not disguise from you that the Court may not give a very gracious assent; the visit of Jung Bahadoor, whom they spoiled, and still more, the present visit of the ex-Rajah of Coorg, whom, in spite of all my precautions and warnings, they have lifted wholly out of his place, making a fool both of him and of themselves thereby, has disgusted the Court and Board of Control with native, and especially with princely visitors. Still I hope they will agree, and still more, I hope that the Maharajah will not expect pompous receptions, and will rather seek quiet and privacy while he shall remain in England. With respect to the question of a residence at Mussoorie, and also to a grant of land, I conceive that these matters should be postponed until the Maharajah shall have returned from England, and until he shall be, at least, of age which in his case I presume would be eighteen. The grant of Eastern Dhoon, to which you allude, seems the carving out a large slice. But, without committing myself to details, I have no difficulty in expressing entire concurrence in your views of making the Maharajah something

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 311-312.

different from a Delhi or a Lucknow pensioner. It is natural you should wish these points settled by myself, who must need take a more peculiar interest in the boy than any of my successors can do; but you may be quite sure that he will always be an object of interest to the Governor-General of the time, and I think it would be open to objection if I should attempt to decide upon, and to provide for his future, prematurely.

Believe me to be,
Yours very truly,
Dalhousie.

94. FROM DR. LOGIN TO LORD DALHOUSIE¹.

AUGUST, 1853.

My Lord,

I have told the Maharajah of your intention to ask permission for him to visit England next spring...In the event of his obtaining the permission, I shall see that he has not a large retinue with him, and will only take to Calcutta those who are to proceed with him. The Maharajah is very anxious not to be separated from Sheo Deo Singh, and, if the little fellow's own feelings were consulted, I think he would not be unwilling. If your Lordship thinks it desirable, I shall endeavour to get his mother's consent.

The Maharajah, and all of us, would regret any circumstances which would lead to any separation between them, for they are much more attached to each other than they were, and a very kindly feeling now exists between them. Mr. Guise has lately received a very good offer from Mr. Maclean, a large indigo planter near Futteghur, to take charge of his work during his absence in England, and a share as a partner. Up to the present time, I am satisfied that no one could have filled his place with His Highness more perfectly than Mr. Guise has done.

The irregular, self-indulgent manner in which the boy had been brought up, his natural indolence and want of application, and the difficulty of exercising any restraint over him, required an amount of patient endurance and perseverance on the part of a tutor, in bringing him through the rudimentary stages of education, and establishing a desire for instruction, which is very rarely to be met with, and I feel that His Highness owes more to Mr. Guise than he can ever repay. The Maharajah has now, however, reached a stage in his education at which he is more likely to derive benefit from the instruction of professional masters.

In the event of Mr. Guise accepting the offer made to him, I think that it would be only proper on His Highness's part to make a handsome

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 312-313.

acknowledgement of his services in any way your Lordship might think fit. Although this offer is most eligible, Mr. Guise is quite willing to remain with His Highness if it is desired; but in this case, he would naturally look for some permanent employment on his return to India in place of that which he had declined.

In the event Mr. Guise not accompanying the Maharajah, it would be advisable to retain one or both of the Boileaus as companions for a time; and it might be more possible for me to obtain commissions for them while in England.

It was only in the event of His Highness not going to England that I was anxious to find some interesting and useful employment for him, to occupy his mind and engage his attention.

95. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO DR. LOGIN¹

AUGUST, 1853.

My dear good friend,

As I do not like to attempt a letter to the Governor-General, I hope it will do as well to write to you to what I wish to say.

You told me that the Governor-General wishes to know if I am as anxious as before to go to England. I wish to say that I am very anxious to go, and quite ready to start whenever his Lordship gives me permission. I do not want to go to make a show of myself, but to study and complete my education, and I wish to live in England as quietly as possible.

Yours very sincerely,
Duleep Singh.

96. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, JAN. 31ST, 1854.

My dear Maharajah,

I am very happy to be able to tell you that I have this moment received the permission of the Court of Directors that you should visit England.

In the belief that this intelligence will give you pleasure, I hasten to convey it to you with my own hand.

I have not time to write another word beyond the assurance of the pleasure it will give me to see your Highness again.

I remain, with much respect,

Your sincere and faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 314.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 318.

97. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN¹

JANUARY 31ST, 1854.

My dear Login,

I have just received the Court's leave for the Maharajah to go to England, and I beg you to deliver the enclosed to him.

I hope he will do me credit, for they have had a sickener of native grandees² at home lately.

Yours most sincerely,
Dalhousie.

98. LETTER FROM MAJOR W. A. G. MAYHEW (ASST. A. G. TO
BRIGADIER-GENERAL T. PALMER, COMDG. CAWNPORE
DIV. NO. 193³

A. G. OFFICE, CALCUTTA,
MARCH 11TH, 1854.

Under instructions from the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, I have the honour to request that, should His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh halt at Cawnpore, he is to be received at that station with a salute of twenty-one guns.

I am further directed to inform you that His Highness is to be provided with a Jamadar's Guard during his visit.

99. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER⁴

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, APRIL 8TH, 1854.

...

General Mildmay Fane has arrived since I wrote to you. He is hale, fresh, active, and good-humoured. Another arrival has been Maharajah Duleep Singh, on his way to England. He is living in the Government House at Barrackpore, and came to visit me. He is at an awkward age, and has a dark callosity down all over his face, but his manners are apparently nice and gentlemanlike, and he now speaks English exceedingly well. He is attended by Dr. Login, an excellent man for the office, whom I shall ask leave to introduce to you. You will find him agreeable, and you will be interested in seeing the lad for many reasons. I earnestly desire that this boy should make a good impression in England, and equally so that he should not be spoiled and made a fool of. If Login should at any time ask your advice on matters of society, I hope you will kindly help the boy for my sake. I look upon him as in some sort, my son, and am really solicitous for his success and well-being. He is accompanied by a nephew,

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 98-99.

2. Referring to Jung Bahadour and the Rajah of Coorg.

3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 324 (footnote).

4. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 296.

Shahzada Sheo Deo Singh, a son of Maharajah Sher Singh, an intelligent little boy with a foolish mother, who is too much inclined to puff up the child with notions that he is the rightful Maharajah now since Duleep has become a Christian. Hence we thought it best to let him go with his uncle.

...

100. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH¹

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, APRIL 18TH, 1854.

My dear Maharajah,

Before you quit India, I have been desirous of offering you a parting gift, which future years might sometimes remind you of me.

Since that day, when the course of public events placed you a little boy in my hands, I have regarded you in some sort as my son. I therefore ask you, before we part, to accept from me the volume which I should offer to my own child, as the best of all gifts, since in it alone is to be found the secret of real happiness either in this world or in that which is to come.

I bid you farewell, my dear Maharajah, and beg you to believe me always

With sincere regard,

Your Highness's faithful friend,
Dalhousie.

101. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, APRIL 30TH, 1854.

...

If you should see anything of the Maharajah, and of Dr. Login, I hope you will discourage any idea you may detect of taking the boy to public meetings, especially Exeter Hall ones—there to be paraded as a Christianised prince. I have warned him against it, but I am a little afraid of the temptation when it comes close; and I wish to guard against its, for it would be very bad for the boy.

...

102. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE³

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 26TH JULY, 1854.

It is a very long time since the Queen has had the pleasure of hearing from Lord Dalhousie, but she supposes that (fortunately) there is very

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 330.

2. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 300.

3. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III., 49.

little to say, everything being so quiet and prosperous. The Queen highly appreciates and values Lord Dalhousie's kind offer to remain in India while there is any prospect of difficulty being caused by the present War which will be a source of great satisfaction and tranquility to her, as she feels that her Indian Dominions cannot be in safer hands.

The Queen wishes to tell Lord Dalhousie how much interested and pleased we have been in making the acquaintance of the young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh.¹

It is not without mixed feelings of pain and sympathy that the Queen sees this young prince, once destined to so high and powerful a position, and now reduced to so dependant one by her arms; his youth, amiable character, and striking good looks, as well as his being a Christian, the first of his high rank who has embraced our faith, must incline every one favourably towards him, and it will be a pleasure to us to do all we can be of use to him, and to befriend and protect him.

It also interested us to see poor old Prince Gholam Mohammed, the last son of the once so dreaded Tippoo Sahib.

We both hope that Lord Dalhousie's health is good, and the Prince sends him his kind remembrance.

103. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN²

AUGUST 10TH, 1854.

My dear Login,

Your letter of 24th June gave me very great pleasure. You have made a most favourable start in your London life, and I have no doubt all will go on agreeably upon the excellent plan you have laid down for the Maharajah. He has made a very pleasing impression on those to whom he has been introduced, several of them having already written to me to that effect. My friend, Sir George Couper,³ will, I am sure, do all that his

1. This young Prince was born in 1838, and was a younger son of Runjeet Singh, Chief of the Sikhs, who, after a loyal alliance with England for thirty years, died in 1839. In 1843 Dhuleep Singh was raised to the throne, which had been occupied successively by Runjeet's elder sons. After the Sikh war of 1845, the British Government gave to the boy-king support of a British force. In 1849, after the destruction of the Sikh Army at Gujerat, and the annexation of the Punjab, a pension was bestowed on the young Maharajah on condition of his remaining loyal to the British Government. He became Christian, and was at this time on a visit to England.

2. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 110-111.

3. Comptroller to the Household to H. R.H. the Duchess of Kent to whom were written the "Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie," published by Messrs. Blackwood & Son 'London' in 1911.

own many duties will allow him to do to help you. "Sirdar Lena Singh has died at Benaras. The Shahzada's mother has arrived there; and wrote to me lately. It was a very civil letter, and, among other things, she protested that she had never said word against you in her life.¹

We are all very quiet there in India. The king of Ava is sending up an envoy to Calcutta, and Dost Mahomed is 'ettling' to be well with us at the other side of the land. I enclose a letter for the Maharajah.

Yours very truly,
Dalhousie.

104. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
SEPTEMBER 9th, 1854.

...

It is unfortunate that large measures of public improvement can rarely be effected without some personal injury or partial justice. It is a pity that the officers of the Guards or anybody else should suffer by the report of the Military Commission. But great public benefit must result. I am all anxiety to see what measures the authorities will take, in consequence of that Report, for the improvement of this Army. I am afraid you give me more credit for heroism about the 'operations' on me than I deserve. After all, nothing more formidable than a lancet has ever been used, though long and deep holes have been produced in me by that very little repulsive weapon. The truth is, I don't like pain at all, and I especially funk the knife. In short, although I don't disgrace myself, I fear that I have not sustained into maturity the character you give my youth. Even the Kelat treaty did not please Sir C. Wood. He said I had given him 5000 a-year, when he had only authorised me to give £5000 once as a gift! 'As if a chief would give up one treaty which was disagreeable to us though beneficial to him, and make himself the 'enemy of our enemies'—would agree to give us military possession of his country when we demanded it, and would give us large commercial advantages, all for one trumpery £5000! I certainly believed Sir C. Wood had sanctioned the

1. This has reference to the Rancee Dukhnoo's petition to the Governor-General, with regard to which he wrote to Login at Barrackpore Palace from Government House in March, 1854:

"My dear Login,—Come to breakfast if you can on Monday. There shall be a room ready for you. Of course, this is only if convenient to you. I have sent you a huge memorial from the mother of the brat you have brought accusing you of many enormities, of which child-stealing is the least!

Yours very truly,
Dalhousie."

2. *Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 319-320.

grant of £5000 a year. At any rate, he may be thankful for what has been secured for him at that price. I am rejoiced at Duleep's success and favour at Court. Winter-halter may have arranged Duleep's drapery better than his valet, but has he preserved him a Sikh in outward form, with which drapery has a good deal to do? The doctor requires watching. What can be more absurd in fact or worse in taste than adopting the armorial bearings of the chivalry of Western Europe for a prince of an Eastern nation, among whom such things are unknown as a custom. General Anson has just arrived on his way to Madras, and is staying with me. He is very agreeable. Of the two, I would infinitely rather, on military grounds, see him here as C.-in-C. than Lord F. Fitzclarence if Gomm should go away. However, he has no thought of doing so before his natural end. Sir Wm. has just recommended to me a notorious drunkard as brigadier. I have refused to appoint him without reconsideration by His Excellency, and without his saying that the Colonel's "character and capacity" do not unfit him for high military command. If he can swallow that, there is nothing he may not take down. ...

105. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE¹,

BALMORAL, 2ND OCTOBER 1854.

As the Queen knows that the East India Company are chiefly guided by Lord Dalhousie's advice with respect to all Indian affairs in public as well as of a more private nature, she thinks that she cannot do better than write to him upon a subject which she *feels* strongly upon, and which she is sure that Lord Dalhousie will enter into. It is the position of those unfortunate Indian princes, who have, either themselves or their fathers, been for public reasons deposed. Two instances are now before the Queen's eyes upon which she wishes to state her opinion.

The first is old prince Gholam Mohammed, and his son prince Feroz Shah. The Queen understands (though she is not sure of the fact) that the old man is here in order to try to obtain his pension continued to his son. This is very natural, and it strikes the Queen to be an arrangement difficult to be justified, in a moral point of view, to give these poor people—who after all were once so mighty—no security beyond their lives, whilst we remain permanently in possession of their vast Empire, they receive a pension, which is not *even* continued to their descendants. Would it not be much the best to allow them, instead of a pension, to hold, perhaps under the Government, a property, which would enable them and their descendants to live respectably, maintaining a certain rank and position?

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III., 59-61.

The Queen believes that Lord Dalhousie himself suggested this principle in the case of the Ameers of Scinde.

Nothing is more painful for any one than the thought that their children and grandchildren have no future; and may become absolutely beggars. How much more dreadful must this be to proud people, who, like prince Gholam, are the sons and grandsons of great princes like Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib ! Besides it strikes the Queen that the more kindly we treat Indian princes, whom we have conquered, and the more consideration we show for their birth and former grandeur, the more we shall attach Indian princes and Governments to us, and the more ready will they be to come under our rule.

The second instance is that of the young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh (and the Queen must here observe that the favourable opinion she expressed of him, in her last letter to Lord Dalhousie, has only been confirmed and strengthened by closer acquaintance). This young prince has the strongest claims upon our generosity and sympathy; deposed, for *no* fault of his, when a little boy of ten years old, he is as innocent as any private individual of the misdeeds which compelled us to depose him, and take possession of his territories. He has besides since become a Christian, whereby he is for ever cut off from his own people. His case therefore appears to the Queen still stronger than the *former* one, as he was not even a conquered enemy, but merely powerless in the hands of the Sikh soldiery.

There is something too painful in the idea of a young deposed sovereign, once so powerful, receiving a pension, and having no security that his children and descendants, and these moreover Christians, should have any home or position.

The Queen hears that Lord Dalhousie himself would wish and advise his pension to be exchanged for a property on which the Maharajah might live, which he might improve (giving thereby a most valuable example) and transmit some day to his descendants, should he have any; she hopes therefore that this may be so settled, and that he may, on attaining the age of eighteen, have a comfortable and fitting position worthy his high rank. Where such a property might be must be of course left to Lord Dalhousie to decide, but the Queen hopes that Lord Dalhousie will give it his serious attention.

106. FROM SIR JOHN LOGIN TO LORD DALHOUSIE¹.

WIMBLEDON, OCT., 1854.

... His Highness is evidently under the impression that the "not less than four lakhs" mentioned in the Treaty were to be allowed to him and

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 351.

his family and servants in perpetuity, and that he is entitled to such accumulations as may take place by lapses of pensions from this fund; and, as your Lordship may view the matter in a different light, it is very necessary that you should be apprised of it, to prevent any future misunderstanding. ...

107. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER¹.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OCTOBER 22ND, 1854.

...

It is very good for the Maharajah to have seen the Royal family under such an aspect as you describe at Osborne. But I am a little afraid that this exceeding distinction will not be for his future comfort. If he is to live and die in England, good and well, but if he is to return to India, he is not likely to be rendered more contented with his position there by being so highly treated in England; and, after breakfasting with queens and princesses, I doubt his much liking the necessity of leaving his shoes at the door of the Governor-General's room, when he is admitted to visit him which he will certainly be again required to do. The 'night-cap' appearance of his turban is his strongest national feature. Do away with that and he has no longer any outward and visible sign of a Sikh about him.

...

108. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE²

24TH NOVEMBER, 1854.

...

The Queen was already aware of the idea formerly entertained by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh of marrying the young princess of Coorg.³

Agreeing as she does with Lord Dalhousie in the wisdom of advising the young man to pause before he makes his choice of a wife, she thinks such a marriage between these two most interesting young Christians most desirable; indeed, as Lord Dalhousie himself observes, the difficulty of any other marriage for either must be great. The young people have met and

1. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 325.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III., 68-69.

3. A few years earlier, while still holding his ancestral creed, Dhuleep Singh had made overtures to the ex-Raja of Coorg with a view to his betrothal to the elder daughter of the latter; but at that time the matter was dropped. After becoming a Christian, and having also heard of the baptism of the Princess of Coorg, the Maharajah renewed his proposal, which, however, was not eventually accepted. The Princess married an English officer, and died in 1864, aged twenty four.

were pleased with each other, so that the Queen hopes that their union will, in the course of time, come to pass. Her little god-daughter has been here lately, and though still childish for her age (she is nearly fourteen) is pretty, lively, intelligent, and going on satisfactorily in her education.

Of the young Maharajah, who has now been twice our guest, we can only speak in terms of praise. He promises to be a bright example to all Indian Princes for he is thoroughly good and amiable, and most anxious to improve himself.

109. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO DR. LOGIN¹.

JANUARY 1855.

I have no right to consider you under my authority at present; but you may be assured that the unrestrained correspondence between us is a real pleasure to me. ...If this young lad does not grow up with right notions and principles, and well-directed sentiments, it certainly will not be your fault! I am very shaky, and nearly done ... I beg to offer my most sincere congratulations to Lady Login, which I omitted to do before, when I wrote to congratulate you.²

Believe me, my dear Login, Yours, etc.,
Dalhousie.

110. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO DR. LOGIN³

CASTLE MENZIES, JUNE 30TH, 1856.

My dear good friend,

I enclose in this a note for the Prince of Wales; will you kindly send it on?

I intended to write to you before, but there is little to write about. We are getting on pretty well with our housekeeping, and are all well. I did not catch a salmon, as I hoped, the day you left; but as soon as I catch one myself, it shall be sent straight to Lady Login, at Roehampton.

I commenced lessons seriously this morning with Mr. House, and hope to get on very well with him. I trust to hear that Lady Login, and the children come to Castle Menzies, for I begin to feel very lonely without them. I miss them dreadfully. I hope Hancock sent the things I ordered for the little one. With my love to the children.

I remain, your affectionately,
Duleep Singh.

P. S. Please bring the "Treasury of Histories" when you come. It was packed for India.

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 111.

2. Dr. Login had received the honour of knighthood from H. M. Queen Victoria in November, 1854.

3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 366.

111. FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES, ALBERT EDWARD,
TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH¹BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
JULY 16TH, 1856.

My dear Maharajah,

I am very sorry to have neglected writing to you till today, but I have been so busy that I have not had a moment's time.

Princess Royal's arm is a great deal better now, and she thanks you very much for having inquired after it. She really has borne it very well. A minute more and it must have proved fatal.

I saw Sir John Login the other day, who gave me very good accounts of you. Will you remember me to him? We are going to spend two nights at the camp of Aldershot, and are then going on the Isle of Wight.

I remain,
Yours affectionately,
Albert Edward.

112. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE CHAIRMAN
AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE HON. COURT
OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY²

CLARIDGE'S HOTEL, DEC. 9TH, 1856.

Gentlemen,

Having now attained an age at which, according to the laws of India, I am entitled to assume the management of my own affairs, and being anxious, before my intended departure for India, in October next, to have everything relating to my future position clearly defined and settled, I have to request the favour of you, at your earliest convenience, to bring the subject to the notice of Hon. Court of Directors, in order that sufficient time may be afforded for such reference to the Governor-General-in-Council as may be required.

In taking the subject of my future settlement into consideration, I hope that the circumstances in which I have been placed under the protection of the British Government, may receive due attention.

Having at the early age of ten years been required to resign the throne of the Punjab, and, with the advice and approval of my then ministers, and guardians, to accept the terms offered to me by the Government

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 145.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 393-394.

of India, I really consented, believing the conditions to be as fair as liberal as under the circumstances could be obtained.

Although I still consider them to be such as my ministers and guardians were justified in recommending me to accept, and very gratefully acknowledging that the kind and liberal consideration which I have experienced from the Government has left me no cause to regret that I placed myself, with so much confidence, under their care, there are, nevertheless, certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by Treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome, and certain conditions as to the amount of income to be assigned to me, which, if carried out in accordance with the literal interpretation of the Treaty, may place me and my family in a less favourable position than the ministers and their families by whom the Treaty, on my behalf, was made. I trust, therefore, that in considering the subject of my future settlement, the whole circumstances of my position may be carefully reviewed, and that such provision may be assigned to me as may appear liberal, considering my former rank, my present recognized position, and the expenses necessary for its proper and dignified maintenance.

I have, & c.,
(Signed) Duleep Singh

113. MEMORANDUM BY QUEEN VICTORIA¹

OSBORNE, 15TH DECEMBER, 1856.

The Queen has seen the Memorandum which the Maharajah Duleep Singh has sent to the East India Company; she thinks all he asks very fair and reasonable, and she trusts that the East India Company will be able to comply with them. As we are in complete possession since 1849 of the Maharajah's enormous and splendid kingdom, the Queen thinks we ought to do everything (which does not interfere with the safety of her Indian dominions) to render the position of this interesting and peculiarly good and amiable Prince as agreeable as possible, and not to let him have the feeling that he is a prisoner.

His being a Christian and completely European (or rather more English in his habits and feelings) renders this much more necessary, and at the same time more easy.

The Queen has a very strong feeling that everything should be done to show respect and kindness towards these poor fallen Indian Princes, whose kingdoms we have taken from them, and who are naturally very sensitive to attention and kindness.

1. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III., 278-279.

Amongst all these, however, the Maharajah stands to a certain degree alone, from his civilisation, and likewise from his having lost his kingdom when he was a child entirely by the faults and misdeeds of others.¹

114. FROM JAMES C. MELVILL, SECRETARY TO THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS TO MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH²

EAST INDIA HOUSE, 19TH FEBRUARY, 1857

Your letter, dated the 9th December last, expressing Your Highness's desire that a new arrangement may be made relieving you from the restriction as to residence imposed on you by treaty and assigning to you a more liberal pecuniary provision, has been received and laid before the Court of Directors.

I am commanded to state in reply that the Court have observed with great satisfaction the excellent disposition manifested by Your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from all restrictions as to residence. The Court will make reference to the Government of India to ascertain the present and prospective appropriation of the sum set apart by treaty for your support, and that of your family and dependants, and on the receipt of the answer from that Government, they will again address you on the subject of your pecuniary circumstances.

115. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON³

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23RD SEPTEMBER, 1857.

The Queen hopes that the arrival of troops and ships with Lord Elgin will be of material assistance, but still it does not alter the state of affairs described by the Queen in her letter, which she wrote to Lord Palmerston, and which she is glad to see Lord Clarendon agrees in. Though we might have perhaps wished the Maharajah⁴ to express his feelings on the subject of the late atrocities in India, it was hardly to be expected that he (naturally of a negative, though gentle and very amiable disposition) should pronounce an opinion on so painful a subject, attached as he is to his country, and naturally *still* possessing, with all his amiability and goodness, an *Eastern nature*; he can also hardly, a deposed Indian Sovereign, *not very* fond of the British rule as represented

1. In reply, Mr. Vernon Smith stated that he had brought all the Queen's wishes before the Company.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 395.

3. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III., 315.

4. Lord Clarendon had written that he was "Sorry to learn that the Maharajah (Dhuleep Singh) had shown little or no regret for the atrocities which have been committed, or sympathy with the sufferers".

by the East India Company, and, above all, impatient of Sir John Login's¹ tutorship, be expected to *like* to hear his country people called *fiends* and *monsters*, and to see them brought in hundreds, if not thousands, to be executed.

His best course is to say nothing, she must think.

It is a great mercy, he, poor boy, is not there.

116. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON²

BALMORAL, 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1857.

The Queen is much surprised at Lord Clarendon's observing that "from what he hears the Maharajah was either from nature or early education cruel." He must have changed very suddenly if this be true, for if there was a thing for which he was remarkable, it was his extreme gentleness and kindness of disposition. We have known him for three years (our two boys intimately), and he always shuddered at hurting anything, and was peculiarly gentle and kind towards children and animals, and if anything rather timid; so that all who knew him said he never could have had a chance in his own country. His valet, who is a very respectable Englishman, and has been with him ever since his twelfth year, says that he never knew a kinder or more amiable disposition. The Queen fears that people who do not know him well have been led away by their present very natural feelings of hatred and distrust of all Indians to slander him.

What he might turn out, if left in the hands of unscrupulous Indians in his own country, of course, no one can foresee.

117. FROM LORD DALHOUSIE TO SIR GEORGE COUPER³

MALTA, JANUARY 7TH, 1858.

...

Duleep has long declaredly wished to get rid of Login. Sir John came to me at Arrochar in 1856 by way of consulting me. I told him plainly that, of course, the lad would wish to get rid of him whom he had regarded as a master ever since he was nine years old, and that he had much better fix a term for dissolving their connection amicably. He told me that he had quite made up his mind to it—that he would go to Italy with the Maharajah in 1856, return to India with him in 1857, and then retire,—and he consulted me as to some subsequent employment for himself in the Company's service. Since that time I have heard no more.

1. Sir John Spencer Login, formerly surgeon at the British Residency, Lucknow, guardian of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, 1849-1858.

2. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. III., 320.

3. *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 394-396.

The Maharajah has no right whatever, by treaty, to any increase of income. But when I left India, I advised that when he was of age, and returned to reside in India, his stipend should be raised from £ 12, 000 to £ 25,000 a year. If he prefers to live in England, he can only live there as a private gentleman, and will have no right to expect the stipend above mentioned, which was calculated for the maintenance of the state of a prince—a deposed prince, but still a prince—entitled by agreement to royal honours in India, which he cannot claim here.

The rumour you mention as to the *Koh-i-noor*, I have seen in former years in an English paper, but never anywhere else. It is not only contrary to fact but contrary to native statements also. Did the *Koh-i-noor* bring ill-luck to the great Akbar, who got it from Golconda, or to his son or grandsons? or to Aurangzeb, who rose to be the Great Mogul. And when that race of Emperors fell (not from the ill-fortune of the *Koh-i noor*, but from their feeble hand), did it bring ill-fortune to Nadir Shah, who lived and died the greatest Eastern conqueror of modern times? or to Ahmed Shah Doorani, who got it at Nadir's death, and founded the Afghan Empire? Or did it bring ill-fortune to old Runjeet Singh, who got it from the Dooranis, and who rose from being a sowar on 20 rupees a month at Goojeranwalla to be the Maharajah of the Punjab, swaying the greatest force in India next to ourselves? And has it brought it ill-luck to the Queen? Especially representing the Punjab, has it shown that State an enemy to us? Has it not, on the contrary, shown it our fastest friend, by whose aid we have just put down the traitors of our own household? So much for the facts of history as the *Koh-i noor*. Now for the estimation in which its former owners held it. When Runjeet Singh seized it from Shah Shoojah (the Doorani Emperor), he was very anxious to ascertain its real value. He sent to the merchants at Umritsar, but they said its value could not be estimated in money. He then sent to the Begum, Shah Shoojah's wife. Her answer was thus: "If a strong man should take five stones, and should cast them, one east, one west, one north, and one south, and the last straight up in the air, and if all the space between those points were filled with gold and gems, that would not equal the value of the *Koh-i-noor*." Runjeet Singh (thinking this rather a vague estimate, I suppose) then applied to Shah Shoojah. The old man's answer was: "The value of the *Koh-i-noor* is that whoever holds it is victorious over all his enemies." And so it is. The *Koh-i-noor* has been of ill-fortune to the few who have lost it. To the long line of emperors, conquerors, and potentates who through successive centuries have possessed it, it has been the symbol of victory and empire. And surely never more so than to our queen, ever since she wore it, and at this moment. The anecdote I have given was told me by Fuqueer Noorooddeen at Lahore,

who was himself the messenger who went to the Begum and Shah Shoojah. It was all fully narrated to the Government when the *Koh-i-noor* was sent home. However, if H. M. thinks it bringing bad luck, let her give it back to me. I will take it and its ill-luck on speculation.

...

118. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE SECRETARY, EAST INDIA COMPANY¹

LONDON, FEB. 26TH, 1858.

Sir,

On the severance of the connection which has for so many years existed between Sir John Login and myself, I am anxious to testify my appreciation of his character, and my sense of his constant and kind attention to my interests and comfort. I have, therefore, to request the Honourable Court of Directors that, on the termination of Sir John's official engagement in the management of my affairs, the sum of Rs.853. 5. 4. per mensem may be paid in India to his order, or as he shall direct and be deducted from the total allowance I receive from the East India Company. May I, therefore, beg of your doing what is necessary for carrying out these my wishes into effect.

I have, &c.,
Duleep Singh.

119. FROM J. D. DICKENSON, SECRETARY, TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO SIR JOHN LOGIN²

MARCH 10TH, 1858.

... In reply to this communication, I am commanded by the Court to state that the letter of the Maharajah makes no mention of any testamentary bequest, and, with reference to the proposed annuity, that the receipt of any present or gratuity from a native of India by any officer of the Company is prohibited, not only, as you must be aware, by the rules of the service, but by an Act of Parliament. The arrangement, therefore, cannot receive either the approval, or the sanction of the Court of Directors.

I have, &c.,
J. D. Dickenson,
Secretary.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 434.

2. *Ibid.*

120. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN¹

6TH JULY, 58.

... "so very glad to hear that the Queen has asked you, and you have agreed, to take charge of the young Coorg Princess. I am sure, that you will make her happy, and treat her with what motherly kindness which I myself have had the good luck to experience...Tell me when to expect Edwy; he will enjoy fishing ... Love to all. Yours affectionately, Duleep Singh."

121. FROM LENA LOGIN TO QUEEN VICTORIA²

ROME, 31ST MARCH, 1859.

Madam,

When I had the honour to address Your Majesty so lately, I did not anticipate the necessity of so soon again doing so, but as I am very greatly concerned at the purport of a conversation I have just had with the Maharajah, I am desirous of losing no time in making it known to Your Majesty.

The Maharajah had met the Princess Gouramma, a few evenings ago, at a small party, and I observed that he sat by her talking for some time. The next day he asked for a private interview with me, and, after saying that he thought the Princess much improved in manner and appearance, and that he felt a sincere interest in her as his countrywoman, he said that he considered it only right and honourable on his part to tell me at once that he could not ask her to be his wife; that, from what he had observed of her lately, he had made up his mind that she was not calculated to make him happy, as he did not feel the confidence in her...he would in an English girl.

I was much distressed at this, for I had hoped that she was conducting herself so as to make a favourable impression, ... but he said repeatedly, 'I could never marry her! ... She would not be a safe wife for me! I don't seem to trust her! and I dread so any trouble after marriage.

He then went on to say that he felt very unhappy about himself, that he saw the necessity of altering many things in his own conduct, and of endeavouring to live more as became his profession of Christianity, and his position in society; but that his temptations were so great, and he felt himself so weak to withstand them, that unless he could have some definite object in view, and some reward to strive after, he feared for the

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 170.

2. *Ibid.* 173-76.

future...that up to this time his life had been aimless, that he felt he had no ties to bind him, no home or kindred that he could claim as his own, but that if this could be altered...if a hope could be held out to him that he might, at some future period, be permitted and try to win the love of one whom he had known and loved from her childhood, he would undergo any probation it was thought fit to impose on him, and strive, with God's help, to make himself worthy of her !...(Here he named a young relative of my husband, who had her in his care and charge)...

On observing the effect this utterly unexpected announcement had upon me, he became so confused and nervously excited, that he could not express his meaning clearly, and therefore begged I would give him no reply at present, but allow him to come next day and talk it over calmly, and, in the meantime, if we should feel...inclined to reject his desire (as he feared might be), that we would reflect deeply on the effect such a decision would have on him.

I hope, I need not assure Your Majesty that neither my husband, nor myself, had the slightest suspicion of the Maharajah's sentiments towards—and that we were quite unprepared for his request, which caused us the greatest anxiety and pain on her account, even more than on the Maharajah's; and though we felt ourselves in a very peculiar position towards him, as his only Christian parents, and in a great degree bound to give him every aid we could, still, at the same time, this young girl's happiness and welfare must be paramount with us.

When he came the next morning, he said much of the great difficulty he should always find in becoming acquainted with the real disposition and character of any young lady he might meet in society; that in no other family could he be domesticated as he was with us; that he had known—'s temper and disposition thoroughly and watched her closely, and had long felt that...she was in every respect what he wished for in his wife; her truthfulness and purity he could rely on, and her religious feelings he revered. But if we, whom he trusted and regarded as parents, could not accept him into the family; if we, who had taken him from his own country and people, and cut him off (though at his own request) from all prospect of mixing with his own race, should refuse to regard him as one of ourselves, to whom could he look ?

I earnestly hope that in the reply that we have given we have been rightly directed, and that, with God's blessing, the event may result in good. We have told the Maharajah that in our peculiar situation, and as Christians, we cannot altogether refuse his request, though we must adopt such measures as shall, as far as possible, render our present concession harmless to the other person involved, ... as she must be our first consideration; that in the earnest hope that this may lead him to higher views

of the duties of his position and of his Christian profession, if it was found that for the next three years his conduct gave us confidence in his sincerity, and in the depth of his present feelings, and in the event of his obtaining Your Majesty's gracious approval, we would allow him to plead his own cause with the young girl, who would then be of age sufficient to make the decision for herself. In the meantime, he bound himself, on his honour not in any way to make her aware of his sentiments—we, on our part, being careful that they shall see as little as possible of each other in the interim.

We have told him that we make this promise, and hold out this inducement to him, solely in the hope that, before this period expires, he will see his true position more clearly, and meet with someone more suitable in every respect, ... as we in no wise covet such a destiny for our charge... We felt that to deprive him of all hope, considering the position we have held towards him, would have been both unchristian and injudicious, and might have led him to become utterly careless.

There were many circumstances which I cannot detail by letter, which have strengthened us in resolving on this reply. My first impulse was to return straight to England, instead of going to Naples, in the hope of being permitted personally to lay everything before Your Majesty. On second thoughts, knowing how much Your Majesty desired that the Princess should be as long abroad as possible, and that her health would be benefitted by a stay at seaside, I have decided to adhere to our first intention. Need I express to Your Majesty with what deep anxiety I shall await at Naples the expression of Your Majesty's opinion on the course we have thought it our duty to pursue with respect to the Maharajah?

I have the honour to be, Madam, with most dutiful and grateful respect,

Your Majesty's most humble and most devoted servant,

Lena Login.

122. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN¹

AUNCHLYNE,

JULY 9TH, 1859.

I am very glad I have followed Sir John's advice, and asked Colonel Oliphant here. He seems quite happy fishing, though he meets with indifferent sport, the water being so low. I have been away, at Susie, in order to get a shot at the deer, and have been sitting up at night watching for

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 444-446.

them, when they come to eat the corn. Colonel Oliphant does not give any trouble, and I am really thinking of doing as Sir John advised, and asking him to come to me when I require an equerry, but it must only be now and then, not to live with me always. I think this would meet the Queen's wishes too. I think he would just do, for he would not be a stranger to me, and I would feel free. What a good boy you will call me, when you will know that I actually did what you suggested in your letter, before I got it ! and I intend to take him with me, on my return, as far as York, where our roads separate.

...

Mind you get a photograph taken for me of my baby god-daughter. Hoping sincerely to hear by return of post, that you see no objection to complying with my request.

I remain, &c.,
Duleep Singh.

123. FROM SIR JOHN LOGIN TO SIR CHARLES WOOD¹

JULY, 1859.

Dear Sir Charles Wood,

I hope that you will kindly excuse the liberty I take, in intruding upon your attention while it must be so fully occupied with matters of perhaps more importance; but as I am very apprehensive that if I delay to do so an opportunity may be lost of doing an act of justice in a graceful way, and in a manner which may tend to advance the public interests in India very materially, I venture to bring it to your notice.

I have already mentioned to you that the subject of the Maharajah Duleep Singh's settlements on coming of age has been under the consideration of Government since December, 1856, when he became entitled (at eighteen), by the laws of India, to the management of his own affairs, but that various circumstances have prevented a final decision upon the subject up to the present time. He has, during the last three years, been unsettled and anxious regarding it, and to provide against some of the inconveniences likely to arise from the delay, he has been induced to insure his life at an annual premium of £ 1,000.

With every desire, however, to make allowances for the delay, it is very difficult for a young man at his age to be patient under it, especially when he has already to pay £3,000 as insurance premium, which would not have been necessary had his settlement been determined at the proper time; and I am therefore apprehensive that if all arrangements are not satisfactorily completed before he attains his majority (on the 4th September,

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 502-504.

little more than a month hence), he may naturally be very greatly disappointed, and be much less disposed to be satisfied with any settlement which may be made by Government than he now is.

When all the circumstances of the Maharajah's removal from the throne of the Punjab and the annexation of his country are duly considered, I think that it must be admitted to be at least very satisfactory to us, that the person who, in the opinion of other civilized nations, has suffered most from the change should himself, on attaining an age at which he can correctly judge of the rectitude of our proceedings towards him, be ready to express his approbation; and I may be excused, therefore, if I am a little anxious for the sake of our own high character among other nations, and among the people of India, that nothing should occur to deprive us of this satisfaction.

It has been said, and, perhaps, truly, that the Maharajah has been fortunate in having been removed from his high position into private life at his early age, and also that he could never have continued to hold it, even with the assistance to which he was entitled from us, among so turbulent a people. But even admitting the latter to be the case—although I greatly doubt it—have we not, as a Government, been equally fortunate in having to act with a young man who, during the last ten years, has given us the most convincing proof of his loyalty, fidelity, and goodwill, rather than with one who might have been otherwise disposed towards us, and have set a different example to his former subjects ?

I have no doubt that you will take these circumstances into consideration in determining the provision to be made for himself and his family, and that notwithstanding the temporary difficulties in which the general finances of India are now involved, you will kindly bear in mind that, in so far as respects the Punjab, the result of our Government has been eminently successful, and has far exceeded the anticipations which were formed when in 1849, the Maharajah was deprived of his throne, and required, through the ministers that we had placed around him, to accept such terms as we imposed upon him.

I confess that I am less anxious for the Maharajah's personal interest in the decision of the question, than for the honour and credit of the British Government, and for the character which impartial history may yet attach to the transaction.

While admitting the necessity of the measure, it was considered at the time by almost all who took part in it to be a very hard proceeding towards the Maharajah, and one which can in no way be so satisfactorily justified, as by his own approval of it, after his judgment has been matured by ten years' experience, and he has been to appreciate the motives from which we acted.

Trusting you will excuse the freedom with which I have addressed you.

I remain, &c.,
J. S. Login.

124. FROM L. BOWRING TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP, PANIPUT,
JAN. 8TH, 1860.

My dear Login,

... I received a short time ago your letter, forwarding a note from Maharajah Duleep Singh to his mother, Ranee Jinda, which has been sent to Colonel Ramsay with a request that he will deliver it to her. The Governor-General, to whom I showed your letter, has written a despatch upon the points referred to in your letter, viz., the Maharajah's desire to visit India, and the advisability of allowing the Ranee to reside in British territory. On this latter point, I believe His Excellency is of opinion that she may be permitted to do so... Colonel Ramsay speaks of her as much changed. She is blind, and has lost much of the energy which formerly characterized her, taking apparently but little interest in what is going on...

The Governor-General does not object to the Maharajah's visiting India, though he does not deem it advisable that he should proceed to the Punjab. His Excellency's despatch, which I have mentioned, should you see it, will place you quite *au courant* of his views on the subject.

I much regret that little She Deo Singh was prevented from visiting England with Maharajah. He is a promising youth, and some day may have influence, which it would be well to direct beneficially.

I fear that his proposed marriage with the daughter of the Shamgurbh Sirdar, a small chief in the Thanesur District, will not prove advantageous to him.

As far as we can see at present the temper of the Sikhs is good...

Yours very sincerely,
L. Bowring.

125. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR C. WOOD²

[... On the 31st March, 1860, Sir C. Wood informed the Maharajah that:—

Sir John Login having ceased to be officially connected with your

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 450-451.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 451.

Highness, any application made by him, on your part, cannot be officially recognized ; and it would, in all cases, be advisable, that you should communicate your wishes, ...in the first instance, to Her Majesty's Government.

To this the Maharajah replied:—]

I regret that the Viceroy having written a despatch to you on the subject of my return to India, founded on a private note written by Sir John Login to Mr. Bowring, His Excellency's private Secretary, you should have been led to suppose that I had wished to communicate officially with the Government of India, on any subject, without in the first instance, submitting my wishes to Her Majesty's Government.

... Being quite aware that Sir John had ceased to be officially connected with me, it never occurred to me, nor I believe, to him, that his private note would be officially recognized.

126. FROM SIR JOHN LOGIN TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH¹.

LONDON, JAN. 18TH, 1861.

My dear Maharajah,

As objections are likely to be made at the India office to the recognition of my authority to act as your attorney and agent—without a formal and legal document—on the ground, I believe of your having—since the former power was given to me—been in direct communication with Secretary of State on the subject² (which by law invalidates the power), I have asked Messrs. Graham and Lyde to prepare another power of attorney, which I now send to you, and also a copy of the former one, in order that you may see in what they differ.

The new power is made out, as you will see, to enable me merely to settle your affairs with the Government, which leaves it open for you, if you like, to grant another to Oliphant for other matters; but if you wish to continue to me the same power as you gave before, it can be written, accordingly by Messrs. Judge, or any other respectable solicitor in Calcutta, whom you may employ.

There is another difference—the power is not limited to your absence from the United Kingdom—but as it is rendered null (if the Government position be correct) by your entering into personal correspondence with them on the subject, this is of no consequence, as you can at any time set

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 452-454.

2. At a private interview with Sir C. Wood, at India House, Duleep Singh signed a paper prepared in his presence, Jan. 20th, 1860.

it aside. Just settle it in your own mind whether to limit it to Government matters, or extend it to others, as you may think best; but do kindly let me have the document one way or other, with the least possible delay.

Sir Charles Phipps told me that now was the time to push the Government, as I should come in for all their blame in having the matter agitated, and that you could suffer no damage by my proceedings; and as he knew that I did not much care for their annoyance, so long as I had a good cause, he thought it by far the best opportunity for you to get the question advanced ! So you see how coolly I am recommended to fight your battles. Well, be it so ! It will be a great happiness to me if I can get our people to do what is liberal and right, to enable me to hold up my head before you, and to say that I am not ashamed of them. My dear Maharajah, it requires some knowledge of our national character to understand us ! Because the Council of India do not benefit a single pie themselves, and think they stand up for the interests of 200 millions of subjects, they'll fight until they have not a leg to stand on, while all the time they have the most perfect goodwill to you, and would like to see you happy ! However, it will all come right yet; I have every confidence.

(Here follows a description of Applecross Estate)

...

Believe me ever, my dear Maharajah,
Your most sincere and faithful friend,
J. S. Login.

127. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

SPENCE'S HOTEL, CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY, 1861.

My dear Sir John,

"Oh ! It is too cruel of you to write to me, so soon after coming out here, about an estate in Scotland; for now I cannot make up my mind to stay a day longer than is necessary to see my mother ! Your letter has almost driven me wild; so you may expect to see me back sooner than I thought of when I left. I have got the Shahzadah here on a visit. ...

"Now, I must tell you that India is a beastly place ! I heartily repent having come out, for I cannot get a moment's peace, with people following me, and all my old servants bother the life out of me with questions. The heat is something dreadful, and what will it be in another month ? I hate the natives, they are such liars, flatterers, and extremely deceitful ! I would give anything to be back in dear England, among my friends. I cannot think

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 207-208 ; *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* 454-55.,

or write about anything else but this property ! Oh, buy it for me, if possible ! My mother is to be at Rani Gunj in ten or twelve days. I wish her to await me there, as it is quieter than Calcutta. I have heard (not officially) that she is to have from two to three thousand a year, but will know for certain when the Governor-General returns here.

I have not yet settled whether I remain over the hot weather here, going up to the hills and then returning to England. I am to have elephants from Government for tiger shooting. It is already very hot. Shahzadah is very anxious to come with to England, but does not expect to manage it.

"Yours affectionately and sincerely,

"Duleep Singh.

"P. S.—My mother has decided she will not separate from me any more, and as she is refused permission to go to the hills, I must give up that intention, and, I suppose, we shall return to England as soon as I can get passage."

128. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

FEBRUARY, 1861.

My dear Sir John,

I have signed, and send herewith, the full power of attorney. Mr. Bowring told me yesterday he thought the accumulation would not be much over £ 70,000 (without interest), but was not sure, but that all the papers would be sent off to England without delay. I hope you are arranging about 'Applecross.' I am trying to get a house outside Calcutta for my mother. ...

Yours affectionately and sincerely,
Duleep Singh.

129. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN²

MULGRAVE CASTLE, JULY, 1861.

My dear Sir John,

As I have not yet heard from Sir C. Wood, although I have been in England now three weeks, I begin to think that he is waiting to receive a letter from me personally, and thus throw your power of attorney to act for me aside. However, I will disappoint him in this for I wish you to act for me entirely in settling my affairs with the Government. Will you,

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 455-456.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 462-463.

therefore, kindly address him about this delay, and also tell him that all letters connected with the settlement of my affairs should be addressed to you, and not to me, and this will show him how I desire the thing to be done. My mother is delighted with Mulgrave, but I cannot get her to agree to live separate from me at Lythe Hall, as you advise.

We hope to start for Scotland on Thursday.

Ever your sincere and affectionate,
Duleep Singh.

P. S. —Kindly let me have a copy of any letter you write to Sir C. Wood.

130. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

JULY, 1861.

My dear Sir John,

Colonel Oliphant has just received a private letter from Sir Charles Wood, to say that my papers are now before the committee, and will be shortly ready to send ! So you see I was right ! Will you at once write to Sir Charles that I wish to have my papers sent to me through you. As soon as you receive them, I should like very much if you would come yourself to Auchlyne and bring them with you. I wish very much to have a conversation with you about my private property in the Punjab and the *Koh-i-noor* diamond, and, perhaps—if you really can come—you will kindly procure and bring with you the Punjab Blue Book.

We are just starting for the north. My kindest love to all.

Ever yours,
Duleep Singh.

131. FROM C. B. PHIPPS TO SIR JOHN LOGIN²

OSBORNE, AUG. 4TH, 1861.

My dear Sir John,

Many thanks for your letter. I have read it and the enclosed legal opinion with great satisfaction. I feel convinced that the best course which the Maharajah can pursue is, as you suggest, to submit his claims to some impartial persons, in whose judgment he might have confidence.

The constant advancement of fresh argument, and establishment of a

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 463.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 464-465.

chronic state of contest with the Government authorities, cannot be advantageous to him.

The legal opinion may be a perfectly correct one, but these matters must be settled by the rules of common sense, and legal splitting of hairs only provokes equal ingenuity on the other side. I feel sure that any equitable arrangement arrived at by honourable and impartial men would be both better and more satisfactory than a constant state of contest and uncertainty. The arrival of the Maharanee in England is a misfortune, though it is impossible to oppose his filial wish. I hope he will see the inconveniences of having her and her attendants in the same house with him. I am glad to hear such good accounts of the Princess Gouramma. Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Login.

Ever sincerely yours,
C. B. Phipps.

132. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1861.

I wish it were only possible for you and Lady Login to come by the middle of next week, for I do long to see you, and to be once more able to read with you in the mornings, as we used to do long ago, when we lived together. I feel it very difficult to lead a Christian life; I am constantly erring before God, and really some of my sins I cannot give up.

133. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN²

SEPTEMBER, 1861.

I have been having capital sport these last few days, averaging forty brace daily. I address this to Lancaster Gate, as Sir John said you would be back by this time. I want you and he very much to come for ten days, or as long as you can stay, and you *must* bring my little godchild with you; indeed, you really *must* not come without her! I want your advice also about getting a good likeness of mother (in oils). The Normanbys are here, and beg to send their kind regards.

134. FROM SIR JOHN LOGIN TO SIR CHARLES PHIPPS³

5, LANCASTER GATE, DEC. 30TH, 1861.

My dear Sir Charles,

It was very kind indeed of you to write me to explain your inability

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 466.
2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 467.
3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 468-470.

to see me when I went up to Windsor on the 14th. I did not, under the circumstances, expect that you would, and felt it necessary to have a note prepared to excuse myself for having attempted it. I had, on two or three occasions made inquiries at Buckingham palace, before the bulletins were issued, and ventured, in my anxiety, to do so at Windsor.

If the universal sympathy of the civilized world, and the heart-felt sorrow of the millions who delight to acknowledge her sovereignty, and to take a deep and affectionate interest in all that concerns the welfare of our most beloved and gracious Queen, can in any way tend to alleviate grief, under so sad a bereavement, Her Majesty must have enjoyed that consolation to an extent to which the history of the human race affords no parallel; nor can I doubt that the manner in which the virtues of one whom she loved so well have now been honoured and appreciated, as an example to humanity can be otherwise than most gratifying. I sincerely trust, however, that these have afforded only a small portion of that consolation with which Her Majesty has, through Divine grace, been sustained in her deep affliction, and that its sanctifying influences may be abundantly experienced by all who are dear to our beloved Queen !

[Again he writes :—]

...I have for the last few days been anxious to write to you on the Maharajah's affairs but have been prevented by the fear of being intrusive, while your attention must be occupied so incessantly. But in the hope that you will excuse my wish to avail myself of any leisure which you may happen to have, I shall send this, although you may not be able to acknowledge it for some time.

I am afraid that the Maharajah is getting thoroughly under his mother's influence, and that our only hope of saving him from discredit is to get him to live apart from her, as had been arranged, and to find some suitable companion of his own age to reside with him. He authorized me to look out for a youngman to attend lectures with him, but changed his mind. When he was last in town, he was again full of arrangements for an estate in India, and to return there, after a short time, and most anxious to accept the Government offer, for anything they might be disposed to give without trustees, so that he should have entire control over the amount, but I told him, that I considered such an arrangement to be very inexpedient, and that, if such were his determination, I had better withdraw. I accordingly have written the enclosed letter, which I shall send to him on your returning it to me.

Sir John Lawrence has been quite prepared to go into the case, if submitted to his decision; but, on the 19th instant he wrote me, "Sir Charles Wood has never said a word to me since I was at Windsor, and I, of course, have not referred to it myself.

135. FROM SIR JOHN LAWRENCE TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

1861.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Maharanee is better out of India than in it ! There, she is sure to do mischief—here, I admit, she will be equally the evil genius of Maharajah ! It is for the Secretary of State for India to decide which interest is of paramount importance !

136. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

1861.

You will be glad to hear that my mother has given me leave [mark how the man of twenty two had resumed the shackles of native custom ! Lady Login] “to marry an English lady, and I think I have found one who will make me a good wife ! Pray don’t TELL this to any one !”

137. FROM SIR CHARLES PHIPPS TO SIR JOHN LOGIN²

OSBORNE, JAN. 4TH, 1862.

... I am very sorry to hear what you say about the Maharajah—nothing could be so destructive to him as that he should succumb to his mother’s, or any other native influence. He is too good to be so lost; and, if I were in your place, I should certainly not, at such a moment, forsake any position which gave me any influence over him, or could possibly tend to prevent his doing anything foolish. I do not think, if it were pointed out to him, he would do anything wrong.

I should have answered you some days since, but you may conceive what this house is at present ! for the very air we breathe is an atmosphere of sorrow, and that is a bad medium in which to transact business.

Always very sincerely yours,
C. B. Phipps.

138. FROM SIR JOHN LOGIN TO SIR CHARLES PHIPPS³

5, LANCASTER GATE,
JAN. 8TH, 1862.

My dear Sir Charles,

...If I could, for a moment, suppose that, by retaining the papers connected with his case, and by continuing to act for him at the India Office—while we differed so much in respect to the arrangements which

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 221.
2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 470.
3. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 471-472.

appeared advantageous to his interests,—I would be more likely to maintain any influence I possess with him, I would of course, regret very much, especially at the present time, to be under the necessity of doing so. But, as I think I know the Maharajah very well, and that, so far from weakening my influence with him by doing so, I am more likely to strengthen it, I have still thought it better to send the letter and papers, trusting that I shall yet be able to make it clear to you that I have done right. ... While I have returned him all the official documents and memoranda connected with his claims, I have expressed my readiness to give him every assistance in my power in explaining any points required, ...and satisfied him that I have only his best interests at heart,...and do not give up the charge of his case under any feeling of temporary annoyance at his vacillation—but certainly more in sorrow than in anger. I feel very certain that, after having done this, and giving him, I hope, another proof that I am not actuated by selfish motives—of which, like all Orientals with whom I have come in contact, he is very suspicious—he will give more weight to the remonstrance which I think it necessary to make, against the self-indulgence to which he gives way so much. I think, also, that when it becomes known that (rather than have anything to do with an arrangement which I cannot but consider most *improper* and *injudicious* on the part of Govt., and which I certainly believe would never have been thought of, had they not been most anxious to make it appear that their first proposal of settlement was very liberal), I have determined to give up my position near him, they may look a little more carefully into the matter; at least (although I may flatter myself a little too much in supposing it to have this effect), I shall, at all events, have done my duty in thus...protesting against it.

...Most earnestly do we all hope and pray that our beloved Queen may be enabled, through Divine strength, to continue to set before Her people that bright example of Christian resignation and Christian duty, for which they have hitherto had so much cause to be grateful. ...

Believe me, very sincerely yours,
J. S. Login.

139. FROM C. B. PHIPPS TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

OSBORNE, APRIL 13TH, 1862.

My dear Sir John,

... I shall be very glad, for the Maharajah's sake, and yours also, when his affairs are finally settled, for all this constant uncertainty and negotiation must be very annoying. He ought to be very grateful to you for

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 472.

all the trouble which you have taken, for never did anybody work harder for another's interests !

Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Login....

140. FROM C. B. PHIPPS TO SIR JOHN LOIGN¹

WINDSOR CASTLE,
JUNE 16TH, 1862.

...I quite agree with you that it is most important for the welfare of the Maharajah that his mother should not be prevented from returning to India. I fear very much that, as long as he remains under this influence, he will retrograde in his moral and social character, instead of advancing to become an English gentleman, as I thought he was doing....

C. B. Phipps.

141. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN²

JUNE, 1862.

I have decided to arrange for my mother's return to India, and will see Sir Charles Wood on the subject at once, to have a place of residence fixed for her. I must see you soon, and will go up before I have to attend the marriage of the Princess Alice at Osborne, to which I am invited on July 1st.

142. FROM SIR JOHN LOGIN TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH²

1862.

My dear Maharajah,

When you expressed your desire to be educated as a Christian, I explained to you the sacrifices that a profession of Christianity would entail upon you, with regard to your position among your countrymen and former subjects; and now that the settlement of your affairs is under discussion, I wish to draw your attention to several points, which in your anxiety to secure the provision offered you personally, you may be apt to overlook. I have already shown you the responsibilities which devolve upon you as a Christian, and the influence your example may reasonably be expected to exercise on other natives of India. I wish now to point out, that the principles involved in the question between you and the Government are of wide application, and upon their decision much depends.

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 472.

2. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 473-475.

It rests with you to determine whether a native of India, who has embraced Christianity, can be legally required to give up his birth right, and to divest himself of privileges to which, by the laws of his country, he is entitled. I hope, for the sake of the millions who are, I trust, likely to be interested in the question, that you will not hesitate to have it settled. But besides the principles of general application, there are other points worthy of your consideration which may be affected by it. By the Treaty of Lahore you very wisely gave up your political position, and all pretensions to sovereignty for yourself and your descendants, under former rights. But your position and privileges as head of your family, are in no way affected thereby.

As it seems to be in every way expedient that you and your immediate descendants (if you have a family) should avoid, for several years, to come, the risk of placing yourselves in the way of any temptation to encourage, or keep up, political aspirations in the Punjab, it is strongly to be recommended that you should make up your mind to remain in England, and, if possible, to marry into a family of high character and befitting rank. The arrangements proposed by Government ensure a sufficient provision for them, and with prudent management, you have the power to make them wealthy.

In the event of your securing your position under the treaty, to the control of the balances of State pensions, through trustees, and your right to devise by will, at your death, any unappropriated balances, I would recommend, if you have no personal descendants, that you claim your right, by the laws of India, to adopt an heir (say your nephew, Sheo Deo Singh, or one of his sons, whose character may give confidence that he is worthy), leave him by will, say, one-third of the unappropriated balances, as your heir and two-thirds for Christian education among the Sikhs....

143. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR JOHN LOGIN¹

LOCH KENNARD LODGE,
AUGUST 1ST, 1862.

Dear Sir John,

I received yesterday the letter from Sir C. Wood, which I enclose. ... The terms offered seem liberal, and I think I ought to accept them; but pray let me know what you think and advise.

Oct. 28th, 1862.

The letter to Sir Charles Wood has been sent, after altering it in the way you wished....I dare say you have by this time heard that I have

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 475-476.

bought the place in Gloucestershire (Hatherop) for £183,000, and I think it is a good investment.

144. FROM H. WADDINGTON TO COLONEL OLIPHANT

WHITEHALL,
8TH APRIL, 1863.

I am directed by the Secretary, Sir George Grey, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, inquiring, on behalf of the Maharaja Duleep Singh, what steps would be required to enable him to enjoy all the rights and privileges of a British subject without restriction; and I am to inform you that there seems no reason to doubt that the Maharaja is already entitled to all the privileges, referred to, and that he cannot therefore be naturalized under the Act 7 & 8 Vict., Cap. 66, which provides for the naturalization of aliens.

145. MEMORANDUM FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN¹

"NOVEMBER 15TH, 1863,

"I promise to pay Lady Login £50 (fifty pounds) if I am not married by 1st of June, 1864, provided my health keep good.

"Duleep Singh."

[On the back is added :]

"N. B.—That is, if I am (not?) confined three months to my house or ordered by my Doctor (of course showing a 'Doc' certificate) to go abroad.

"Duleep Singh."

146. FROM SIR C. WOOD TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

INDIA OFFICE, 13TH JANUARY, 1864.

Maharajah,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Highness's letter of the 9th inst., requesting Her Majesty's Government to permit your return to India for the purpose of making arrangements for the performance of the obsequies of your late mother, Her Highness the Maharanee Chunda [Jind] Kaur.

2. In reply to this letter, I have to inform your Highness that Her Majesty's Government have no objection to your proceeding to Bombay in accordance with your desire; but that on your arrival in India, it will be

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 234.

necessary that you should regulate your movements in conformity with the wishes and instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy, which will be communicated to you, in the first instance, through the Governor of Bombay.

3. The Government of India have been informed by the mail of the 11th inst. of your Highness's intentions; and by the mail of the 18th I propose to address the Government of Bombay on the subject.

I have the honour to be,
Your obedient Servant,
C. Wood.

147. THE MARRIAGE OF MAHARAJA^{*} DULEEP SINGH¹

[JUNE 7TH, 1864.]

THE MARRIAGE OF DULEEP SINGH. A Correspondent of the *Times of India* writes as follows:—"The marriage of the Maharajah Duleep Singh took place at the British consulate, Alexandria, on the 7th June, in the presence of a very few witnesses. The young lady who has now become the Maharanee is the daughter of an European merchant here. Her mother is an Abyssinian. She is between fifteen and sixteen years of age, of a slight but graceful figure, interesting rather than handsome, not tall, and in complexion lighter than her husband. She is a Christian, and was educated in the American Presbyterian Mission School at Cairo; and it was during a chance visit there, while on his way out to India, that the Prince first saw his future bride, who was engaged in instructions in the school. Duleep Singh wore at the wedding European costume, excepting a red tarboosh. The bride's dress was also European, of white *moire antique*, a *fichu pointe d'Alençon*—short lace sleeves, orange blossoms in her dark hair, with, of course, the usual gauze veil. She wore but few jewels; a necklace of fine pearls, and a bracelet set with diamonds, were her only ornaments. The formula of civil marriage at Her Britannic Majesty's consulate in the Levant is very brief. Both parties declare that they know no lawful impediment to their union; then they declare that they mutually accept each other as husband and wife, and the civil ceremony is over. This formula was pronounced by the Prince in English; the bride, in a low but musical voice, read it in Arabi (that being the only language with which she is acquainted), and thus 'Bamba Muller' became the 'Maharanee'! She showed much self-possession through it all. A religious ceremony was performed by one of the American ministers at the house of the bride's father; and the newly-married pair retired to the Prince's house at Ramleh, a few miles from Alexandria."

1. *Sir John Logan and Duleep Singh*, 488-89.

148. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN¹

ELVEDEN HALL, THETFORD,
MONDAY, FEB. 26, 1866.

My dear Lady Login,

It is with the deepest sorrow I write in reply to your sad letter, and heartily sympathise with you in the affliction it has pleased God so soon again² to send you. It is needless for us to mourn for those who sleep in Jesus, though nature of course is weak, but the Lord will not do anything to us unless it is for our good.

Poor Edway!³ it will be a sad blow to him, and I earnestly hope it will be the means of bringing him out to serve the Lord with his noble heart.

You have now great interest in Heaven, having there your late husband, and the first born daughter.

I pray God that as He has been pleased to send you this trial, that He will grant you strength to bear it, and to make it to work for your and yours good.

Believe me, with much love, to be ever affectionately,

"Duleep Singh.

149. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN⁴

"CARLTON CLUB,
"DEC. 29TH, 1876.

My dear Lady Login,

I cannot find words sufficiently to express my very deep sorrow at your great loss. It must indeed be very heartrending to lose one after another one's children, and it has pleased God to send you sorrow after sorrow. But who knows His Ways or dares to rebel against His commands? It is needless for me to point out to you where only you can find comfort, and may God give you strength to bear the heavy rod He has laid upon you.

I shall be very grateful for a line containing full particulars of poor Edwy's death, when you have received them, if not giving too much trouble?

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 271.

2. I had [writes Lady Login] lost my youngest child only two months previously, and my husband two and a half years before.

3. My eldest son [writes Lady Login], whose death is alluded to in the next letter, had only just sailed for India.

4. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 271-272.

Please convey to both your daughters my deepest sympathies in this their very great loss.

Yours most sincerely,
Duleep Singh.

P. S.—Your letter only reached me here this moment, or I should have replied sooner.

150. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON

34, KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
24TH JULY, 1882.

My lord,

...

As I do not desire to trouble your Lordship with more letters than I can help, I beg you kindly to inform me on the following subject:—

Ist, I presume, as I am now a naturalized Englishman, there is no legal difficulty to my returning to the Punjab, either to get information regarding my private landed estates, &c., or to reside there altogether.

Still trusting to your Lordship's and the Home Government's high sense of English justice and British liberality.

With profound respect,
I subscribe myself,
Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,
Duleep Singh.

151. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES¹

ELVEDON HALL, THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
AUGUST 28, 1882.

Sir,

As the era of doing justice and restoration appears to have dawned, judging from the recent truly liberal and noble act of the present Liberal Government, headed now by the great Gladstone the Just, I am encouraged to lay before the British Nation, through the medium of *The Times*, the injustice which I have suffered, in the hope that, although generosity may not be lavished upon me to the same extent as has been bestowed upon King Cetewayo, yet that some magnanimity might be shown towards me by this great Christian Empire.

1. *The Times*, London, August 31, 1882; Bell, *The annexation of the Punjab and Maharajah Duleep Singh*, 92-6.

When I succeeded to the throne of the Punjaub, I was only an infant and the Khalsa soldiery, becoming more and more mutinous and overbearing during both my uncle's and my mother's Regencies, at last, unprovoked crossed the Sutlej and attacked the friendly British Power, and was completely defeated and entirely routed by the English Army.

"Had, at this time, my dominions been annexed to the British territories, I would have now not a word to say, for I was that time an independent chief at the head of an independent people, and any penalty which might have been then inflicted would have been perfectly just; but that kind, true English gentleman, the late Lord Hardinge, in consideration of the friendship which had existed between the British Empire and the 'Lion of the Punjab', replaced me on my throne, and the diamond *Koh-i-noor* on my arm, at one of the Durbars. The Council of Regency, which was then created to govern the country during my minority, finding that it was not in their power to rule the Punjab unaided, applied for assistance to the representative of the British Government, who after stipulating for absolute power to control every Government department, entered into Bhyrowal Treaty with me, by which was guaranteed that I should be protected on my throne until I attained the age of sixteen years, the British also furnishing troops both for the above object and preservation of peace in the country, in consideration of a certain sum to be paid to them annually by my Durbar, for the maintenance of that force.

Thus the British nation, with open eyes, assumed my guardianship, the nature of which is clearly defined in a proclamation subsequently issued by Lord Hardinge's orders on the 20th of August, 1847, which declares that the tender age of the Maharajah Duleep Singh causes him to feel the interest of a father in the education and guardianship of the young prince. (*Vide Panjab Papers at the British Museum*).

Two English Officers carrying letters bearing my signature were despatched by the British Resident, in conjunction with my Durbar, to take possession of the fortress of Mooltan and the surrounding district in my name, but my servant, Moolraj, refusing to acknowledge my authority, caused them to be put to death, whereupon both the late Sir F. Currie and the brave Sir Herbert Edwardes most urgently requested the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces at Simla, as there were not sufficient English soldiers at Lahore at the time, to send some European troops without delay in order to crush the rebellion in the bud, as they affirmed that the consequences could not be calculated which might follow if it were allowed to spread; but the late Lord Gough, with the concurrence of the late Marquis of Dalhousie, refused to comply with their wishes, alleging the unhealthiness of the season as his reason for doing so.

My case at that time was exactly similar to what the Khedive's is at

this moment; Arbi being, in his present position, to his master what Moolraj was to me—viz., a rebel.

At last, very tardily, the British Government sent troops (as has been done in Egypt) to quell the rebellion, which had by that time vastly increased in the Punjaub, and who entered my territories, headed by a proclamation, issued by Lord Dalhousie's orders, to the following effect :

"Enclosure No. 8 in No. 42—To the subjects, servants and dependants of the Lahore State, and residents of all classes and castes, whether Sikhs, Mussalmans, or others within the territories of Maharajah Duleep Singh.... Whereas certain evil-disposed persons and traitors have excited rebellion and insurrection, and have seduced portions of the population of the Punjaub from their allegiance, and have raised an armed opposition to the British authority; and whereas the condign punishment of the insurgents is necessary, ... therefore the British Army, under the command of the Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief, has entered the Punjaub districts. The army will not return to its cantonments until the full punishment of all insurgents has been effected, all opposition to the constituted authority put down, and obedience and order have been re-established."

Thus it is clear from the above that the British Commander-in-Chief did not enter my dominions as a conqueror, nor the army to stay there, and, therefore, it is not correct to assert, as some do, that the Punjaub was a military conquest.

"And whereas it is not the desire of the British Government that those who are innocent of the above offences, who have taken no part secretly or openly, in the disturbances, and who have remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of Maharajah Duleep Singh...should suffer with the guilty."

But after order was restored, and finding only a helpless child to deal with, and the temptation being so strong, Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjaub, instead of carrying out the solemn compact entered into by the British Government at Bhyrowal; sold almost all my personal, as well as all my private property, consisting of jewels, gold and silver plate, even some of my wearing apparel and household furniture, and distributed the proceeds, amounting (I was told) to £250,000, as prize money among those very troops who had come to put down rebellion against my authority.

Thus I, the innocent, who never lifted up even my little finger against the British Government, was made to suffer in the same manner with my own subjects who would not acknowledge my authority, in spite of the declaration of the above quoted proclamation that it is not the desire of the British Government that the innocent should suffer with the guilty.

Lord Dalhousie, in writing to the Secret Committee of the late Court of Directors, in order to justify his unjust act, among other arguments employs the following. He says:—

"It has been objected that the present dynasty in the Punjaub cannot with justice be subverted, since the Maharajah Duleep Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the nation. With deference to those by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of the doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle; it has been disregarded heretofore in practice, and disregarded in the case of Maharajah Duleep Singh. When in 1845 the Khalsa army invaded our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of the acts of the people. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation which had exacted no more. If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years at the age of eight, he cannot be on that plea be entitled to exemption from a life responsibility now that he is three years older."

But in thus arguing, His Lordship became blind to the fact that in 1845, when the Khalsa army invaded the British territories, I was an independent chief, but after the ratification of the Bhyrowal treaty I was made the ward of the British nation; and how could I, under these circumstances be held responsible for the neglect of my Guardians in not crushing Moolraj's rebellion at once, the necessity of doing which was clearly and repeatedly pointed out by the British Resident at Lahore?

Again, His Lordship says: 'The British Government has rigidly observed the obligation which the treaty imposed on them and fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract'. No doubt all this was or may have been true, except so far that neither peace was preserved in the country nor I protected on my throne till I attained the age of sixteen years; two very important stipulations of that treaty.

He further alleges: 'In return for the aid of the British troops they (my Durbar) bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of 22 lakhs (£ 220,000) per annum,...from the day when that treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has ever been paid.'

Now, the above statement is not correct, because of the following despatch which exists; 'Enclosure No. 5 in No. 23', the Acting Resident at Lahore affirms, 'The Durbar has paid into this treasury gold to the value of Rs. 13,56,637-0-6 (£135,837-14-1, taking the value of a rupee at 2s.)'

Likewise, Lord Dalhousie alludes to Sirdar Chuttur Singh's conduct. Enclosure 19 in No. 36 will show those who care to look for it the reprimand which Captain Abbott then received from the Resident for his

treatment of that Chief, who, after that, with his sons, without doubt, believed that the Bhyrowal Treaty was not going to be carried out; and, judging from the events which followed, were they right in their views, or were they not ?

1. Thus I have been most unjustly deprived of my kingdom, yielding, as shown by Lord Dalhousie's own computation in (I think) 1850, a surplus revenue of some, £500,000, and no doubt now vastly exceeds that sum.

2. I have also been prevented, unjustly, from receiving the rentals of my private estate (vide Prinsep's *History of the Sikhs*, compiled for the Government of India) in the Punjaub, amounting to some £130,000 per annum, since 1849, although my private property is not confiscated by the terms of the annexation which I was compelled to sign by my guardians when I was a minor, and, therefore, I presume it is an illegal document, for and I am still lawful Sovereign of the Punjaub; but this is of no moment, I am quite content to be the subject of my Most Gracious Sovereign, no matter how it was brought about, for her graciousness towards me has been boundless.

3. All my personal property has also been taken from me, excepting £20,000 worth, which I was informed by the late Sir John Login was permitted to be taken with me to Futtehghur when I was exiled; and the rest, amounting to some £250,000, disposed of as stated before. What is still more unjust in my case is, that most of my servants who remained faithful to me were permitted to retain all their personal and private property, and to enjoy the rentals of their landed estates (or jagheers) given to them by me and my predecessors; whereas I, their master, who did not even lift up my little finger against the British nation, was not considered worthy to be treated on the same footing of equality with them because, I suppose, my sin being that I happened to be the ward of a Christian power.

The enormous British liberality permits a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by charges (known to the proper authorities) to some £ 13, 000, to be paid to me from the revenues of India.

Lately, an Act of Parliament has been passed by which, some months hence, the munificent sum of some £2,000 will be added to my above tatsed available income but on the absolute condition that my estates must be sold at my death, thus causing my dearly loved English home to be broken up, and compelling my descendants to seek some other asylum.

A very meagre provision, considering of what and how I have been deprived, has also been made for my successors.

If one righteous man was found in the two most wicked cities of the world, I pray God that at least one honourable, just, and noble Englishman

may be forthcoming out of this Christian land of liberty and justice to advocate my cause in Parliament, otherwise what chance have I of obtaining justice, considering that my despoiler, guardian, judge, advocate, and my jury is the British nation itself?

Generous and Christian Englishmen, accord me a just and liberal treatment for the sake of the fair name of your nation, of which I have now the honour to be a naturalised member, for it is more blessed to give than to take.

I have the honour to remain, Sir your most obliged servant,

“Duleep Singh.

152. THE “TIMES” (EDITORIAL)—AUG. 31ST, 1882.

We print elsewhere a somewhat singular letter from the Maharajah Duleep Singh. Encouraged, as it would seem, by the restoration of Cete-wayo, he puts forward an impassioned plea for the consideration of his own claims. On a first glance, his letter reads as if he demanded nothing less than to be replaced on the throne of the Punjab. He professes to establish his right to that position and to waive it, magnanimously avowing that he is quite content to be the subject of his most gracious Sovereign, whose graciousness towards him had been boundless. His real object, however, is far less ambitious. It is to prefer a claim for a more generous treatment of his private affairs at the hands of the Indian Government. In lieu of the sovereignty of the Punjab, with its unbounded power and unlimited resources, “the enormous British liberality,” he complains, permits him only a life stipend of £ 25, 000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges to some £13, 000. All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Government is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament, whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income on condition that his estates are sold at his death in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals. His argument concerning his *de jure* sovereignty of the Punjab is manifestly only intended to support his pecuniary claims. If these were settled to his satisfaction, he would doubtless be content, and more than content, to die, as he has lived, an English country gentleman, with estates swarming with game, and with an income sufficient for his needs. This is a sort of appeal to its justice and generosity with which the English public is not unfamiliar. Duleep Singh is not the first dispossessed Eastern Prince who has felt himself aggrieved by the dispositions of the Indian Government, nor is this the first occasion on which his own claims have been heard of. For a long time he preferred a claim for the *Koh-i-noor*, of which he alleged that he had been wrongfully

despoiled. Now it is his private estates in India which he declares have been confiscated without adequate compensation. No one, of course, would wish that a prince in the Maharajah's position should be ungenerously treated. He is, as it were, a ward of the English nation, and even his extravagances might be leniently regarded. But as the claim, now publicly preferred by the Maharajah, has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Governments both in India and this country, it may not be amiss to show that his case is by no means so strong as he still affects to consider it.

The events of the two Sikh wars, and their sequel, have probably faded out of the memory of most of our readers. They are, however, accurately stated, so far as the main facts are concerned, in the Maharajah's letter. It is not so much with those facts themselves that we are now concerned as with the Maharajah's inferences from them, and with certain other facts which he has not found it convenient to state. It is perfectly true that after the overthrow of the "Khalsa" power in the sanguinary battle of Sobraon, Lord Hardinge declined to annex the Punjab and replaced the Maharajah on the throne under the Regency of his mother, the Ranee, assisted by a Council of Sirdars. This settlement, however, proved a failure, and was replaced by the arrangement under the Bhyrowal Treaty, whereby the entire control and guidance of affairs was vested in the British Resident, and the presence of British troops was guaranteed until the Maharajah should attain his majority.

The Second Sikh war, which began with the revolt of Moolraj in 1848, soon proved the futility of this arrangement also, and after the surrender of Mooltan and the battle of Gujerat, which finally broke the reviving power of the Khalsa, Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded Lord Hardinge as Governor-General, decided that the time had come for the incorporation of the Punjab with the British Dominions in India. Duleep Singh was at this time only eleven years of age; but he had been recognized for more than three years as the Sovereign of the Punjab, and by the advice of his Durbar at Lahore, he signed the terms of settlement proposed by the British Commissioner, whereby he renounced "for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever." By subsequent clauses of the same instrument "all the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found," was confiscated to the East India Company; the *Koh-i-noor* was surrendered to the Queen of England; a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of rupees was secured to the Maharajah, "for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State;" and the Company undertook to treat the Maharajah with respect and honour, and to allow him to retain the title of "Maharajah Duleep Singh, Bahadoor."

Of this instrument, the Maharajah now says that he was compelled to sign it by his guardians when he was a minor, and he argues that the political necessity which dictated it was due to the *laches* of the Indian Government, which had failed to fulfil the pledges of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and had allowed the revolt of Moolraj to develop into a Sikh rebellion. In answer to these allegations, it is sufficient to quote the report of the British Commissioner, who presented the terms for signature. "The paper," he says, "was then handed to the Maharajah, who immediately affixed his signature. The alacrity with which he took the papers when offered, was a matter of remark to all, and suggested the idea that possibly he had been instructed by his advisers that any show of hesitation might lead to the substitution of terms less favourable than those which he had been offered." Moreover, the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and, therefore, not a free agent, is fatal to his own case; he was two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and restored to him the sovereignty, which he even now acknowledges might at that time have been rightly forfeited. We need not dwell on this point, however. The Maharajah himself would hardly press it. His claim of sovereignty is merely intended to cover his claim for money. He never was much more than nominal Sovereign of the Punjab, and he probably desires nothing so little at this moment as the restitution of his sovereign rights. The political question has long been closed; it only remains to consider whether the personal and financial question still remains open. The Maharajah complains that he was deprived of his personal and private property—with insignificant exceptions—and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie, recorded in 1855, states explicitly that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property, to which he could succeed. The pension accorded by the East India Company was plainly intended to support the Maharajah in becoming state, and to provide for his personal dependants, and the British Government expressly reserved to itself the right of allotting only such portion as it thought fit of the "Four Lakh Fund," as the pension was called, to the Maharajah's personal use. So long ago as 1853, Lord Dalhousie wrote a despatch, intended to remove from the Maharajah's mind all idea that the Four Lakh Fund would ultimately revert to himself, and characterizing such an idea as "entirely erroneous."

The Indian Government, however, has certainly not dealt ungenerously with the Maharajah. It is true that it has not recognized his claim to certain private estates no record of which exists, still less has it listened to any of his attempts to assail the validity of the instrument whereby his sovereignty was extinguished. For some years after the annexation his per-

sonal allowance out of the Four Lakh Fund was fixed at £ 12, 500 a year—a sum which was considered entirely satisfactory by the leading Ministers of the Durbar, which assented and advised the Maharajah to assent to the terms of 1849. But in 1859 this allowance was doubled, and the Maharajah himself more than once acknowledged in subsequent years the liberality of the arrangements made. The allowance of £25,000 a year has been reduced to the £13,000 mentioned by the Maharajah in his letter, not by any act of the Indian Government, but by what, if compelled to call extravagance, though, as he is an Eastern prince, it is more generous, perhaps, to describe it as magnificence. He first bought a property in Gloucestershire, but this was sold some years ago, and his present estate at Elveden, in Suffolk, was purchased for £138,000, the money being advanced by the Government, and interest for the loan to the amount of £5,664 per annum being paid by the Maharajah. Some two or three years ago the Home Government of India proposed to release the Maharajah from payment of this annual sum provided that he would consent to the sale of the estate, either at once or at his death, for the repayment of the principal of the loans advanced. This proposal, however, was rejected by the Indian Government, which maintained, in very strong and plain language, that the Maharajah had already been treated with exceptional liberality, and that if he wanted more money he should sell his estate. The Indian Government remained inexorable, but the liberality of the Home Government was not yet exhausted, the Maharajah had built a house at Elveden, at a cost of £60,000, and had borrowed £40,000 from a London banking firm for the purpose. For this loan £2,000 interest had to be paid, and the India Office has lately sanctioned the repayment of the capital sum without making any further charge on the Maharajah. It is to this arrangement, and to the Act of Parliament which sanctions it, that the Maharajah refers with some bitterness at the close of his letter. In order to settle his affairs, and to provide for his wife and family, the Act of Parliament requires that his estate at Elveden should be sold after his death.

Hinc Iliae lacrymae. An argument which starts from the sovereign claims of the son of the "Lion of the Punjab," ends, somewhat ridiculously, though not without a touch of pathos, with the sorrows of the Squire of Elveden. Duleep Singh began life as a Maharajah of the Punjab, with absolute power and boundless wealth if he had only been old enough to enjoy them, and if the Khalsa would only have allowed him to do so; he is not even allowed to end it as an English country gentleman, leaving an encumbered estate and an embarrassed heir. There is really a certain tragedy about the whole matter. Fate and the British power have deprived the Maharajah of the sovereignty to which he was born. He has done his best to become an English squire, and if he has lived beyond his income he may plead abundance of examples in the class to which he has attached himself; yet he is forced to bear the consequences himself, and not to inflict them on his

children and descendants, as an English squire would be able to do. The whole case is one which it is very difficult to judge upon any abstract principles. It is, no doubt, the duty of every man to live within his income, and yet if the Maharajah has failed to acquire a virtue rare indeed among Eastern princes and not too common in the class to which he belongs by adoption, there is no Englishman but would feel ashamed if he or his descendants were thereby to come to want. At the same time it is impossible for the Indian Government, which has claims on its slender resources far more urgent than those of the magnificent squire of Elveden, to guarantee him indefinitely against the consequences of his own improvidence. At any rate, it is safe to warn him against encumbering his personal claims by political pleas which are wholly inadmissible. He is very little likely to excite sympathy for his pecuniary troubles by his bold, but scarcely successful, attempt to show that if he could only come by his own, he is still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab.

153. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"¹

ELVEDEN HALL, THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
SEPTEMBER 6, 1882.

Sir,

As your leading article of Thursday, the 31st ult., commenting on my letter of the 28th, which you were so good as to publish, contains many inaccuracies as to matters of fact, which no one, perhaps, can correct so precisely as myself, I trust you will allow me to do so, and to make a few observations.

(1) You say: "All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Government is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament whereby he will receive an addition of £ 2,000 to his annual income, on condition that his estates are sold at his death, in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals."

I do not "really appeal" against the above arrangement, but what I do certainly think unjust in it is, that I am not permitted to repay, during my life, the loan which is to be made under it—£16,000 having already been advanced to—and that I am thus forbidden to preserve, by a personal sacrifice, their English home to my descendants. In April last I sent a cheque for £ 3, 542. 14s., representing capital and compound interest at the rate of five per cent to the India Office, but it was returned to me.

1. *The Times*, London, Friday, September 8, 1882.

My widow and children, should I leave any, were already provided for, under arrangements which existed before this Act was passed.

(2) With reference to your quotation from the British Commissioner, as my "alacrity" in signing the terms, I have simply to say that, being then a child, I did not understand what I was signing.

(3) "Moreover," you say, "the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and, therefore, not a free agent, is fatal to his own cause, he was two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and restored to him the sovereignty which he even now acknowledges, might at that time have been rightly forfeited. We do not dwell on this point, however, the Maharajah himself would hardly press it."

But, whether it is fatal to my case or not, I do press it, and maintain that after the ratification of the Bhyrowal Treaty, I was a ward of the British nation, and that it was unjust on the part of the guardian to deprive me of my kingdom in consequence of a failure in the guardianship.

Here are Lord Hardinge's own words: "But, in addition to these considerations of a political nature, the Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it consented to be the guardian of the young Prince during his minority." (vide P. 49, "Punjab Papers," 1847-49.)

(4) "The Maharajah complains", you would say, "that he was deprived of his personal and private property—with insignificant exceptions—and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of the settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie, recorded in 1855, explicitly states that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property to which he could succeed." My reply is, that at the time of the annexation I had succeeded to territories, lands, and personal property, and was in possession, and these possessions were held in trust, and managed for me, under treaty, by the British Government.

That I had succeeded and was possessed of private estates in land, is an historical fact, and a matter of public records. Moreover, these estates had belonged to my family, one of them having been acquired by marriage, before my father attained to sovereignty. The statement in Lord Dalhousie's minute only amounts to denial of the existence of the sun by a blind man; and there are none so blind as those who will not see.

And now with regard to my alleged extravagance, these are the facts. The life stipend of £ 25, 000 allotted to me, has to bear the following deductions:—(1) £5,664 interest, payable to the Government of India; (2) about £ 3, 000 as premium on policies of insurance of my life, executed in order to add to the meagre provision made for my descendants by the British

Government, and as security for the loan from my bankers; (3) £1, 000 per annum for two pensions of £500 per annum each to the widows of the superintendent appointed by Lord Dalhousie to take charge of me after the annexation, and of my kind friend, the late controller of my establishment, besides which there is some £300 per annum payable in pensions to old servants in India.

In order to be able to receive his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to return the hospitality of men of my own position in life, and because I was advised and considered—not, I think, unreasonably—that the rank granted to me by Her Majesty required it to be done, I expended some £22, 000 (not £60,000 as you were informed) in alterations and repairs to the old house on this estate; suitable furniture cost £8,000 more.

At a cost of some £3,000, I have purchased life annuities, to be paid to the before mentioned widow ladies in case they should survive me.

About £8,000 more had to be borrowed from my bankers on mortgage, to complete the purchase of this estate, as the money lent to me by the Government of India was insufficient by that amount. Thus, my debts amount to something like £44, 000, of which £30,000 is covered by policies of insurance, £8, 000 by mortgage, and the remainder amply secured by personal assets. Therefore, instead of my estates being heavily encumbered, my heirs, were I to die at this moment, would succeed to a house and furniture which are worth much more than £30,000, without any liability, besides some £70, 000, secured by insurance on my life.

I think you are bound to acquit the Squire of Elveden of extravagance.

When the agricultural depression set in, I requested the Home Government to make an allowance that would enable me to maintain my position, and they kindly, after causing all the accounts to be examined, helped me with £10, 000, but did not accuse me of extravagance. Subsequently, pending the consideration of my affairs, some £6,000 or £7,000 more was advanced to pay off pressing bills, as during that time I had not completed the arrangements for reducing my establishment. Out of the above loan £10,000 was invested in live and dead stock on farms in hand, and would be forthcoming, if demanded, at a very short notice.

Thus the extravagance during my residence at Elveden is reduced to the fabulous sum of some £12,000 and I possess enough personally, beyond any question, to discharge debts to that amount, and some £6,000 more, should they exist at my death.

In common justice, therefore, Mr. Editor, I ask you to enable me to contradict, in as prominent a manner as they were brought forward in your most influential journal, the rumours as to my extravagance.

In the first paragraph of your leading article of Thursday, the 31st ult., you say, "that the claim now publicly preferred by the Maharajah has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Govts., both in India and this country. "Yes, it is very easy to disallow a claim without hearing the real claimant.

The English law grants the accused the chance of proving himself not guilty; but I am condemned unheard; is this just ?

I remain, Sir, your most obliged,
Duleep Singh.

154. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON

ELVEDEN HALL, THETFORD, SUFFOLK, SEP. 15, 1882.

My Lord,

By your direction, Sir Louis Mallet has acknowledged the receipt of my letter which I had the honour to address to your Lordship on the 14th ult., but as I have received no reply yet to the one which I posted on the 21st of last July, I humbly beg that answers may be sent to the questions I asked in it kindly without any unnecessary delay, specially telling me whether there is or there is not any legal difficulty to my going to the Punjab, in order to obtain the requisite information, which I can procure in no other way, regarding my private landed property in that province.

As winter is the most healthy season to visit India, may I humbly beg for a reply before the 10th of October next, so as I may be enabled to make arrangements to leave this country early in November for a few months.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's humble and obedient Servant,
Duleep Singh.

155. FROM MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

INDIA OFFICE,
23RD OCTOBER, 1882.

Maharajah,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th September, and, in reply thereto, to state that your Highness is at liberty to proceed to India if you so desire, but, as upon the occasion of

your visit to that country in 1864, it will be necessary that while there you should regulate your movements in conformity with the instructions you may receive from His Excellency the Viceroy, and that it is improbable that permission will be accorded to you to visit the Punjab.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Highness' sincere friend and well wisher,
Hartington.

156. FROM SIR HENRY PONSONBY TO LADY LOGIN¹

JULY 25TH, 1883.

...I gave your letter to the Queen, who read it through, as she is much occupied by the Maharajah's movements, and agrees with you in what you have written. Lord Kimberley says the Indian Government feel no anxiety as to his visit to India; but the Queen does not take this sanguine view, and fortified by what you say, I am again to communicate with the India Office on the subject.

157. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN VICTORIA²

I should, however, very unwillingly leave England, where I have lived happily for so many years and especially where I have experienced such great kindness from Her Majesty, now my gracious Sovereign, towards whom I entertain deep feelings of devotion and loyalty. ...I am convinced that I have never had my just rights under the Treaty of 1849, for the following reasons :

1. I believe a provision of at least £40,000 per annum was intended to be a permanent charge on the vast revenues of the State of Lahore, for the benefit of myself and my successors.

2. I feel convinced that I am justly entitled to the accumulations saved out of the Four Lakhs Fund³, and that I ought to have received those accumulations as my right, instead of being placed in the position of a borrower from the Government, and paying interest on its advances.

3. I believe that I am rightfully entitled to the restoration of my private estates in the Punjab, and to restitution of my moveable property taken in 1849—or an equivalent.

1. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 247-248.

2. *Lady Login's Recollections*, 249-255.

3. A lakh of rupees then represented £10,000. Consequently four lakhs £40,000.

"Whatever may have been the intention of Lord Dalhousie and his adviser in 1849, the interpretation which has been put upon the treaty by the India Office is very different from the expectations with which I was brought up. The India Office, however, declines to consider these claims. ...The India Office may not have meant to wrong me; but it has certainly decided in its own favour, and against me, every question in which I am interested and I cannot, with my present information, accept those decisions as just or satisfactory to myself.

...If my original right under the arrangement of 1849 were submitted to impartial and competent judges, who would hear and sift the evidence and if they were to decide against me, I should at least hold Her Majesty's Government acquitted of arbitrary action. But if, because of my peculiar position and circumstances, or because of my unavoidable acquiescence hitherto in the decisions of the India Board, I am denied that justice and redress which, in ordinary cases, would be open to all others of H. M.'s subjects—I must submit to my fate! and in that case the sense of injustice done me will alone lessen the regret with which I should leave the home of my adoption."

Lady Login's Observations

With reference to the Maharajah's remarks as to "interpretation now put on the Treaty of 1849 by the India office being very different from the expectations in which he was brought up, "Sir Henry (Ponsonby) wrote to me (Lady Login).

"I do not know that there is anyone who could tell us what those expectations were, unless you can throw any light on the subject? The India office deny that he ever had any private estates in the Punjab."

To this I was able to reply (August 9th, 1883):

"I have no intention of being led into a discussion of the legal aspect of H. H.'s grievances. All I have to say is to repeat what was my husband's opinion of the view that ought to be taken of the Lahore Treaty, because it was the view held by Sir H. Lawrence, and the native chiefs who signed it on the part of M. R., I suppose it is in these views that the M. R. means that he was brought up, by his allusion in his memo, to the Queen?

"I fear my husband's views were more comprehensive and exalted than those of the M. R.

"The latter thought more of getting a large sum for himself; whereas Sir John Login wished him not to sell his birthright as Head of his family, but to claim the Headship he was entitled to, and see that all were looked after as well as himself. His whole education of the M. R. was aimed at this—to render him wholly satisfied to accept...when of age, the provisions

of the Treaty of Lahore, as understood by those who signed for him, and by Sir H. Lawrence and his brother¹, in whom the Sikhs had full confidence. ...If I can help to throw any further light on the matter, pray command me. ..."

Sir Henry replied to this, on August 12th:

"I have to thank you for the valuable information in your letter, which I have given to the Queen. I think your letter and enclosed papers (which I return with thanks), fully explain the broad and liberal views of Sir John Login, and that there does not appear to have been any special promise held out to the M. R. in his youth which has been disregarded, as he implies. The Queen has asked him to pause before he makes up his mind to go to India.

"You can tell him that She feels for him as a friend, and is anxious that what is done should be for his benefit, and that though She calls on Her Ministers to inquire most fully into his case, She has no power to alter any decision they may arrive at on the financial aspects of the question. ..."

I was able, on the 20th August, to report in return:

"I gave the Queen's gracious message to the Maharajah when he came here a few days ago with his legal adviser², and he expressed himself as deeply grateful for all She had done, and was doing for him, and was very earnest that I should say to the Queen from him, that he would gladly abide by the decision of three English Statesmen whom She could name, to consider his claim, if they were unconnected with the India office, and if one of the three understood law. ...Before leaving, the lawyer said to H. H. in my presence, that he had read enough of Sir John's papers to convince him, that H. H. has for the last twenty years been simply putting fetters on himself, and that he ought to implore the Queen to express Her wish that all transactions between him and the India office since he ceased to act by Sir John's advice, should be wiped out, and a fresh departure taken, because it was evident that he had eagerly accepted, in his difficulties, all baits, of money offered, instead of insisting that the terms of the treaty should be carried out. To this H. H. cordially assented, and asked me to beg that 'he has assured Her Majesty that he will not now go to India without her consent and approval. ..."

On August 29th, Sir Henry wrote from Balmoral :

"Dear Lady Login,

"The Queen thanks you for allowing Her to see the enclosed papers" (letters from Sir Charles Phipps, etc. ...) "which cause Her to remember

1. The first Lord John Lawrence.

2. Mr. P. H. Lawrence.

with regret the length of time these claims have been under consideration.

"Her Majesty has made known to Lord Kimberley the Maharajah's wish that a new departure should take place in his communications with the India office. ...

"The Queen is glad to learn that the Maharajah will not go to India without her approval, and She thinks that visit to that country would be painful and unpleasant to His Highness, in the present state of affairs, as the Government of India have telegraphed home that they will object to his going to any place north of Allahabad, or his visiting any native state.

"Perhaps you would let the Maharajah know this?..."

I was greatly relieved to find that the Queen had been pleased to have her memory refreshed by the sight of those old letters of Sir Charles Phipps; for after sending them I recollected that they might unwittingly have caused pain by the revival of the sad recollections, seeing so many of them were written during the last few weeks of the Prince Consort's life.

When I gave Her Majesty's message to Duleep Singh, he immediately remarked: "The Viceroy forgets that I hold an official withdrawal of all restrictions as to my place of residence in India, as well as in England; but as I am not going out to India at present, it does not matter."

The Maharajah's lawyer at that period, a man of standing, accustomed to English procedure, and recommended to the Prince by Mr. Mitchell Henry, M. P., was new to the methods of business at that time prevalent at the India Office. Writing to me at this juncture, he said:

"...The India office do not seem to be very communicative, and in private they are only abusive...I may say, vulgarly abusive. The more I look into the matter, the less I am satisfied with the words and actions of the India Office towards the Maharajah. They can be shown to be in the wrong; but to attain redress is another question."

I was very desirous to make clear to Sir Henry Ponsonby that I did not agree with some of Duleep Singh's advisers in expecting the Queen to upset a treaty; and had pointed out to him that I was resolved not to lend my aid to any attempt to get up a legal cast for lawyers or grievance-mongers, to enable them to abuse Government.

"The poor Maharajah," I said, "has been in bad hands, and I tell him he must suffer for having allowed such a book as that of Major Evans Bell to be published in his name. ...He is sensible enough to see his interests at heart, and that those who urge him to agitate in Parliament and in the papers do not really care for his good, but only to glorify themselves. ...

"It was against my advice that the Maharajah and his advisers sent lately a telegram for two natives of the Punjab to come to him in England. ...I think he wishes now that he had listened to me."

I had continual difficulties with the the contradictory advice given by interested advisers to the Maharajah, and was extremely indignant to find that, after empowering me to write to Her Majesty, to implore that his case might be submitted to the arbitration of three impartial statesmen, the Maharajah had been persuaded to write himself to the Queen, to withdraw that proposition! His lawyer wished also to give me to understand that H. H., under his directions, had been in communication with Her Majesty on the subject of his claims before I made my appeal and I was compelled to specifically deny the right of H. H.'s legal advisers to dictate to me what should, and what should not, be placed before the Queen! All this I had to explain to Sir Henry, for I felt "that the M. R.'s true interest is to be perfectly open. ...and to conceal nothing."

On September 26th, 1883, Sir Henry replied that all I said was "most important," and that "he had read the enclosures with much interest, and thanked me for sending them."

158. *The Tribune*, Lahore, August 11, 1883, Page 7, Col. 3.

"India for the Indians only" letters

We spoke in our last letters of a questionable character being circulated in the city. We have seen a few of these letters ourselves. They have a piece of black ribbon on the top attached with a pin. The contents are as follows:

"India for the Indians only." Wear this and let it be the sign of brotherhood and friendship. Remember our noble Surrendra Nath Bannerjee of Calcutta. Be true to our race as Indians. Strike now or never. "*Maharaja Duleep Singh Ki jai.*" The letters seem to be written in feigned hands. Some of them are addressed to particular individuals with the addition "native gentleman of the city Lahore" and some "native gentleman of the city Lahore" only. The covers bore the post mark, "travelling P. O. Amritsar."

159. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE,
LONDON

TELEGRAM NO. 23511 DATED 15TH AUG., 1883.

Secret—Yours second.—Dalip Singh

Having consulted Punjab Government we consider Maharajah cannot be allowed to visit Punjab or to go north of Allahabad. A large number

of Ranjit Singh's devoted adherents still survive, and appearance among them of Ranjit Singh's son would probably have most disquieting effect. The present year especially inopportune as both among Hindus, particularly Kukas and Mohamedans, it is marked by wide spread prophecies as season of serious trouble. His appearance in Punjab would create disquietude and might be source of political danger.

For these things and reasons we think his visiting India at all, especially during year 1883 to 1884, very undesirable. It would be impossible to prevent communications between him and disaffected persons and his arrest, if he attempted to transgress specified limits, would cause much excitement in India and England. Punjab Government fully share these views.

160. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, INDIA, LONDON

TELEGRAM, DATED 16TH AUG. 1883.

Yours Yesterday. Letters referring to Maharaja Dalip Singh visit. Letter was circulated in Lahore and Amritsar apparently work of Bengali, as it referred mainly to case of Surrendra Nath Bennerji in whom Punjabis are not understood. It ended with words "*Maharaja Dalip Singh Ki Jai.*" Lieutenant Governor Punjab considers that paper is of no great importance but that it indicated use that might be made of Dalip Singh's name.

161. FROM LORD RIPON AND SIX OTHERS TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

SIMLA,
17TH AUGUST, 1883.

My Lord,

In continuation of our telegram No. 2351 dated the 15th instant, we have the honour to address your Lordship regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh's proposal to visit India during the approaching winter.

2. In our despatch No. 96, dated the 25th August 1882, we intimated that in our opinion there were objections to the Maharaja's visiting India. To this Lord Hartington replied in his telegram dated the 28th September, 1882, that Her Majesty's government were advised that, under the terms of the Agreement concluded at Lahore, Dalip Singh could not be prohibited from visiting or residing in India but that he could be required to regulate his movements by the orders of the Government of India. It

was added that it was proposed to inform him accordingly and at the same time to tell him that it was improbable he would be allowed to enter the Punjab.

3. We then enquired whether clause 5 of the Agreement of April 1849 limiting Dalip Singh's freedom of movement and residence to such places as the Governor-General of India might select, had been considered. Lord Hartington in his telegram of the 31st October informed us that full consideration had been held to apply to India only. This communication was followed by his Lordship's despatch No. 105 dated the 16th November, 1882, whence we learned that Her Majesty's government had informed the Maharaja that, while he was at liberty to proceed to India, should he so wish, his movement when there would have to be regulated in conformity with the instructions he might receive from the Government of India and that it was improbable that permission would be accorded to him to visit the Punjab.

4. It was then understood that the Maharaja had abandoned his intention and we first learned that this was not the case through the Reuter's telegram of the 25th July last, which announced that Her Majesty's Government had stated in Parliament that Dalip Singh would shortly visit India. We thereupon despatched to your Lordship our telegram of the 1st instant requesting that, should this intention be carried out, we might receive timely notice of Dalip Singh's movements. Your Lordship replied on the 2nd explaining that the idea been revived and enquiring whether it would not be advisable to inform the Maharaja that if he went to India, he would be required to reside at places selected by the Government of India and to name such places before he started.

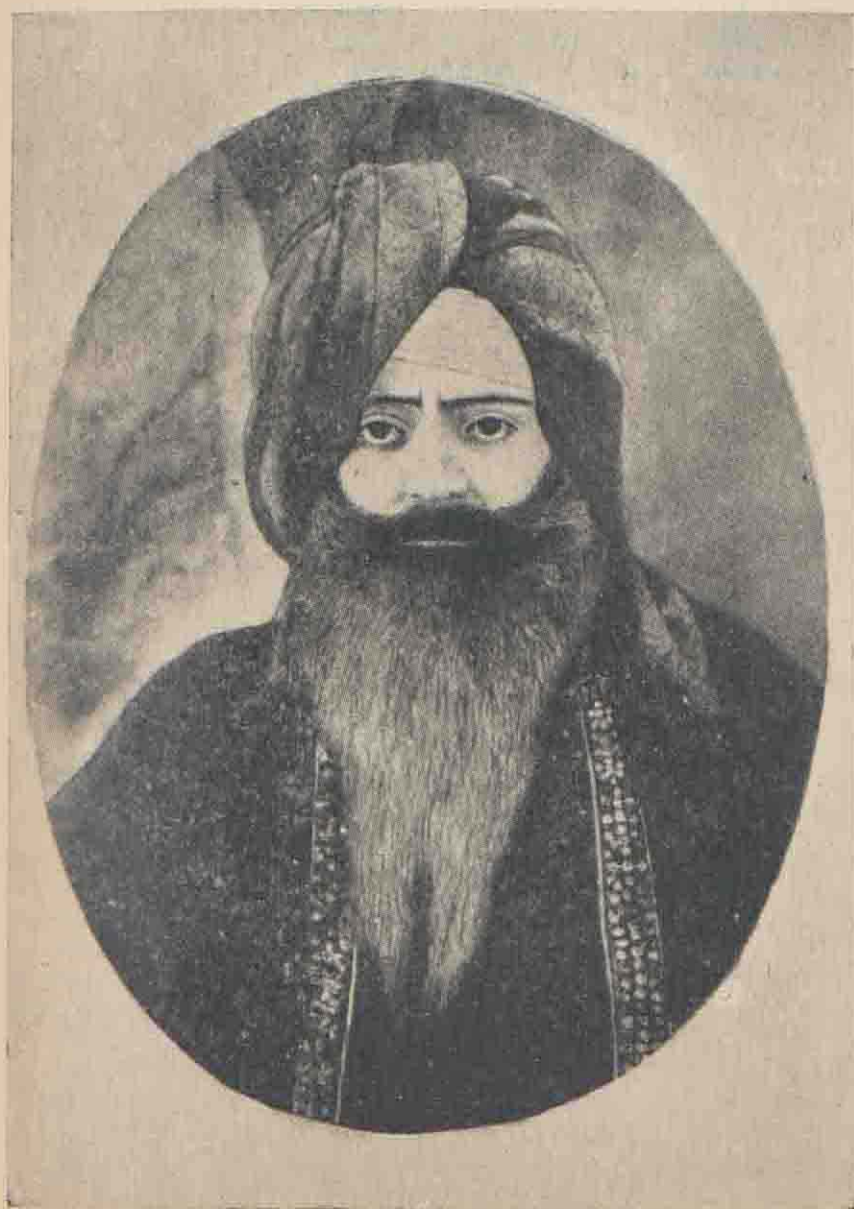
5. We lost no time in consulting the Punjab Government, with whom we were already in communication upon this subject and our telegram of the 15th instant, cited in the 1st paragraph of this letter indicated the principal reasons which led ourselves and the Lieutenant Governor to consider a visit by the Maharaja to the Punjab or India to be not only undesirable at any time but especially inopportune during the current year of 1883-1884. As we therein intimated, we have now additional grounds for adhering to the views we entertained last year when the project was first mooted, viz., that such a visit would probably have a mischievous effect. It is true that the Maharaja's conversion to Christianity and his long residence in England may have partially alienated some of the stricter Sikhs from him personally. But we are of opinion that it would be unwise to attach much weight to such a consideration. It is little more than 40 years since Ranjit Singh died and the Khalsa was supreme in the Punjab. Many men, indeed, almost an entire generation, are still alive who remember that great ruler who took a leading part in the events which followed his death

and it is quite impossible to say what might be the effect of the appearance of the son of their great Maharaja, Christian though he be, in the country of the five Rivers. It may, however, be safely predicted that his presence would have a disquieting effect and would cause much anxiety to the Government.

6. Apart from these general objections, there are special reasons which make the Maharaja's visit to India particularly undesirable at the present time. Prophecies and rumours among Hindus and Mohamedans alike point to the current year as a season of trouble both in politics and religion. Among the Kukas especially there exists much uneasiness and an unusual movement. The predictions in their religious book lead them to expect civil commotion this year and they are reported to be performing the same ceremonies as were observed by Guru Govind before his revolt against the Mohamedan power. We have no desire to attach unnecessary importance to this movement taken by itself, but it would certainly tend to bring about a condition of the political atmosphere which any further disturbing influence might render dangerous. The circulation of the letter to which our telegram of yesterday's date had reference also serves to indicate the methods by which disaffected persons might attempt to create trouble.

7. The preceding observations apply more particularly to the Punjab, but it is obvious that similar objections cannot be disregarded in considering the advisability of the Maharaja's visit to any part of India at the present time. The practical difficulties which would inevitably be experienced in preventing undesirable intercourse between Dalip Singh and persons unfavourably disposed towards the British rule, as well as in restricting his movements to such places as he might be allowed to visit, could hardly fail to prove seriously embarrassing to our government and a source of much anxiety to the local authorities. It might ever be found necessary to have recourse to personal restraint and such a measure would inevitably be productive of considerable importance and excitement.

8. For these reasons we venture to deprecate the grant of permission to Dalip Singh to visit India, if it can be withheld. We trust that Her Majesty's government may be able to give effect to our views, but if that should not be possible, we think that the Maharaja should be informed, before leaving England that he cannot be permitted to enter the Punjab or travel north of Allahabad. In conclusion we may add that the views expressed in the foregoing paragraphs have the entire concurrence of the Government of the Punjab. We are further of the opinion that it would not be advisable that the Maharaja should visit Hyderabad.



SARDAR THAKAR SINGH SANDHANWALIA
(died Pondicherry, August 18, 1887)

To face p. 117

We have the honour to be, My Lord,

Yours Lordship's most Obedient,
humble servants,

Signed: Ripon

„ D. M. Stewart
„ E. Baring
„ T. F. Wilson
„ C. P. Ilbert
„ S. C. Bayley
„ T. C. Hope

162. FROM SARDAR THAKUR SINGH SINDHANWALIA
TO HIS MAJESTY MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

[9-11-1883]

Humbly Sheweth

...

I now will give humbly the information about your property, which, though improper and insufficient without due enquiry, yet, in obedience of your orders, I have not made any enquiry.

The Government has given to, or allowed to be taken away by, some maternal or other relatives of your deceased mothers, the maharanees of Great Maharaja, an enormous property, both moveable and immoveable, to which you were the rightful owner. I do not know on what conditions it has been given, but think there would be a condition that the Government would not be responsible if you would make claim to it.

Sirdar Shamsher Singh received a house belonging to you, generally known as Sirkaree Bunga, on same conditions.

2. The Jageers of Maharaja Khurk Singh before his assuming Sovereign rank and of Prince Nonchal Singh has been confiscated by Government, and they receive its income.

3. I do not remember the full accounts of the lands in the vicinity of Gujranwala, but have heard they were given to Misur Bailee Ram's brother for 1,50,000 Rs. The whole district of Gujranwala was in the possession of Maharaja Runjeet Singh before his assuming the sovereign rank, and, with the exception of Munchur and Wuzcerabad, in the possession of Sirdar Churrut Singh even. The Government receives its revenues now.

4. The houses and gardens, &c., of Maharaja Khurk Singh and Prince Nonchal Singh will be spoken of in the list hereafter.

5. Sindhanwalia branch of the family do not possess any Molkia lands, except Raja Sansee, through they had Jageers to 11,00,000 yet the

Government have confiscated all of them, except a very small portion and the proprietary rights of the Jageer villages have been given by Government to all villagers, which we in reality deemed ours. This is one of the distressed state of this family. About your rights in Raja Sansee, I will speak hereafter in the list.

6. When I was to start for England, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar ordered me to acquire the permission of the Punjab Government before sailing, and therefore I went to Simla. But the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor told me that his Honour would not accord me permission at this time, and ordered me to go back home. Of course, scarcely an idle mind even can think that you ever intend to disturb the arrangement of 1849. I know well that you are the well wisher of, and loyal to the British Crown, and do not do anything against the wishes of Her Most August Majesty, the Empress, which is a right and proper way.

Hereafter, I will attach a brief and unsatisfactory list of the Jageers, moveable and immoveable property.

Unless a full enquiry be made, correct and proper information cannot be obtained. By due enquiry the full accounts can be obtained. If the nature of the claim be known, a full enquiry of facts relevant to it can be made.

I have the honour to be, Your Majesty's obt. and humble Servant and very anxious to pay my respects to you, Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia.

(Signed) Thakur Singh.

The ninth November 1883.

THE LIST OF THE PROPERTY

PART I

JAGEERS

(a) Of Sirdar Churru Singh

On the west of Ravee River

From Shahdra to Rawul Pindi, except Wuzeerabad, Gujrat Munchur, Sealkote and Jummoo.

In Bari Doab

Suker-Chuk, Raja Sansee, Dhal, Mujetha and other Purgunas near Lahore.

Doaba Bist

There were some possessions, the details of which can be found by due enquiry.

The annual income, besides the salt mines income, was about 15,00,000 Rs.

(b) Of Sirdar Muhan Singh Jee

Besides the above mentioned countries, the country in the west of Rawul Pindi up to Margula, and some parts of Bari Doab were annexed. Jummoo, Shuker Gudh, Purganas of Behrampur, Deena Nugur, Indura, Puthankote, were also added to the conquests. The several parts of Manjha and Bist Doab were also annexed. The annual income besides the salt revenue amounted to 40,00,000 Rs.

(c) Of Maharaja Runjeet Singh before his assuming the rank.

Besides the above mentioned Jageers, Lahore, Kusoor, Sealkote Wuzerabad, Munchur and Gujrat, and the annual income amounted to 55,00,000 Rs. From the time of Sardar Churru Singh to this time, your ancestors had the proprietary rights on all the waste lands, forests, &c., and the lands. Even Sirdars held the *Molkia* rights of the Jageer villages, while Zumeendars had nothing to do with these. These rights have been transferred to Zumeendars under the British rule.

(d) Of Maharajah Khurk Singh before his being raised to Throne.

Kulanour.

Worth two lacs annual income (One half of it was possessed on by Sirdar Muhan Singh).

Nuroot of Jaimul Singh, worth Rs. 70,000 annually, inherited from his father-in-law the Sirdar of Ghunyan Misul.

Fatehgudh

Of one lac Rs. annual value, inherited in the above said manner.

Numomur

Of two lacs annual income.

Julalabad Juttan

a part of the country inherited from Sirdar Muhan Singh. Annual income 70,000 Rs.

Shekhopur

Annual income one lac of Rs.

The villages in the vicinity of Pind Dadun Khan to the annual income of Rs. one lac.

In the separate parts of the Kingdom 5,00,00 Rs. annual.

Multan

Articles to the value of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of Rs. annually.

Cashmere

Articles to the value of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of Rs. annually

(e) Of Prince Nonehal Singh

Futehgudh

Received from Maharaja Khuruk Singh, and, as, shown above, worth Rs. one lac annually.

Jund Bughyal

Of Rs. 30,000 annual value.

Some Purguna near Peshawur,

In the several parts of the Kingdom to the value of Rs. 3,00,000.

Cashmere

Articles to the value of Rs. 1,00,000.

Multan

Articles to the value of Rs. 1,00,000.

Besides all the Maharanees, for instance, Maharanee Nukain, Maharanee Mehtab Kour, Maharanee Jind Kour (the Mother of your Majesty), Maharanee Luckhmee, Maharanee Bud Pagian, Maharanee Bhooree, Maharanee Maidnoo, Maharanee Mehtab Kour 2nd, Gul Begum and others held separate jageers, which at the time of annexation were confiscated, and separate pensions were allotted by the Government. On demise of some of these Queens, the pensions have been confiscated. In some cases their relatives have received little or more pensions. Besides this, Pushoura Singh, Multana Singh, Kashmeera Singh and others had jageers, which have been confiscated, with the exception of the very small amounts left for their descendants. A precise and full account of these Jageers can be obtained from Deena Nath's Office, and from Government Secretariat. These Jageers were very large in amount.

PART II

IMMOVEABLE PROPERTY
VILLAGES

(1) Wacen Paen

This village was founded by our ancestors, of which the lands irrigated by 8 wells, together with the wells is your property. Sirdar Shumsher Singh got $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a well from your share, the others are in the possession of Zumeendars.

(2) Suker Chuk

With a large landed estate was founded by our ancestors. A large portion of it has been given by Government to Raja Taija Singh, while the other portion to others in consideration of their services.

(3) There are 8 wells and lands irrigated by them in Majeetha, the property of our family, but others are in possession of it.

(4) Raja Sansee

The whole village was founded by your ancestors and has a large landed estate. I think you are the sole owner of it; but, according to the rules of succession, the one half of it is yours. This is possessed on by the Sindhanwalia branch of family.

(5) Duleep Gudh

It was specially founded for you, and was your property. Its Purguna was in your jageer. It is now possessed by others.

(6) Shahzadapur

Prince Nonehal Singh was its rightful owner and founder. It is near Shekhopur, and is in the possession of foreigner.

(7) The City of Gujranwala

It was founded by your ancestors, and you are its sole owner, but is possessed by others. The Great Maharaja used to say that every foot of the land of Gujranwala was equal to a hair of his breast.

THE HOUSES AND GARDENS, &c.,

LAHORE

(1) Tombs of Maharajas

This is the large and fine building and is your property.

(2) House of Maharaja Khurk Singh

This was a very nice and large edifice, but has been knocked down and sold by Government.

(3) The house of Prince Nonehal Singh

Similarly large and nice, is in a bad state, and under the possession of Government.

(4) The house of Maharanee Nukain

The large house is given to one Kussur Singh.

(5) The house of Maharanee Luckhmee

This very nice and large house was built by Maharanee, and is now in the possession of Bukhsheesh Singh.

(6) The house of Maharanee Bhooree

Similarly large and nice, and made by Maharanee, is possessed on by an adopted son of Maharanee, which is unlawful in your presence.

(7) The house of Maharanee Gul Begum

The above remarks apply here also.

(8) The Garden of Maharanee Nukain

is possessed on by same Kussur Singh.

(9) Garden of Roopan

Made by Roopan, female slave of Maharanee Luckhmee, and possessed on by Bukhsheesh Singh.

Besides this, other Maharanees have left many houses and landed properties, which are your rightful property.

AMRITSAR

(1) Ram Bagh

With all its nice and large palaces of the value of many lacs of Rs. Many of the edifices have been knocked down and sold.

(2) Sheeshmuhal

Had beautiful garden and palace. Still had a small portion in existence, but has been sold to another.

(3) Bungla Dhab Kalanwalee

Now demolished.

(4) Baradarce Maharaja Khurk Singh

Had nice palace and garden, is now in bad state and is possessed on by Maharanee known as Kulalwala. The Maharanee has an unlawful adopted son.

(5) Garden of Huree Singh

The garden was begun with by Sirdar Huree Singh but was built by Prince Nonehal Singh on his death. It had very nice palace, some portion of which is still in existence. In the Mutiny of 1857, the Government made a gift of it to Jowahir Singh, son of Sirdar Huree Singh. He has died, and the one half possessed on by his relatives, and the other half is set apart for religious persons.

(6) The Fort and Kutra of Bhungyan

The fort is now a beautiful and large house possessed on by Bukhsheesh Singh, and the Kutra is possessed on by peoples inhabiting it. It was made by Sirdars of Bhungyan Misul, and was inherited by Prince Nonehal Singh from Mai Sukhan, a relative of the great Maharaja.

(7) Fort and Kutra of Mahan Singh

They were made by Sirdar Mahan Singh. Fort has been knocked down, and materials and land sold, and the Kutra is possessed on by the inhabitants.

(8) Kutra Churru Singh

Same remarks apply here too. It is known as of Doolam.

(9) Kutra Bungyan

Built by Sirdars of Bungy Missal, and inherited by Prince Nonehal Singh.

(10) Kutra of Khuzana and Kukma

Made by great Maharaja through Khuzana and Fakeer Noor Deen. Inhabitants have become proprietors.

(11) Gobind Gudh

This fort was built by Maharaja, in same way as other Sirdars made in the City. It is now occupied by British forces.

(12) Bunga Sirkaree

It was made by Sirdar Churru Singh, and is now given by Government to Sirdar Shumsher Singh, on a condition that they would not be responsible to any claim brought to it.

(13) Bunga Kour Sahib

This was a very nice and large house made by Prince Nonehal Singh for Rs. 1,00,000. It has been knocked down and sold by Government.

(14) Tarun Taran

A large portion of this City was owned by Prince Nonehal Singh, who built it. A house of the Prince is in the possession of Government.

SHEKOPUR

Contains large palaces made by Maharanee Nukain, and is possessed on by Hurbuns Singh, the adopted son of Raja Taija Singh. The City, together with large landed estate, was the property of Maharanee, although it was made by Prince Shekhoo, but his buildings were no more in existence. The people think it contains the treasures buried under ground by the Maharanee.

DEENA NUGUR

A large garden with nice palaces, and a palace on the back of canal. Garden has been sold, and palace on the canal in the possession of Municipality.

FUTEHQUDH

This was a nice town property of Sirdar Jaimal Singh, who gave it to Maharanee Chand Kour, his daughter. Dewan Taikoo was in charge of the town buildings and estate, but it is now possessed by his son and others.

PART III

MOVEABLE PROPERTY

(a) Of Maharanee Luckhmee

Sirdar Shumshere Singh and his wife Ram Kour received about 2,50,000 Rs. worth jewels, &c., property of Maharanee, on her death. The Sirdar was allowed Rs. 300 P.M. out of Maharanee's pension after her death. This property and pension was your right.

(b) Maharanee Bhooree

Left about five lacs worth jewels, &c., which her unlawful heir has done away with.

(c) Maharanee Maidnoo

She is about to die, and possesses an enormous property together with a large house, and I think it will be done away with on her death.

(d) Maharanee Sumra

Similar to Maharanee Bhooree.

(e) Maharanee Gul Begum

Similar to Maharanee Bhooree.

Besides, the property of other Maharanees even has been done away with by their relatives or unlawful adopted sons.

You are the rightful owner of all the above mentioned property.

9.11.83.

Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia

Amritsar.

(Signed) Thakur Singh.

163. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN¹

CARLTON CLUB, JULY 25TH, 1884.

I am sending you my book, stating my case fully. I think it will interest you. Whatever decision is arrived at, I think I have resolved to go to India. There is a storm gathering out there, which will burst ere long, and I trust to be able to render such services as will compel the British nation to take up my cause, and recognize my claims as just. The Sikhs saved India for England during the Mutiny, and the chiefs who gave assistance were afterwards rewarded by the Government. Why should I not be equally successful? The advance of Russia is watched for with intense joy by many princes of India, whom you believe to be loyal; it is only a matter of few years; but you will hear what I, the loyal subject of my Sovereign, though unjustly treated, will do, when the time comes! but I must not sound my own trumpet! ...

Ever, dear Lady Login,

Yours sincerely and gratefully,

Duleep Singh.

164. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY

53, HOLLAND PARK, KENSINGTON, W.

10TH MARCH, 1885.

My Lord,

Referring to your Lordship's letter of 14th November 1883, reque-

1. *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, 493-494.

sting me to specify more exactly than I have yet done the estates to which I consider myself entitled, I have the honour to transmit the accompanying statement showing that the British Government is in possession of large landed estates in the Punjab to which in 1849 at the time of the annexation of the Punjab I was entitled in my private capacity as one of the Sirdars or Chiefs of the Sikh Nation.

These estates were not affected by the treaty of annexation, the confiscation clause in which was confined to the property of the State of Lahore. The test which I have applied to distinguish those estates which were my private property from such as I may be said to have held by virtue of my sovereignty over the Lahore State is simply one of date. All lands and houses and other property acquired by my father Ranjeet after he became Ruler of the Punjab and the State of Lahore came into existence, I am content to treat as Property of the State.

On the other hand, those estates which were the family property of my ancestors as private Sirdars before the State of Lahore came into existence or my father Ranjeet became a Monarch, I consider to have and to be undeniably my private property acquired by a title anterior to, and wholly independent of my Sovereign Rank, of which the annexation of 1849 deprived me.

As to these, my private estates and property, I wish to point out to your Lordship that the British Government in taking possession of them must be held to have done so for my benefit seeing that at that time they were my acknowledged guardians.

In August 1847, the Governor-General of India wrote to the President of Lahore as follows:

"The Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it considered to be the guardian of the young prince during his minority."

The statement of property now sent is not exhaustive as the time at the disposal of my agent was limited but I trust it may be considered sufficient for the purpose of proving that such property did exist.

Moreover, I desire to say that in presenting this statement as to my rights I do not wish to insist on pushing those rights to their extreme limit, on the contrary as I have stated on other occasions I shall be satisfied with such fair and equitable compensation as shall enable me to carry out my plan of living in England upon the landed property purchased in my name in Suffolk provided that I am placed in possession of a sufficient income to enable me to do so without pecuniary embarrassment and in conformity

to the high position to which I was born and which was confirmed to me by the Treaty of Lahore in 1849 and again personally assured to me by Her Majesty the Queen when I first took up my abode in this Country; and provided also that my eldest son and other children are secured in their just inheritance after my death.

As the State of Lahore and all the property acquired by my father Ranjeet Singh after he became Maharaja and Ruler of that State have by virtue of the terms of annexation been assumed by the British Government, I do not seek to disturb that arrangement, although your Lordship cannot expect me (with my present information) to acquiesce in the abstract justice of the annexation itself.

In compensation for my Sovereign power and of the Estates acquired by Ranjeet Singh and his successors whilst they held the Royal Rank, the treaty provides a pension of from 4 to 5 lakhs.

The Government of India has not thought it fit to give me the full benefit of this provision ; but if an adequate equivalent for my private property and estates is rendered, and if the accumulations of the pension are to be applied for the benefit of my children, I shall be content myself to submit to personal deprivation during my life of the portion which has been withheld.

I only ask in this respect the fulfilment for the benefit of my children of that paragraph of Sir Charles Wood's Memorandum of the 21st March, 1860, in which it is stated that the British Government are bound to apply any part of the £40,000 per annum (meaning the pension of 4 to 5 lakhs) which has not been allotted and has accumulated in the Treasury of the British Government for the purposes stated in the terms of 1849.

Yours Lordship by this time is fully aware that unless the British Government is prepared to accord me speedily some measure of justice, I shall be compelled to abandon permanently my Landed Estates and position in England, as I am unable adequately to maintain either with the means now accorded to me ; in which case the moderate and legitimate expectations with which I was induced to settle in this country must be utterly disappointed, and I myself and my family be reduced to a state inferior to that of many of the Chiefs of the State of which I was the Sovereign when my Country was annexed by the British Government.

I have the honour, My Lord,
To remain Your Lordship faithful servant,
Duleep Singh.

164 A. *STATEMENT AS TO ANCESTRAL ESTATES OF THE
MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH*

INTRODUCTORY

The following pages show the result of a careful inquiry made by Mr. Talbot, a solicitor in the office of Messers. Farrer & Co., of Lincoln's Inn Fields, who was sent to India by those Gentlemen on behalf of the Maharaja Duleep Singh.

The inquiry was limited by the time at Mr. Talbot's disposal. The capitals of seven districts of the Punjab, viz., Gujranwaluh, Gujrat, Jehlum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, and Lahore, were visited and at each revenue records of a number of villages selected from a list prepared beforehand were examined. If there had been more time the Record Offices of other districts, such as Shahpur and Rawul Pindi, would have been visited, and the records of many more villages in each district examined.

The Schedules given below show the result of these enquiries into villages in each of the districts visited. All villages which are not situate in territory which was in the possession of Ranjeet Singh in 1800 have been excluded, and also, as far as can be ascertained, all villages which were in Jagir at the annexation of the Punjab. The year 1800 has been taken because it was the year in which Ranjeet Singh accepted the throne of Lahore.

A few words as to the early history of the Punjab will explain the position of Ranjeet Singh and his family before and after the year 1800.

The Punjab formed an important province of the Mogul Empire, which had its capital at Delhi, and the Emperors Akbar and Jahangir both resided at Lahore at various periods of their reigns. The invasions of India, which were begun in 1738 by Nadir Shah of Persia, and were continued by Ahmed Shah Abdali, the ruler of Cabul, who broke the power of the Moguls in Northern India, and by the middle of the 18th century established himself as Supreme Ruler in the Punjab, which he administered by his Governors resident at Lahore.

Under this dynasty, the Sikhs of the Punjab had a constitution of their own. Their Sirdars or Chiefs held large landed estates, which were occupied by their followers or retainers in feudal fashion, forming distinct Clans or Missuls (as they were called).

Churrut Singh, the grandfather of Ranjeet Singh, in the reign of Ahmed Shah, was one of these Sirdars, and his Clan was called the Sukerchakia Missul.

He was succeeded in 1774 by his son Maha Singh, who in or about the year 1790 was succeeded by Ranjeet Singh.

In 1799 or 1800 Shah Zaman, the successor of Ahmed Shah, ceded to Ranjeet Singh the state of Lahore with sovereign power over the Punjab, which the latter held till his death.

Previously to this cession Ranjeet Singh had been a mere Sirdar or a chief, one amongst several, with no pretensions to supremacy over them or sovereignty over the Punjab or the capital city of Lahore.

In 1800 he made himself Master of Lahore and was shortly afterwards accepted by the Sikhs as their Maharajah or King.

In 1809 Ranjeet Singh had so far consolidated his power as to be recognized by the British Government in a treaty made with him in that year as sovereign of the Punjab. By this treaty, he undertook not to make any further acquisitions of territory among the States between the Rivers Sutlej and Jumna, which the English had taken under their protection.

On Ranjeet Singh's death in 1839, his eldest son Khurk Singh succeeded to the throne but reigned for little more than a year, and died in 1840. His only son Nonehal Singh only survived him a few days and was succeeded by Shere Singh, who died in 1843.

In 1843, Maharaja Duleep Singh succeeded to the throne and estates of his father, Ranjeet Singh. He was an infant, and in 1847 the British Government assumed his guardianship and the control of all his authority and possessions.

In 1849 the State of Lahore was annexed by the British Government and its State property declared to be confiscated.

The Maharaja claims the property and ancestral estates of Ranjeet Singh acquired before he became the Governor of the State as private property and estates not affected by the confiscation.

The villages dealt with in the following pages are arranged in accordance with the present division of the Punjab into districts, the villages of each district being placed in a separate schedule.

In the First column of the schedules is given the name of each village; in the second column the area in native measure of so much of the village as yields revenue to the Government (the local Ghomao varies from place to place, but is nowhere very different from an English acre); in the third column, the *Jama* or Chief-rent usually called Land Revenue, which is paid to Government. (In these two columns land held revenue-free is, wherever it can be ascertained, excluded.)

The fourth column shows the name of the first of the ancestors of Ranjeet Singh who owned the village, and from whom Ranjeet Singh consequently inherited it, and the fifth column is for remarks.

The annual value of the villages given below is Rs. 2,04,994,8½ annas, or £ 20,499 : 9s. per annum, and this would, if the inquiry had been complete, have been raised to a very much larger sum. That of the salt mines is about 40 lakhs of Rs. or £ 400,000 per annum, and the Government valuation of the land in the possession of Government belonging to the ancient Kutra of Maha Singh at Umritsar is Rs. 78,949 or £7,894, 18s. (taking the rupee at 2s. in each case).

The value of the other Kutra in the city has not been ascertained.

As to the personal property and jewels which belonged to the Maharajah Duleep Singh at the time of the annexation in 1849, and which were then appropriated by the British Government is to be observed as follows :

The treaty of 1849 confiscates all the property of the State by Article 2, and by a subsequent article (Article 3), the Maharaja Duleep Singh *surrenders* the Koh-i-noor jewel to the Queen. This shows that the Koh-i-Noor, and consequently also the other jewels and personal property of the Maharajah, were not considered to be State property. Notwithstanding this, with the exception of some of the value of £20,000 which he was permitted to take to Futtehgurh, and which were destroyed there in the Mutiny, the whole of the Maharajah's personal property and jewels of every description were taken possession of by the Government at annexation.

On this subject, Mr. Talbot directed an inquiry to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, but no information has been furnished and the present statement therefore omits all reference to the subject though the Maharajah does not relinquish his claim to such property.

An account of the sale of this property must be in the hands of the Government, and will doubtless be accessible in London to the officials of the India office.

164 B. GOOJRAWALUH DISTRICT

This district contains the ancestral seat of the family of Ranjeet Singh. Churru Singh, his grandfather, the head or chief of the Sukerchakia Misl, came first to Shahpore Sansian, and in 1755 A.D., removed to the neighbouring village of Kheele. Here he built a *haweli*, or house, the site of which is still pointed out, and in which Maha Singh and Bibi Raj Kouran were born. He also built a wall with nine bastions round the village, and intended to build a city here, but the ground lying too low, the idea was abandoned.

In 1765 A.D. Churru Singh founded the old or inner city of Goojrawaluh called *Underla Shehr*. Before this, there was on the spot only the *takia* or faqir's rest-house of Nur Burpur, a kacha sarai, and a few houses. These Churru Singh pulled down, and built a *Killa* or

fortified wall with 12 bastions (*burj*), still traceable, though much quarried for brick. Inside are 22 *ghomaos* (acres) of land, forming the *Underla Shehr*. He also built a *haweli*, or house, for himself and a *dhurmsala*, or temple.

In 1774 Maha Singh succeeded to his father's estate, and in 1780 built the outer city or *Bahrta Shehr* to make room for the transplanted inhabitants of Saidnuggur. He granted the *thanapatti*, a fixed fee on marriages, to his family prohibits. He also built a court-house for himself in the Jumnoo fashion near Churru Singh *haweli*. In the *mandi*, or a market place, now called Ranjitganj, Ranjeet Singh was born, the place being marked by a palm tree and inscription. Maha Singh was carried back from Sohara to die here.

Outside the city is the garden of Maha Singh, with his *Samadh* or monument, which also contains some ashes of Runjeet Singh—and a garden round it, with two *barandaris* or garden houses now used as library and museum. At the other end of the city, is a poor *Samadh* of Churru Singh. It stood in a large garden with trees, now built over.

Jowahir Singh, Maharajah Duleep Singh's uncle, lived here in a fine *haweli*, still left standing in Ranjitganj and used by Government as a school.

The important city of Ramnuggur was originally called Rasulnuggur, the name being changed by Churru Singh, who took it, and moved the salt market thither. He was dispossessed by the Mahomedan tribe known as the Chattas. Maha Singh, however, reconquered the place from the Chattas in 1782 A.D., and re-established the salt market—the site of which is still shown. (In 1848 there was a small salt depot here.) He took the Chattas' *haweli* and garden, now waste, and made another in the town, containing twelve *kunals* (about an acre and a half), and the city became one of his chief cities. Ranjeet Singh built a fine *barandari* here on the river, about a mile from the town, in a garden, and was often here. The *barandari* is now used as a rest house. In the garden are also buried Colonel William Havelock and the other English officers who fell in the battle close by, fought on the 22nd November, 1848.

The chief places of residence of Churru Singh and Maha Singh, and until 1799 of Runjeet Singh, were Goojranwaluh and Ramnuggur both in this district. In each are gardens and *barandaries* made by Runjeet Singh, but these are not claimed by Maharaja Duleep Singh.

In 1800 Ranjeet Singh received investiture from Shah Zaman, and assumed Royal Rank as Maharajah of the Sikhs, and passed from the position of a chief to that of a King or Ruler of the Sikh nation, who at the same time replaced the Mahomedan Dynasty.

The estates specified below belonged to the family in the year 1800 A.D., and were held at that time, when he was a simple Sirdar, by Ranjeet Singh.

In the 4th column of the Schedule is noted the name of the ancestor from whom Ranjeet Singh inherited.

The lands are divided into what were in England anciently called towns or *vills*, and in India townships or villages (*Mauza*). There are also rich grass preserves, where Maha Singh used to pasture his horses.

The following villages, which are printed in red on the accompanying map, were, at annexation, in the possession of Maharajah Duleep Singh, and their revenues have since been received by the British Government:—

In preparing the following list, the records of 102 villages were examined out of a total of 1,147 in the district.

VILLAGES.
TAHSIL GOOJRANWALUH

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jama or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>		<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
		G.	K. M. S.		
Chuk Oogao.	2,048 3 16 4	1,411		Churrut Singh	Was given in jagir by Churrut Singh, but afterwards resumed]
Feerozwaluh	2,967 4 15 4	3,700		Maha Singh	
Khecalee	1,672 5 5 8	1,337		Churrut Singh	
Muraleewala	3,473 3 15 5	1,740		Maha Singh	
Maree Thakuran	2,359 5 3 7	1,258		Maha Singh	
Munjpoor	405 7 12 4	150		Maha Singh	
Nokhur	3,213 1 0 7	1,663	7	Churrut Singh	Was rebuilt by Maha Singh
Nungul Doona Singh	6,558 3 13 3	1,026		Maha Singh	Founded in the time of Maha Singh
Tulwundee Rahwalee	2,511 3 13 0	1,426		Churrut Singh	Churrut Singh is said to have made grants of land in this village

TAHSIL HAFIZABAD

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M. S.	Rs.		
Ajneeanwaluh	5,695 7 10 4	890	Churrut Singh	Rebuilt in the time of Churrut Singh
Choothur Kanuh	9,633 4 1 2	1,316	Churrut Singh	
Eesurkee	8,298 3 14 0	900	Churrut Singh	
Feroz	11,419 7 14 0	460	Churrut Singh	
Hafizabad	1,503 4 4 5	495	Maha Singh	
Jelalpoor Nau	1,650 6 11 3	1,104	Maha Singh	
Jhubran	7,360 1 8 1	1,430	Churrut Singh	
Kukur Gil	4,367 1 10 0	716	Churrut Singh	
Killah Sahib Singh	1,686 4 2 1	380	Churrut Singh	
Kot Nikkuh	9,049 6 0 2	549	Maha Singh	
Kussoke	6,499 6 15 0	1,010	Churrut Singh	
Peelo	2,218 2 3 0	400	Maha Singh	
Pilo Chiragh Shah	627 4 7 6	100	Maha Singh	
Pindee Bhutteean	6,603 0 11 1	698	Maha Singh	
Rampoor	2,956 3 11 2	600	Maha Singh	
Shekhopooruh	2,269 7 18 6	350	Churrut Singh	
Sookheke	14,384 5 11 2	950	Maha Singh	
Vunecke	4,710 7 0 6	1,750	Maha Singh	
Wuruh	8,308 3 19 8	1,442	Churrut Singh	
Wengi or Dingee	1,348 5 17 1	252	Maha Singh	

TAHSIL WAZIRABAD

Akalgurh	2,268 3 13 1	650	Churrut Singh	An old town, but not now of much importance.
Bhurroke	2,788 1 17 0	2,594	Maha Singh	This village was formerly held by

Beebee Raj Kouran, to whom they were granted in jagir for her life. She was an aunt of Runjeet Singh. On her death Maharajah Duleep Singh resumed possession (2 year before annexation).

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jama or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Chak Sanatha	815 6 12 2	600	Maha Singh	In the jagir of Beebee Raj Kouran as above
Char Yari	335 1 1 2	40	Maha Singh	
Guneeanwaluh	2,150 1 13 2	799	Maha Singh	In the jagir of Beebee Raj Kouran as above
Jandeealuh	996 4 6 4	350	Maha Singh	
Joruh	609 5 14 6	105	Churrut Singh	
Kot-Anait Khan	1,447 0 1 2	1,900	Maha Singh	
Kot Jafur	2,628 5 10 7	620	Maha Singh	
Kular	717 1 12 8	687	Maha Singh	In the jagir of Beebee Raj Kouran as above.
Kuter	883 2 9 2	1,032	Maha Singh	In the jagir of Beebee Raj Kouran as above
Munsoorwalee	1,519 0 19 3	1,418	Maha Singh	
Sungowalel	637 3 12 5	594	Maha Singh	In the jagir of Beebee Raj Kouran as above
Wayunwalee	1,458 1 5 0	1,185.3	Maha Singh	In the jagir of Beebee Raj Kouran as above
Wazirabad	4,027 6 13 8	1,327	Maha Singh	

Rakhs or Grass Preserves

Chachrah
Kikranwali

near Goojranwaluh and contain valuable timber. They are shown on the map by a green colour.

164 C. GOOJRAT DISTRICT

The district was conquered by the Gakhers in 1741 A.D., and taken by the Sookerchukia Missul under Churrut Singh and by Goojer Singh of the Bhungee Missul in 1764 A.D. Ahmed Shah afterwards recovered it in 1766, and placed it under Sur-Buland Khan of Rhotas; but in 1768 the two Sirdars took it again, defeating Sar-Buland Khan, and taking him prisoner at Rhotas after a five months' siege of that place.

Runjeet Singh inherited the estates mentioned below from his father Maha Singh, the son of Churrut Singh.

In Goojrat is a *baradurree* rebuilt by Runjeet Singh, now used by Government as the Deputy Commissioner's House, but this is not claimed by Maharajah Duleep Singh.

The holy Sikh shrine of Mangut is in this district. It was visited and endowed by Churrut Singh. The present building dates from 1828, when Ranjeet Singh contributed 10,000 rupees towards it.

In 1839 the district was in the *Ajara* or farm of Rajah Goolab Singh, that is, he received the whole land revenue, except, of course, so far as it was granted out in jagir, and paid a fixed annual amount to Runjeet Singh.

The chief battles of the Rebellion against Maharajah Duleep Singh, usually called the second Sikh war, 1848-9, Sadoollahpoor, Cheeleewanwala and Goojrat, were fought in this district on 2nd December, 1848, and 13th and 27th January, 1849.

The estates specified below belonged to the family in the year 1800 A.D., and were held at that time by Runjeet Singh. Since annexation their Revenues have been received by the British Government.

VILLAGES

TAHSIL PHALIAN

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs. As.		
Cheeleewanala	7,931 5 16	1,010 15	Churrut Singh	The battle with the rebels here was fought on 13th January, 1849
Chhimman	8,799 0 0	854 7	Churrut Singh	
Chote Khoord	386 7 1	158	Churrut Singh	
Helan	2,059 2 19	1,216 7	Churrut Singh	Was granted in jagher by Maha Singh to the Padhanian family but afterwards resumed.
Kala Shahdeean	5,833 3 2	2,237 4	Churrut Singh	
Khumb Kalan	2,425 0 6	1,476 6	Churrut Singh	
Kothyalah Shekhan	3,579 3 4	1,223 6	Churrut Singh	
Majhee	3,251 5 8	2,297 10	Churrut Singh	
Moong	4,949 5 11	4,553 4	Churrut Singh	
Parceewanalee	2,781 6 1	1,944 6	Churrut Singh	
Phaleean Amir	1,265 0 16	852 2	Churrut Singh	
Phaleean Boota	618 4 18	300	Churrut Singh	
Phaleean Keeman	684 0 6	480	Churrut Singh	
Phaleean Meman	622 7 5	391 15	Churrut Singh	
Rusool	4,814 5 16	1,823 10	Churrut Singh	
Sadoollahpoor	1,904 2 2	1,530 12	Churrut Singh	
Sahnu	4,681 0 18	831. 4.	Churrut Singh	There was a skirmish here on 2nd December, 1848, between the British troops and the rebels.

TAHSIL GOOJRAT

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	
	G. K. M.	Rs.			
Doulutanugur	1,750 1 18	1,000	Maha Singh	The town was reduced by Maha Singh. Here is also the tomb of Sirdar Deedar Singh Sindawalia, the ancestor of the present Sindawalia family, first cousin and companion in arms of Churrut Singh.	
Linge	4,118 2 5	2,500	Churrut Singh		
Shadeewal	1,232 1 1	2,300	Maha Singh		
Mehal Khas					
Shadeewal Turuf Achurke	1,544 1 12	2,700	Maha Singh		
Shadeewal Turuf Khanke	651 1 17	1,135	Maha Singh		

TAHSIL KHARIAN

Baiknanwala	1,351 5 3	490 12	Churrut Singh	There were stables here where Runjeet Singh's horses were fed.
Chuk Jance	1,409 2 2	650	Churrut Singh	
Dinguh	4,009 6 4	1,500	Churrut Singh	
Khoree	2,822 7 8	1,200	Churrut Singh	
Seekutwale	2,593 5 10	900	Churrut Singh	

164 D. JEHLUM DISTRICT

Jalalpoor in this district is interesting as being probably the place where Alexander the Great crossed the River Jehlum.

There are valuable salt mines in this district. They are said to have been discovered by Asp Khan in the time of Akbar (contemp : Queen Elizabeth), who granted him an annuity equal to what should be earned by the miners. In 1603, for every maund (82 lbs.) of salt the miners got about 1 anna, the Zemindars 4 annas, and the Government 1 anna.

In the middle of the 18th century each mine belonged to one of the numerous chiefs of the Junjooas, a tribe of Mahomedans, whose supremacy in the district was never disputed till the Sikhs came.

After Ahmed Shah's retirement in 1767 A.D., the Sikhs took Rhotas in 1768 and appropriated the whole of the Salt Range. The salt mines fell to the share of the Sookerchukia Missul, of which Churrut Singh was chief. Dhunnee and Lundi Putti and the Salt Range are continually mentioned as in his possession. He built forts at Pind Dadun Khan and at Dandot to protect his Kardars and Collectors, of which the ruins can still be seen; and he used to make grants of salt to his *prohuts* or family priests, and to many religious men and others, free of royalties. He also granted in the same way villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines.

The salt trade itself he tried to transplant to his favourite town of Ramnuggur, by creating there a privileged salt market.

Maha Singh succeeded his father in the possession of the salt mines in 1774.

He built a fort at Malot, and there was a fort at Sherpoor which held out against him, but was conquered, it is said, owing to the prayers of a priest, Baba Kawul Nain. To him accordingly Maha Singh granted the village, and his representatives are there to this day.

Maha Singh added the north-west corner of the district (Jabbi) and was, before he died, master of the whole district and as far as including Kalabagh on the Indus. Kalabagh itself he restored to the Mulliks or local chiefs on their paying annually 5,000 rupees and some camels and other cattle, but he retained the valuable salt mines there, which were worked on the following system:—one-half the salt dug went to the digger, one-quarter to the Mulliks, and the remainder to Maha Singh.

In order to show that Churrut Singh and his son and grandson held large parts of the district before Runjeet Singh assumed the Royal Rank, the following list of the *parwanas* or grants to their followers or to religious persons, which have been produced, and the locality of

each, has been drawn up:—

List of *Parwanas* dealing with villages in district Jehlum prior to 1800.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Ilaqa</i>
1769	Churrut Singh	Chuk Bhikhun	
1769	Do	Naugran	Jehlum
1771	Do	Goorjakh	Jalup
1774	Maha Singh	Katas	Chungar
1774	Do		Dhunnee
1776	Do	Sherpoor in Haranpoor	Jalup
1777	Do	Pind Dadun Khan	Pind Dadun Khan
1777	Do		Kahoon
1787	Do	Nundunpoor	Pind Dadun Khan
1790	Do	Ajaria to Choudris of	Chakowal
1794	Runjeet Singh	Dhoomial and Tutral	Jalup
1795	Do	Dhoodia	Do
1796	Do	Badshahpoor	
1796	Do	Jaswal	Chakowal
1797	Do	Majaat	Jalup
1797	Do	Kuliwal	Do
1798	Do	Kariala	Chakowal
1799	Do	Shah Mahomedwali	Jabbi
No date	Do	Kooslian	Pind Dadun Khan

Grants by Churrut Singh and his successors to their supporters of salt are also common.

The grants were of two kinds : (1) a grant of so many camel loads of salt, free of any royalty, and often also free of transit dues, but the grantee would have to provide his own camels to fetch the salt from the mines; and (2) a grant of a percentage on the revenue of the salt market, e.g., 1 pice in the rupee (1 in 48) of the salt royalty—the latter are without date.

Of the former, the earliest grant of which a copy was procured is one with the seal of Churrut Singh, which does not specify any particular mine, but probably referred to the old mine at Khoora-Koosook; then follows a group of grants by Maha Singh or his lieutenants,

<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Person to whom addressed</i>
1774	Maha Singh	
1774	Do	To Collectors of Koosook Mine
1774	Mehtab Singh and Kishen Chund	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1776	Maha Singh	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1778	Maha Singh	To farmers of transit dues
1778	Maha Singh	To Pindi Sahae and others of Khoora-Koosook
1778	Kurum Singh	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1779	Sobha Ram	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1779	Sobha Ram	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1779	Maha Singh	To Asufnuggur Market
1780	Sobha Ram	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1781	Sobha Ram	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook
1786	Maha Singh	To Asufnuggur-Market
1787	Maha Singh and Sobha Ram	To Collectors of Khoora-Koosook and Ghareebwal

Then follow some from Runjeet Singh :

1791	Runjeet Singh	To Bahadur Chund
1797	Runjeet Singh	To the Collectors of Khoora-Koo- sook
1797	Runjeet Singh	To the Salt Market Officials
1799	Runjeet Singh	To the Salt Market Officials

The two following mines were worked before 1800, and possibly also some of those mentioned below, as having been opened by Runjeet Singh :—

(1) Koora-Khoosook and Ghareebwal. These were the principal mines in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, and were protected by the almost inaccessible fortress of Koosook. Closed at annexation.

(2) Kalabagh. The salt is here worked 'at daylight' in quarries and is much inferior to the salt of the East Salt Range. It was originally under the management of the local chiefs, who gave a Royalty of one-third or one-fourth to Maha Singh and afterwards to Runjeet Singh until 1831, when Rajah Goolab Singh took the management. It is in Bunnoo District.

They were managed by the Collectors or *Mutsuddis* of Churrut Singh and his successors.

About 1800 a change seems to have been made, and the salt mines were in future either in the hands of the *Hakims* or Governors of the district who remitted the royalties to Runjeet Singh at Lahore, or the royalties were leased out to *ajaradars* or contractors at fixed rentals. This last method, however, was of comparatively late origin.

Other mines were opened by Runjeet Singh, the most important of which are :—

(3) Jootana and Choor-Jootana. These were opened early in the Nineteenth Century; the latter, a very fine one, appears to have remained open till annexation.

(4) Keora. There were two mines here in Sikh times, and these have apparently been the most valuable ones ever since Jacquemont and Burnes were here in 1831 and 1832. The method of working and the approaches were greatly improved on annexation, and the two mines were connected and are now called the Mayo Mines. They must have been of importance for a long period, owing to their position close to the road to Chakowal. They are the only mines now open.

(5) Makrach or Nila. These were opened in 1864, but have been long closed.

(6) Sardi. This mine is of comparatively recent origin and is better worked than the other Sikh mines. The mine, however, dipped instead of rising, and so collected water. It was not worked in 1837, but appears to have been in full work in 1848 and 1864; now closed.

(7) Neelawan. This was closed as early as 1837.

(8) Wurcha. The salt is not so pure here at this, the Western, end of the chain, and only 20 feet in the middle of the bed were worked. It was worked from 1831 to 1864, but is now closed. It is in Shahpoor District.

The Revenue in Sikh times is stated at very different figures by different writers. A recent authority (the Shahpoor Settlement Report) estimates it at under 6 lakhs. Other estimates are, 1830, 4 lakhs; 1837, 14 lakhs; 1844, 20 lakhs (Rajah Goolab Singh clearing another 20 lakhs); 1849, 8 lakhs. The royalty was 1 rupee or 2 rupees per maund. The Revenue is now about 40 lakhs. The salt is sold at the mines for 2 rupees 1 anna per maund of 82 lbs., the cost of excavating being estimated at 1 anna per maund.

Note :—In 1869 the official returns showed a revenue of Rs. 44, 91,458.

At annexation the Inland Customs Department took possession of all the salt outcrops and fenced them in, and the district under their control was called the Nimmuk Mehal, or "Salt Estate." It included the four

Rukhs of Mukhiala, Koosook, Dandot and Dilwal. The miners claimed special rights in the mines, but in 1863 it was decided by the British Government officials that they had no right to the mines, the surface soil, or even the sites of their own houses. However, in 1875, a thousand acres were handed over to the Customs Department for their use. Ultimately all the mines, except that at Keora, were closed by the Government, to facilitate the collection of the Salt Revenue.

The Atariwala Sirdars, who headed the Rebellion, commonly called the second Sikh war, had extensive jagirs in this district, and the movement was joined by almost all the men of any note in this district; hence the almost universal resumption of jagirs which took place here at annexation.

MINES AT THE PRESENT TIME

The only mines now open in the district are at Keora, and they are excavated in what are probably the largest deposits of rock salt in the world. The salt, which is very pure, occurs in beds of great thickness in a red marl. It is worked in large chambers, some as much as 130 feet high (the salt being 150 feet thick,) and some 320 feet long; the walls of these chambers are left as supports of the mine. It is worked by boring deep holes and exploding gunpowder in them. There are two adits; one, a high level one, made by the Sikhs, and used for hand-carriage of the salt, the other, British, laid with a tramway on which trucks descend by gravity to the railway station $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. The most picturesque parts of the mines are the old Sikh workings, now for the most part abandoned as unsafe from the roof falling in, or because water has been reached. The miners are a special caste or race, and live in special villages. They are the sons of the miners of Sikh times, and are under their regular "head men" (or *lumberdars*) and contractors. Keora itself is only occupied in the cold weather and the hot weather; in the rains, when the mines cannot be worked, the inhabitants remove to Tobar a mile or so off.

In the salt range there are a good many outcrops of coal, and latterly about 2,000 tons have been raised on an average yearly. The coal mines have been declared to be the property of Government, who exacted a Royalty originally of two rupees a maund, now reduced to four annas a maund, or about 6d. a hundredweight.

The estates specified below belonged to the family before the year 1800 A.D., and were held at that time by Runjeet Singh. Since annexation their Revenues have been received by the British Government.

VILLAGES
TAHSIL PIND DADUN KHAN

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs. As.		
Adowal	2,354 7 12	2,600	Churrut Singh	
Ahemcdabad	7,482 7 3	3,500	Churrut Singh	Fateh Singh Matu (a chief servant of Maha Singh drove out the proprietors and took it.
Choia Saidun Shah (including Dular)	4,261 5 3	1,452	Churrut Singh	A sacred place with many fukeers. It is the hot weather post of the Assistant Commissioner of Pind Dadun Khan. Runjeet Singh had a large house here; and so had Rajahs Dhyen Singh and Goolab Singh.
Chak Ali Shah	1,029 6 16	825	Churrut Singh	
Chak Hameed	1,560 5 18	1,100	Churrut Singh	
Chak Majaat	837 6 15	880	Churrut Singh	
Chak Shadi	398 6 0	683	Churrut Singh	
Choombi	1,105 0 4	580	Churrut Singh	
Dehriala	3,872 5 12	1,240	Churrut Singh	
Ghareebwal	4,701 5 12	2,600	Churrut Singh	
Goolpoor	6,798 7 13	2,350	Churrut Singh	
Jootana	774 4 7	525	Churrut Singh	Taken by Churrut Singh. Here there were salt mines now closed.
Karmpur	735 4 9	1,060	Churrut Singh	
Katas and Tutral	2,598 2 1	1,700	Churrut Singh	The sacred tank

of Sri Ummer Kund is close here. There are 12 temples on the banks. Runjeet Singh went there frequently on pilgrimage, and many of his *parwanas* are dated from the banks of the Ummer Kund. Grants by Maha Singh are extant both in Katas and Tutral. There is fort here built by Maha Singh.

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs. As.		
Kot Oombar	2,104 5 15	1,445	Churrut Singh	
Kotian	629 6 2	1,295	Churrut Singh	
Kookar Pindi	983 4 1	680	Churrut Singh	
Kuliwal	3,646 7 3	1,300	Churrut Singh	
Kambar	1,769 2 14	1,400	Churrut Singh	
Koosook and Batli or Watli	2,247 2 15	285	Churrut Singh	There is a picturesque fort on the summit of a hill. It held out for a long time under the Junjooa chiefs against Ranjeet Singh, and was only ultimately starved into surrender. There was an important salt mine here called the Khoora mine (not to be confounded with the Keora mine close by), which was the chief source of salt in Sikh times.
Lilleh Gujh	2,048 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	669.14 $\frac{1}{2}$	Churrut Singh	
Leri Panj Gorain	5,846 7 3	1,312	Churrut Singh	
Ler Sultanpur	1,274 4 12	735	Churrut Singh	
Makhiala	1,052 5 13	345	Churrut Singh	The Junjooas held out here in a fort, and were only finally reduced by Runjeet Singh. There were important salt mines close by.
Nali	1,985 4 19	300	Churrut Singh	
Pinwal	5,239 1 17	4,184	Churrut Singh	

Name of village	Area (Khalsa)	Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)	First ancestor from whom derived	Remarks
	G. K. M.	Rs.		
Pind Dadun Khan } Mehal Sailab }	1,832 2 8	480	Churrut Singh	This, the principal town of the district, stands about a mile from the Jehlum, and was formerly the capital, but the
Do. Mehal Chahi	1,616 2 8	1,137	Churrut Singh	
Do. Mehal Barani	4,015 7 2	2,432		

offices were removed to Jehlum as being easier to get at. There are important manufactures, but the salt trade, for which it has always been the principal market, and in latter Sikh times the exclusive market, is the chief cause of its prosperity. It was founded by and is named after three brothers, of which Dadun Khan was the youngest, and his tomb is still pointed out. Churrut Singh built a *Kacha Killa*, or fort, here, known as Churrut Singh's killa, and left Budh Singh and Gur Singh in command as his thanadars. Inside it Maha Singh built four *pukka boorj* (or towers) and a *pukka haweli*. All has been demolished lately by the Government except one *boorj*. This fort was garrisoned with thirty men, under the command of the Collector of the salt mines or his lieutenant.

In the town Churrut Singh built a fine haweli, now known as the *Sirkaree Haweli*, in which Runjeet Singh is said to have spent a great part of his childhood.

There are grants addressed to the Kardars of Pind Dadun Khan, then called Asufnuggur, still extant, as early as 1771 A.D. by Maha Singh.

There was a mint here, and Rajah Goolab Singh, when he farmed the salt mines, used to stack the salt on the plain between the town and the river. On one occasion he is said to have lost a lakh of maunds (say 3,000 tons by a sudden rise of the river).

Salowi	2,330 2 16	840	Churrut Singh	There are old salt mines here not now worked.
Saroba	9,661 4 14	2,350	Churrut Singh	
Sadand	1,621 6 4	280	Churrut Singh	
Sadowal	1,790 2 8	595	Churrut Singh	
Sumunwal	1,771 5 11	1,110	Churrut Singh	
Ratuche	885 5 4	315	Churrut Singh	
Thudi or Dhoodia	3,042 1 19	4,160	Churrut Singh	
Wara	453 0 6	522	Churrut Singh	

TAHSIL JEHLUM

Name of village	Area (Khalsa)	Jamma or chief rent Khalsa	First ancestor from whom derived	Remarks
	G. K. M.	Rs.		
Adali	281 2 7	350	Churrut Singh	The town is of modern origin. In 1768 there were only a few (say 80) houses, and a weak brick wall which Churrut Singh took. Vigne saw here a small salt depot in 1831 A.D. Rhotas was the old capital.
Aoana	219 7 11	315	Churrut Singh	
Chaontala	2,093 6 14	2,072	Churrut Singh	
Daiwal	2,094 7 15	550	Churrut Singh	
Jehlum Khas	296 1 0	181	Churrut Singh	
Leri	922 6 2	1,840	Churrut Singh	Resumed from the Sindawalias who were the jaggeerdars, having been granted by Churrut Singh to their ancestor, Sirdar Deedar Singh.
Pind Sevice	9,052 4 3	1,100	Churrut Singh	
Rakh Rhotas	1,928 3 3	10	Churrut Singh	Founded in 1540 by Sher Shah Suri, Emperor of Delhi, was capital of a district which was anciently divided into 14 <i>tuppas</i> or districts,

and included a great part of the district of Jehlum. Churrut Singh took Rhotas in 1768, after a three months' siege, and sent the Abdali's Governor, Sur-Baland Khan, prisoner to Ramnuggur, and the whole country submitted to him. He gave the *theka* or contract of the land revenue to the Rajah (petty chief) of Doomeli.

TAHSIL CHAKOWAL

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs. As.		
Badshahani Khas	5,677 6 7	2,819	Churrut Singh	
Bhon	16,251 5 16	3,958.4	Churrut Singh	
Booleh	2,454 0 9	885	Churrut Singh	
Bhal Kusur	12,539 7 19	2,550	Churrut Singh	
Chakwal Khas	4,432 5 5	2,386	Churrut Singh	
Dhoodial	3,979 6 9	1,822	Churrut Singh	
Kariala	3,455 1 8	1,759	Churrut Singh	
Langha	4,436 6 4	2,269	Churrut Singh	
Mohra Gujran	440 7 2	145	Churrut Singh	
Munda	8,062 7 5	2,180	Churrut Singh	
Nila	10,860 3 6	4,430	Churrut Singh	
Noorwal	1,653 1 17	830	Churrut Singh	

164 E. SEEALKOT DISTRICT

This district was important in the early days of the Sikh Commonwealth, chiefly for being on the way to Jummo (then a very important place), under Runjeet Deo, whose territories included half of the present district of Seealkot.

The estates specified below belonged to the family in the year 1800 A.D., and were held at that time by Runjeet Singh. Since annexation their Revenues have been received by the British Government.

VILLAGES

TAHSIL SEEALKOT

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs.		
Behrowal	285 4 11	485	Maha Singh	
Kotlee Locharan	237 0 7	490	Maha Singh	Is the seat of trade in <i>Koft-gori</i> work.
Rungpooruh	323 5 10	329	Maha Singh	Was granted out in jageer by Maha Singh, but afterwards resumed.

TAHSIL DUSKA

Goojruh	2,294 7 7	3,735	Maha Singh	
Sambarhyal Khas	150 0 19	59	}	Was received in dowry from Jai Singh Kunhia by Runjeet Singh who married his grand-daughter.
Sambarhyal Mahal Usman	1,661 6 13	2,548		
Sambarhyal Mahal Nundmakan	1,764 1 3	98		
Sambarhyal Mahal Khokhar	1,922 1 10	2,331		
Thuttah Lukhi	350 3 19	474	Maha Singh	
Upal Sansee	436 7 17	324	Churrut Singh	

TAHSIL ZUFFERWAL

Jalilpur	243 5 15	247	Churrut Singh	Here Churrut Singh died, and here is his <i>samadh</i> , or tomb. Maha Singh granted a jagir to keep it up.
Sunkhutra	1,211 7 15	1,234	Churrut Singh	

TAHSIL PUSPUR

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs.		
Adumke	463 3 15	517	Maha Singh	

TAHSIL RAYA

Datiwal	941 3 19	1,260	Churru Singh
Dacewala Mulahan	1,070 0 1	530	Churru Singh
Jussur	979 3 9	1,123	Churru Singh
Meerowal Mahal Chukali	2,250 4 8	1,045	Churru Singh
Narowal	2,032 3 15	2,143	Churru Singh
Rajpura	401 6 14	407	Churru Singh

164 F. GOORDASPUR DISTRICT

The Darap country, which occupies the greater part of the Shukurgurh Tahseel of this district, was held by Churru Singh and the Sookerchukia Missul. Other parts of the district were held by the Ramghureea Missul, and afterwards by the Kunheea Missul and the Bugga family.

At Deenanuggur, Runjeet Singh used to spend the hot weather, and he built and laid out here two gardens and *baradurrees*, or garden-houses, in which he used to reside. These are not claimed by Maharajah Duleep Singh.

In the neighbouring district of Kangra, Maha Singh is said to have possessed 18 villages around Undoora, and close to that place there is a place called Dehra Maha Singh, which belonged to him, where there are now two villages.

The estates specified below belonged to the family in the year 1800 A.D., and were held at that time by Runjeet Singh. Since annexation their Revenues have been received by the British Government.

VILLAGES

TAHSIL GOORDASPOOR

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or Chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs. As.		
Mirpur	148 2 10	158	Maha Singh	

TAHSIL BUTALA

Chattourgurh	1,047 6 2	905	Maha Singh	Formerly part of Futtehgurh
Futtehgurh	2,188 4 19	2,452	Maha Singh	

TAHSIL PUTHANKOT

Ghurota	1,808 3 6	700	Maha Singh	In Darap. It was taken by Runjeet Singh in 1797.
Nurot Jaimul Singh, Nurot Dulpot	504 0 6	1,300	}	
Nurot Jaimul Singh, Karkara	743 1 4	2,100.4		
Nurot Jaimul Singh, Sohoti	1,396 7 10	2,844		
Nurot Jaimul Singh, Jhumber	727 2 10	1,750		
Pinjaura	353 2 4	510	Maha Singh	
Sujanpur	1,321 0 1	1,400	Maha Singh	

TAHSIL SHUKURGURH

Atulgurh	... ..	... ..	... ..	Darap, taken by Runjeet Singh in 1791.
Beekho chuk	... ..	... ..	... ..	Darap, taken by Runjeet Singh in 1795.

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	G. K. M.	Rs.		
Bulaki Chuk	994 5 12	343		Darap, taken by Runjeet Singh in 1791.
Dode	1,075 6 15	1,875		Darap, taken by Maha Singh in 1786.
Kot Nyna	68 7 4	43		Darap, taken by Runjeet Singh in 1788.
Shukurgurh	1,320 4 19	794		Darap, taken by Runjeet Singh in 1795.

164 G. UMRITSUR DISTRICT

Umritsur contains the Holy Tank of the Sikhs, where the Sirdars met annually in friendship to worship and to discuss their national and political affairs. Each independent Sirdar had there his fort or dwelling with a bazaar attached for supplying his followers and retainers with food and other necessities of life.

The ancestors of Runjeet Singh first lived at Wyen Pooen in this district, thence they went to Sookerchuk, and thence to Raja Sansee. Churrit Singh, his grandfather, married the daughter of Goolab Singh of Majeetha, and migrated to Khecalee in the Goojranwaluh District. The family had ancestral possessions in all these villages, as will appear from the following statements, gathered chiefly from official sources :—

Ghazipoor, in Wyen Pooen, Tahseel Turun Tarun, was founded by Ghazee, an ancestor of Maharajah Duleep Singh. Hence the family went to Sookerchuk. It was rebuilt by Kour Nao-Nihal Singh (nephew of Maharajah Duleep Singh) 1836, who made two more wells, and granted right in it to Bul Ram 1841, but at the Kour's death the village was unfinished. *Prohut* Bul Ram had Maharajah Duleep Singh entered as the proprietor of the village in the first Settlement on the ground of its foundation by Nao-Nihal Singh. In 1854 the case was reopened on a claim by the villagers made at the suggestion of the Sudder Moonsarim (an inferior native Settlement official). The Settlement Officer decided in favour of the Maharajah's claim, and expressed his opinion that the case had been trumped up by the Sudder Moonsarim. His decision was, however, reversed on appeal to Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, on the grounds (1) that the proprietor's right in villages newly settled was never returned

by the head of the Sikh Government ; (2) that the village was not recorded as the Maharajah's in any Sikh Government Office ; and (3) that the Maharajah had made no claim. (N.B.—The Maharajah had been at the time (1854) for some years at Futtehgurh, in the North West Provinces, and was on the point of leaving for England.) As a result, the inhabitants of Wyeen Pooeen were registered as owners of Ghazipoor.

Note.—The British Government were themselves the guardians of the infant Maharajah and would have been the proper persons to claim on his behalf.

Nodh Singh, the father of Churrut Singh, was born in Sookerchuk, and Churrut Singh called the Missul formed by him after the village. The village went to ruin and the family removed to Raja Sansee, and the site was used for pasture. It was the *Malkiat* or property of Maharajah Duleep Singh. On his banishment to Hindostan it was resumed and part was granted to a Ressaldar named Punjab Singh for services in the Mutiny, and he has founded a village.

Note.—Hindostan is used in India for the Northern and Eastern parts of the Peninsula, excluding the Punjab.

In the genealogical tree of proprietors of Raja Sansee in the first Settlement the name of Maharajah Duleep Singh is entered, but with the remark that he was imprisoned in Hindostan. His name is omitted in the Records of the Second Settlement. The village is in jageer to the Sindawalias. Maharajah Duleep Singh represents one branch of the family of the founders (the Sindawalias being the other), hence half the village is his by right. The value of the whole jageer is 3,700 rupees per annum.

Churrut Singh and Maha Singh, Runjeet Singh's father, each had a Kutra or ward of the City of Umritsur, protected by a killa or fortified castle. The two towns of umritsur and Turun Tarun are holy cities of the Sikhs, and vast numbers of pilgrims resort to their sacred tanks. Round Umritsur many gardens were laid out and houses built by Runjeet Singh and members of his family, but these are not claimed by Maharajah Duleep Singh.

Maharajah Duleep Singh is entitled to the *Teh Zumeeni*, or ground rent, of certain kutras or wards of the City Umritsur. Some explanation of this ground rent may be useful.

The *Teh Zumeeni* of some of the Kutras is received by private persons. For instance, the Majeethia and Atariwala Sirdars share the ground rent of Kutra Nihal Singh Atarivala, and the former alone takes that of Kutra Buggyan and part of Kutra Shere Singh. Again the Ahloowalias used to receive the rent of the Ahloowalia Kutra (a very important part of the city), but it was forfeited because of their joining in the second Sikh war. The British Government is, however, now in possession of the ground rent of the largest portion of the city.

A great part of this arises from the Kutras, which were the property of Runjeet Singh or members of his family.

The following Kutras were built by Churrut Singh and Maha Singh, and were held by Runjeet Singh in 1800. Since annexation, the ground rent has been received by the British Government :—

KUTRAS IN UMRITSUR

<i>Name of Kutra</i>	<i>Government Valuation</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	Rs.	
Kutra Churrut Singh and Killa	.....	Built by Churrut Singh. The <i>Killa</i> , or fort, does not now exist. It was built for the protection of the Kutra.
Kutra and Killa Maha Singh	78,949	A very large Kutra built by Maha Singh. The <i>Killa</i> was in the compound of the Mission-house, but has been pulled down.

Several other kutras of the city were either built by Runjeet Singh or members of his family or came to them as dowry or by inheritance. The ground rent of these is not claimed by Maharajah Duleep Singh.

In the lands of the village of Chowgaon, a village was founded by Maharanee Jinda, Maharajah Duleep Singh's mother, on ground belonging to her in the name of the Maharajah and called Duleepgurh.

The Maharanee, as guardian of the Maharajah, intended to remove the salt market here from Mianee, but on her banishment to Shekhopooruh, the project was dropped.

There was a house here occupied by the Maharanee's sister ; the materials, furniture and plate were sold by Government and the site given to the Zemindars. The land here is waste and covers 22 acres, valued at 500 rupees. The materials of the buildings have been sold. The site of the village is the property of Maharajah Duleep Singh.

164 H. LAHORE DISTRICT

Runjeet Singh having raised eight of Shah Zuman's guns which had sunk in the River Chenab, and forwarded them to him, the Shah, in 1798, granted to him the City of Lahore. Runjeet Singh accordingly marched against Lahore and took it after but slight resistance, in 1799 A.D. Several confederated chiefs afterwards marched against him, but he gave the battle at Bhaiseen in 1801, and gained a complete victory.

Runjeet Singh's fine tomb here was begun shortly after his death and finished in the time of Maharajah Shere Singh. The amount allowed by Government to keep it up is complained of as being too small.

There are many houses and gardens in and around the city built or laid out by Runjeet Singh during his long reign, and used by him or his children. These are now in the possession of the Government, but have never been claimed by the Maharajah Duleep Singh, as they were not in the possession of his father, Runjeet Singh, before he assumed the Royal dignity, and it might therefore be doubtful whether they are not State property.

HOUSES IN LAHORE

<i>Name of House</i>	<i>Value from official List</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	Rs.	
Haweli (or House) of Khuruk Singh (brother of Maharajah Duleep Singh)	15,898	Near Lohari Gate. Destroyed in 1876 and materials sold. Doors in Lahore Museum
Offices	3,042	Site valued at 1000 Rs.
House of Nao-Nihal Singh (son of Khuruk Singh)	11,313	Three-stoey <i>Pukka</i> . 18,000 Rs. was lately bid for it and refused by Government. It is now used as a Girls' School.
House of Jowahir Singh (uncle of Maharajah Duleep Singh)	536	The new Waterworks Reservoir has been built on the site of this house.

GARDENS ROUND LAHORE CITY

<i>Name of Garden</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Value from official List where given</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	Acres	Rs.	
Two Gardens of Khuruk Singh, near Futtehgurh	40		Near Shalimar Gardens; both walled gardens.
Shah Balawalwala Bagh (Garden) and Baraduree (Garden House)	10½	Baraduree 2,000 Garden 1,200	Made by Runjeet Singh. Here Shere Singh was in 1843 shot dead by Ajeet Singh Sindawalia; the shot-mark is still shown.
Soocheit Singhwala Bagh	8		Made by Runjeet Singh, who is said to have offered it to the Sindawalias.
Badami Bagh, including Woodce and Chotee Ramwala Bagh	43		Made by Runjeet Singh, 33 acres were sold by Government for Rs. 14,500 and the remaining 10 acres for 5,500 Rs.
Munglanwala Bagh	12½		Was sold by Government for 4,900 Rs.
Narolanwala Bagh	77	800	On the Parade; was made by Runjeet Singh; only a few Mango trees left.
Gol Bagh	6		Made by Runjeet Singh. On the Parade, 5 acres were sold for 1,600 rupees by Government.
Shivdwala (or Hindoo temple of Mungla)	½		Near the Musti Gate, entered in the register as the <i>Malkiat</i> (or property) of Maharaja Duleep Singh. It was built by Maharanee Jinda, whose servant Mungla is now repairing the building.
Dooriwalam	1		Near Shalimar. It was made by Runjeet Singh and sold for 2,390 rupees in January, 1884, by the Government.
Ramblawala Bagh less than	2		Near Shalimar, made by Runjeet Singh. There is no building there now, but the site of the garden is let as agricultural land.
Challarwali Baraduree and Garden		Garden, 700 Baraduree 300	The <i>baraduree</i> was built and garden laid out by Runjeet Singh, now ruined.
Jowala Singh Padbania's Bagh		Garden 2,000 Baraduree 100	Was confiscated by Runjeet Singh from the Padhanias and given to Maharajah Duleep Singh, who was very fond of the fruit.

The estates specified below belonged to the family in the year 1800 A. D. and were held at that time by Runjeet Singh. Since annexation their revenues have been received by the British Government.

VILLAGES
TAHSIL LAHORE

<i>Name of village</i>	<i>Area (Khalsa)</i>	<i>Jamma or chief rent (Khalsa)</i>	<i>First Ancestor from whom derived</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Shahdura	G. K. M. 3,390 6 6	Rs. 1,857	Maha Singh	Taken by Maha Singh. The very fine tomb of Jahangir and the brick tomb of his queen, Noor Jehan are close to this village.

TAHSIL SHURKPOOR

Buhmunwalla	1,874	84	Maha Singh	
Khoree	2,033	750	Maha Singh	
Mahundei	314 1 9	120	Maha Singh	There was a garden and <i>Bara duree</i> here.
Moreedkee	1,842 0 14	340	Maha Singh	
Mugul Kuswalla	3,426 6 3	1,005	Maha Singh	In the time of the Sikhs it was, according to the Village Record, in the jageer of Maharajah Duleep Singh; and two wells in this village were given to Surt Singh of Umritsur. All the revenue, except these wells, was in the jageer of Maharajah Duleep Singh and at annexation all the jageer, except the two wells, was confiscated.
Nungal Sadhanwala	3,570 6 13	1,100	Maha Singh	
Nankana Sahib	17,539 0 15-7	550		This is a sacred town of the Sikhs, for here Baba Nanuk was born. Hence no revenue has ever been taken from it.

164 I. RAWUL PINDI DISTRICT

Churrut Singh held the country of Potwar, *i.e.*, the valley of the River Sohan, as far as Rewat below Rawul Pindi, but Rawul Pindi itself was in the hands of Sirdars of the Bhungee Missul.

164 J. SHAHPOOR DISTRICT

Churrut Singh, after 1768, held the Salt Range in this district (including the salt mines of Wurcha, not now worked). Other parts of the district were held by the Bhungee Missul, but most of the western parts remained in the hands of the Mahomedan tribes, the Tiwanas and others.

Maha Singh held Midh and Moosa Choocha Talookas in 1781, and Mianee and its district in 1783. The two large towns of Bhera and Mianee were also in his possession.

Mianee is opposite Pind Dadun Khan, and is a considerable emporium for the salt trade. It was rebuilt by Maha Singh in 1787, after being deserted for some time. There was an old Sikh fort here which was removed by the British Government.

Note.—*A careful enquiry would, no doubt, show in these two Districts many villages besides strata of salt in the hills in the Shahpoor District (not now worked), which were owned by Runjeet Singh before 1800, and are now held by the British Government.*

164 K. FUTTEHGURH

North West Provinces

Maharajah Duleep Singh had here a large house and estate in a picturesque position on the banks of the river Ganges. The whole was bought out of income which the British Government awarded to him after the annexation. The house, although under the guard of the troops of the Company, was looted at the time of the mutiny, and the valuable furniture, including Cashmere carpets and tent-poles, chairs and bedsteads cased with solid gold and silver, which was of the value of two lakhs of rupees (pound 20,000), was entirely destroyed.

After the mutiny Colonel Dara bought the house and park proper from Government at a cheap rate, and would not resell it, when, not long after, Government wished to buy it back. It is said they offered him 10,000 rupees for it.

In 1877 Colonel Dara went to England, and soon after the house and park were sold to Government for 2,700 rupees. The house and *ghaut* (steps leading to the river) fell into ruins, and were used about 1881 for ballasting the new line from Cawnpore through Futteghur to Hathras and Muttra, which was completed less than a year ago.

The dealing with the other parts of the estate, *viz.* Dr. Sloggett's house and grounds, the club house and library (both built since the mutiny), and other land formerly forming part of the park, the buildings

on which have been pulled down, have not been traced, but they were no doubt treated as unclaimed property (the Maharajah not having been allowed to return to the Punjab since the mutiny), and were either sold by Government or put to some Government use.

The area of the whole is about 60 acres, and has been included in cantonments (which, as it involves restrictions as to cropping &c., reduces the value of the land). And the value, taking the very moderate price of 100 rupees an acre, would be 6,000 rupees.

The Government has never accounted to Maharajah Duleep Singh for the money received from Colonel Dara for the purchase of the house, nor has he received any thing in respect of the value of the land, though the papers show that the whole was purchased out of his money, nor any compensation in respect of the contents of the house, which were destroyed at the mutiny.

165 OBSERVATIONS ON PAYMENTS OR ALLOWANCES MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

On 25 April, 1809, a treaty of perpetual friendship was made between the British Government and the State of Lahore, then ruled by Runjeet Singh.

This treaty lasted till the death of Runjeet Singh, in 1839.

In 1843 the Maharajah Duleep Singh succeeded to the throne of the Punjab. He was then five years old. He inherited from Runjeet Singh, in addition to the title and sovereignty of the Punjab, very considerable private estate, consisting both of lands and houses, and of jewels, money and other treasure of a moveable nature.

In the early years of the reign of Duleep Singh, the Sikh army, which the Maharajah's Government was unable effectually to control, invaded British territory, and caused a state of warfare between the State of Lahore and the British Government.

This warfare was terminated by a treaty of peace dated 9th March, 1846, whereby the Punjab State was much reduced in favour of the British Government, both as to extent of territory and military power. The existing Sikh army was to be disbanded, and a British force was to be left to protect the person of the Maharajah during its reorganization.

By the same treaty, the British troops were to be withdrawn from Lahore at the end of the year 1846; but the members of the Government of Lahore subsequently represented that such withdrawal would be disastrous.

The representations so made, and the failure of the Lahore Durbar to reorganize the Sikh army upon a satisfactory basis, and the treachery of the Vizier, led the British Government to resolve to carry on the government at Lahore in the name of the Maharajah, during his minority (a period

of about eight years), placing a British Minister at the head of the Government, assisted by a council of influential native chiefs, with the intention of handing over the country to the Maharajah on his attaining majority in an improved and prosperous condition.

The members of the Durbar and principal Sirdars having been summoned, met Mr. Currie, Secretary to the Governor of India, and Col. Henry Lawrence, agent to the Governor General, at Bhyrowal, on the River Beas, on the 16th December, 1846, when a formal treaty was concluded for the above-mentioned purpose. This treaty provided that a British officer, with full powers of control over every department of the state, should reside at Lahore. That a British force should remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah and the preservation of the peace of the country with liberty to occupy all forts or strong places. That the Lahore state should pay to the British Government 22 lacs per annum. That the treaty should have effect during the minority of the Maharajah, and cease on the 4th September, 1854, when he would have attained sixteen years.

On the 26th December, 1846, at a Durbar held by the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, in person,—at which the Commander-in-chief and staff, with the British officers attached to their Lordships' camps, attended, the Maharajah Duleep Singh, attended by the Commander-in-chief of the Sikh army and the Sirdars and Chiefs of the Puhjab,—the Treaty of the 16th December was ratified and confirmed with the usual ceremonies.

In the Governor-General's despatch to the Home Government, he relates that all the chiefs, 52 in number, on the conclusion of the meeting, expressed their satisfaction that the Maharajah would be under the protection of the British Government during his minority, which would continue till 1854, and that inasmuch as the power of the Resident extended over every department to any extent, and a military force might be placed in such forts and posts, and of such strength, within the Lahore territories as the Governor-General might determine, the British Government would be enabled to secure the peace and goodwill of the country.

Within less than two years a rebellion broke out in the Punjab, which was suppressed by a British army in avowed accordance with the Treaty of Bhyrowal, in the name and on behalf of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. The functions of executive supremacy in the Punjab, and guardianship of the infant Prince's person and property assumed by the British Government under the treaty of Bhyrowal, were never suspended or disturbed by this insurrection, or by any military operation in or near the capital city of Lahore. No semblance or pretence of any other government was ever set up by the rebels.

No declaration of war was made. On the contrary, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General's authority, dated November 18th, 1848,

confirmed by another proclamation, dated February 5th 1849, announcing that the British Army entered the Lahore territories, not as an enemy to the constituted Government, but to restore order and obedience to the Government of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. The war in the Punjaub was brought to a close by the battle of Goojerat in February, 1849, and the consequent occupation of Peshawur in the following month of March.

On the 29th March, 1849, the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie proclaimed that the Kingdom of the Punjaub was at an end, and that all the territories of Maharajah Duleep Singh should thenceforth be a portion of the British Empire in India, but that the Maharajah himself should be treated with consideration and honour.

The reasons for this step are contained in a despatch to the Home Government, dated 7th April, 1849, in which an historical sketch is given of the relation of the British Government towards the State of Lahore since the death of Runjeet Singh. The Governor-General combats the opinion that the existing dynasty in the Punjaub could not justly be subverted, owing to the minority of the Maharajah, and laments the necessity for deposing him; but considered that his duty to the security and prosperity of millions of British subjects not be turned aside by a feeling of misplaced and mistimed compassion for the fate of a child. He proceeds to say, that he did not regard the Punjaub as a position which it would be seriously difficult to maintain or which would be financially unprofitable. The despatch proceeds as follows:—

The revenues are very considerable in the aggregate. A large proportion has hitherto been diverted from the public treasury in jagheers to the chiefs. A considerable amount of revenue will now be recovered from the confiscation of the jagheers of those who have been engaged in hostilities against us.

The incorporation of the province of Mooltan with the rest of the Punjaub will also add considerably to the available revenue.

The additional knowledge of the country which has been acquired of late, has shown us that, in the northern portions especially it is cultivated to a great extent, and productive in a high degree.

The soil, generally fertile, requires only moisture to bring it into rich cultivation; whilst, as appears from reports which I have already received, the character of the rivers which divide the country affords singular facilities for supplying readily the means of developing the resources of the soil.

The expenses of entering on a new country must necessarily be heavy at the commencement; but, as the result of the examination I have made, I have no hesitation in expressing a confident belief that

the Punjaub will, at no distant time, be not only a secure, but a profitable possession.

In liquidation of the accumulated debt due to this Government by the state of Lahore, and for the expenses of the war, I have confiscated the property of the state to the use of East India Company.

From this confiscation, however, I have excluded the *Koh-i-noor*, which, in token of submission has been surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England.

If the policy, which has now been declared, shall be confirmed, I am confident you will sanction my having set apart the *Koh-i-noor* as a historical memorial of conquest and that the Court of Directors will cordially approve the act which has placed the gem of the Mogul in the Crown of Britain.

The Governor-General deputed Mr. Secretary Elliot, on his behalf, to make an announcement to the Durbar, and at the same time requested the Commander-in-Chief to despatch to Lahore an additional brigade to mark the importance of the occasion. He instructed Mr. Elliot to offer certain conditions to the Maharajah, which were afterwards embodied in a treaty.

On the 29th March, 1849, Mr. Elliot held a Durbar in the palace of Lahore, accompanied by Sir H.M. Lawrence and the gentlemen of the Residency, and escorted by a squadron of the body guard. He was met by the Maharajah Duleep Singh and the hall was filled with spectators, both European and Native. After they were seated a note, declaratory of the intention of the Government to assume the sovereignty of the Punjaub, was read out in Persian and Hindostanee. Upon the conclusion of the manifesto, silence having been observed for a short time, Dewan Deena Nath observed that the decision of the British Government was just and should be obeyed, but he trusted that the Maharajah and servants of the state would receive consideration at the hands of the Government. Thereupon Mr. Elliot read the conditions or terms, according to his instructions, and the paper embodying those conditions was then signed by the Maharajah and the members of his Council of Regency, and was afterwards ratified by Lord Dalhousie as Governor General :—

Terms granted to the Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor on the part of the Hon. East India Company, and accepted on the part of the Maharajah by the Council of Regency.

- (i) His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh shall resign for himself, his heirs and successors, all right, title and claim to the Sovereignty of the Punjaub, or to any sovereign power whatever.

- (ii) All the property of the State of whatever description and wheresoever found shall be confiscated to the Honorable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government, and by the expenses of the war.
- (iii) The gem called the *Koh-i-noor*, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharajah Runjeet Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England.
- (iv) His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Hon. East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives and the servants of the state, a pension of not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of the Company's rupees per annum.
- (v) His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor, and he shall continue to receive ~~during~~ his life such portion of the above named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select.

On the completion of the Treaty, the British Government took over, not only the State property and the *Koh-i-noor*, but the whole of the private and personal property of the Maharajah, consisting both of landed estates and moveables.

There is no official report as to the private landed estates of the Maharajah, but the following particulars as to a portion of those estates, gathered by the Maharajah from published historical narratives usually accepted as accurate. The Maharajah has never had access to reliable sources of information on this subject.

The Sooker-Chuckeyea Misul estate which Runjeet Singh inherited from his father, before assuming the sovereignty of the Punjab. It came to Charat Singh on the disruption of the Mogul Empire...

Annual value estimated at £25,000

The Salt Mines, inherited from Charat Singh Do	£40,000
The Bhunghee Misul came to Runjeet Singh by marriage ... Do	£9,000

Besides the above were several mansions, occupied as residences by different members of the family of the Maharajah, and which he also now considers were his private property, and not that of the State of Lahore.

165 A. PAYMENTS OR ALLOWANCES FROM TIME TO TIME MADE TO THE MAHARAJA UNDER THE TERMS OF 1849

From 1849 to 1856 an allowance of £12,000 per annum was made for the maintenance and education of the Maharajah. He resided at Lahore till 1850, afterwards at Futteghur on the Ganges till 1854. His guardian at this time (appointed by the Governor-General of India) was Sir John Login, who resided with him, and directed (successfully) his movements and his conduct generally. In India, the Maharajah maintained something of the State of an Indian Prince, with a retinue of 400 servants and a proportionate establishment.

During this period, the Maharajah became a convert to Christianity.

In 1854, the Maharajah came to England, and resided with Sir John Login at Roehampton, his allowance was maintained at this time at £12,000 per annum.

In 1856, the allowance was increased to £15,000 a year.

On the 19th February, 1857, Mr. James Melville, Secretary to the East India Company, wrote to the Maharajah as follows:—

I am commanded to state that the Court have observed, with great satisfaction, the excellent disposition manifested by your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from all restriction as to residence. The Court will make a reference to the Government of India to ascertain the present and prospective appropriation of the sum set apart, by treaty, for your support and that of your family and dependants, and on the receipt of the answer from that Government, they will again address you on the subject of your pecuniary circumstances.

In December, 1857, the Maharajah being then of the age of 19, assumed the management of his own affairs with the assent of the East India Company.

No change was made in the annual allowance to the Maharajah, until 1858, when it was increased to £25,000.

In 1860, Sir Charles Wood and the Council of India took the pecuniary question into their consideration, and the result of their deliberation was embodied in a memorandum dated 21st March, 1860. By this memorandum the following points were declared to be established:—

1. That the Maharajah was not intended himself to be the recipient of the pension mentioned in the treaty, as he was a minor at the date of the treaty, restricted both as to residence and good behaviour.

2. That the personal claim of the Maharajah was limited to the amount to be allotted to him as a personal stipend by the Government of India.
3. That it appeared that the £25,000 per annum (recently fixed) together with the sums then allotted to the other recipients of allowances under the 4th Article, would exceed 4 lakhs.

Some of those allowances would fall in sooner or later, and the amount of allowances would again be reduced below 4 lakhs.

4. That a question would arise as to the obligations under the terms of 1849 as to the disposal of any such annual sums so falling in.
5. Up to the present time, 1860, there was an accumulation in the hands of the Government (estimated at between £ 150,000 and 200,000) which it was bound to apply for the purposes stated in the terms of 1849; and that the most appropriate disposition would be one for the benefit of the life stipendiaries.
6. That it was the practice in India in dealing with political stipendiaries to leave the provisions for the family to be settled after the stipendiaries decease, and not to place it in the hands of the annuitant.

But that the Maharajah having asked for an assurance, the Committee of Council proposed that a sum should be capitalized sufficient to produce £10,000 a year for his widow and children (if any) but not for any other legatees.

7. If the Maharajah preferred to receive at once such a proportion of the existing accumulation as the Government of India might consider proper to grant, there could be no objection; but in that case he must not look to the Government for any further provision after his decease.
8. The Council of India were of opinion that the proposal to capitalize the proportion of the stipend of £25,000 per annum, i.e., £10,000 per annum, as a trust provision for his family, was the most beneficial arrangement for the Maharajah.

In April, 1860, the Maharajah asked for an account of the accumulations, which after some delay, was furnished to him in August, 1861; and it thereby appeared that they amounted in May, 1861, to 989,760 rupees or £98,976.

In 1862 the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood wrote to the Maharajah a letter which has formed the basis of all subsequent pecuniary arrangements between the latter and the Government.

By this letter, dated 26th July, 1862, the Maharajah was informed that the Government had resolved on the following arrangement for the

future maintenance of himself and his immediate family, which it was confidently hoped would be acceptable to his Highness; but which must be regarded as final :—

1. To maintain the existing annual payment of £25,000 as a pension for the life of the Maharajah.
2. To invest a sum of £105,000 in the purchase of an estate in this country, to be held by trustees for the Maharajah's benefit during his life, and after his death for his widow and children, if any, with power to the Maharajah of disposal by will in case he should not leave any family.
3. To provide at the death of the Maharajah a sum of 4 per cent. India Capital Stock sufficient to yield an income of £7,000 a year, which he should be at liberty to devise by will to his offspring (if any) in such proportion as he might see fit.

It will be observed that the £105,000, forming item No. 2 of the foregoing category, represented in fact the accumulations out of the 4 lakh fund which had accrued to the Maharajah up to that time in the hands of the Government. Those accumulations in the preceding May were £98,960, and it is evident that in July, 1862, they could not have amounted to a less sum than £105,000.

The £105,000 was invested in the purchase of the Hatherop Castle Estate; but this was not a clear purchase, for the estate cost £185,000, the residue of the purchase-money (£80,000) being left on mortgage by the vendor. The estate (subject to this mortgage) was settled on himself for life, with remainder to his possible children and issue, and ultimate remainder to himself in default of issue. At this time the Maharajah was unmarried.

In 1863, the Maharajah desired to purchase the Elveden Hall Estate, and the Secretary of State for India advanced £110,000 for that purpose, stipulating that that sum, with interest at 4 per cent. per annum, should be secured by a mortgage, which was to include not only the Elveden Hall Estate, but the Maharajah's reversion in the Hatherop Estate, and that the mortgage interest should be deducted from the annuity of £25,000 a year during the Maharajah's life, and at his death from the reversionary £7,000 a year promised to his children, should he have issue.

In 1864 the Maharajah married, he has now six children.

In 1867 the Maharajah purchased another estate adjoining Elveden Hall, and the Secretary of State advanced the further sum of £13,050 for that purpose on similar terms, except as to interest, which was to be calculated at the rate of 5 instead of 4 per cent.

In 1868 the Secretary of State made a further advance of £13,585 for

the purchase of additional land at Elveden on similar terms but at 4 per cent. interest.

In December, 1867, the Maharajah sold the Hatherop Estate and laid out the purchase-moneys and £23,000 of his own monies, in addition to the fore-going sums advanced by the Government in the purchase of land adjoining his Elveden Estate, which, thus increased, extended altogether to about 17,000 acres, which he still retains. He also spent a sum of about £35,000 in repairing and partially rebuilding the mansion house on the estate. These lands and mansion have been settled on the Maharajah's family, he himself only retaining a life interest therein.

In 1869 the Secretary of State (Duke of Argyle) promised that a further sum of £3,800 should be added to the previously promised provision of £7,000 for the Maharajah's children after his death.

The letter in which this promise is conveyed speaks of an increased provision of £8,000 to make £15,000 per annum in all, for the family of the Maharajah, but the only substantial increase is the £3,800—the other portion of the promised allowance consisting of interest at 4 per cent. on the £105,000 paid to the Maharajah in 1862. The terms of the Duke's letter are as follows:—

An annual income of £7,000 has already been secured to them in Sir Charles Wood's letter of 26 July, 1862. This, added to the interest calculated at 4 per cent. of the capital sum of £105,000 (granted to you in the same letter for the purchase of an estate), viz. £4,200 per annum, will amount to £11,200 per annum, to which I have now to inform you that the sum of £3,800 will be added, so as to make up the total annual income of your family after your death to £15,000 irrespectively of your Highness's accumulations.

In 1875, Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, agreed to defray from the Indian revenues one-half of the premium necessary to effect an insurance of £100,000 on the life of the Maharajah, on the understanding that the policies for that sum should be assigned to trustees for the benefit of his younger children, and that the remaining half of the premiums should be deducted from the allowance of £25,000 a year. (In the event of no children the £50,000 to belong to the Government.)

In August, 1878, the Government advanced a sum of £10,000 to the Maharajah.

In March, 1879, the Government made him a further advance of £3,000.

In 1880, the Government agreed to advance to the Maharajah further sums, amounting to £47,000, which, with the two last mentioned sums,

would make a total of £60,000, besides the monies secured to the Government by mortgage as above mentioned.

Those mortgage monies amounted to £138,000, and added to £60,000 made a total debt of £198,000.

In 1880, the Government proposed to deal with the above-mentioned condition of affairs by a scheme, that scheme was agreed to by the Maharajah, and he obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to make it in the name, and on the behalf of, his children as well as himself.

The scheme is shortly as follows :—

1. The Maharajah to be considered as a debtor to the Government to the amount of £198,000, with interest on £138,00, part at 4 and other part at 5 per cent, per annum (£60,000 being free of interest).
2. The Maharajah's life allowance of £25,000 to be reduced each year by :—

The above mentioned interest on £138,000	...	£5,654
premiums on Policies	...	1,575
		<hr/> 7,229
Leaving a balance payable to the Maharajah of	...	17,771
		<hr/> £25,000

3. The Elveden Hall Estate and all other landed estates of the Maharajah to be sold at his death. These estates have cost altogether £283,485.
4. The proceeds of sale to go first to pay £198,000 to the Government, and the residue, if any, as to two-thirds to the eldest son of the Maharajah and one-third to his widow and younger children.
5. £100,000 insurance monies to go to the younger children of the Maharajah.
6. The £72,000 India Stock agreed to be provided by the Government to go to the younger children of the Maharajah (subject to making up any deficiency in the proceeds of sale to satisfy the debt of £198,000 above mentioned).

165 B. OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITUATION IN 1849

During Runjeet Singh's lifetime it had been the policy of the Indian Government to be on good terms with the ruler of the Punjaub. That ruler was strong, and able to control his subjects and his army, and, recognizing the advantage of British alliance, was careful not to give annoyance or offence to our Government.

In 1846 it was still our policy to maintain a Sikh Government in the Punjaub, and the Treaties of that year were framed with that object. The young Maharajah was of himself obviously incapable, by reason of his tender age, to control the troublesome spirits amongst the Sikh army ; therefore, the amplest powers were given to the British Resident, not only to control the Regency of the young Sovereign, but to dispose of the native forces as he thought proper, and to occupy, with British troops, any part of the territory of the Punjaub.

The British Government undertook, in short, the full responsibility (as they had the power) of maintaining the young Maharajah on the throne until the age of sixteen, and the revolt which took place was exactly the kind of contingency contemplated in entering into that obligation.

It is bootless for the Maharajah now to discuss whether if timely aid had appeared in 1848, the Sikh rebellion would have been nipped in the bud, and the bloody campaign of the 2nd Sutlej war avoided.

Granted the necessity of the war, caused by the disaffection of a portion of the Sikh troops, he has a right to say that it was no more than a fulfilment of the British undertaking towards him, on assuming the protectorate of his State in December, 1846.

In 1849 there came a change of intention over the British Government, and instead of maintaining a Sikh Government of the Punjaub, Lord Dalhousie declared annexation to be the true policy, which he carried out. But as the British Government was already bound to a contrary course by the Treaties of 1846, in carrying out the new policy, not only had the inherent justice of the case to be considered, but the obligations voluntarily entered into by ourselves towards the young Prince and the measure of compensation to be given him for breaking those obligations for our own advantage without any fault attributable to him. We were not merely setting aside our feelings of "compassion for the fate of a child", to use Lord Dalhousie's words, but breaking our plighted faith to the boy we had engaged to protect.

The argument of Lord Dalhousie that the Prince must be responsible for the acts of his people if he cannot control them is not in point, because our Protectorate assumed in 1846 was based on the very fact that the young Maharajah could not at his tender age be expected to control his army and other turbulent subjects ; but it being for our interest to keep him on the throne, we agreed to take the responsibility of keeping order during his minority, and this was done at the expense, and with all the available resources, of the Lahore State, including a portion of the Sikh army who remained faithful.

In everything we did or undertook to do we first considered our own interests.

If the Sovereign of the Lahore State was to suffer by reason of any failure to control his army and subjects during the Protectorate, it must be remembered that the British Government during that period was in power, and that the Treaty forbade his independent action. Therefore the Maharajah is entitled to say :

1. That he personally was not responsible for any failure in the result of the Treaty of December, 1846, to answer the just expectations of the British Government.
2. That upon the annexation his rights were avowedly infringed from reasons of State policy.
3. That the terms dictated by the British force under these circumstances (which were neither altered nor discussed by his advisers) should be to the full carried out, and every doubtful point of construction, should be given in favour of the Maharajah.

165 C. AS TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TREATY

At first sight the meaning of the Treaty of 1849 would seem to be reasonably clear ; but, as an interpretation has been put on it by the India Office which the Maharajah considers very unfavourable to his interests, we propose here to analyze its contents.

The views of the India Office are recorded in a memorandum dated ... 18, which is given in the Appendix, No. ...

The Treaty contains two parts. The first three articles are for the benefit of the East India Company, and the fourth and fifth articles contain the consideration which the Maharajah was to receive in exchange.

By the first article, the Maharajah resigns for himself and successors his sovereign rights in the Punjaub.

The second article is an act of confiscation of the property of the State of Lahore, in part payment of an existing debt to the British Government, and the expenses of the war.

With reference to this article, it seems clear that, not only its language, but its spirit and intention, confine the confiscation to State property, and exclude the notion of its embracing private property belonging to the Maharajah.

Having been a willing instrument in the hands of the British Government through the whole period of the Protectorate, and co-operated, so far as an infant of his tender years could co-operate with them in all their measures, it is impossible to suppose that

Lord Dalhousie ever intended to confiscate the Maharajah's private property. If, however, such an act of judicial severity had been contemplated, it would have been incumbent on the superior power to express it in plain language.

Confiscation cannot be effected by implication.

It follows that the Treaty has no reference to the private property of the Maharajah, and the only question is one of fact as to the nature and extent or value of the property on this subject.

The India Office have hitherto withheld information, and recently the Secretary of State for India has even denied the existence of any private estate at all.

By the third article the Maharajah surrenders the *Koh-i-noor* to the Queen of England.

Here, it will be observed, that, dealing with the *Koh-i-noor*, which was the private property of the Maharajah, the word "surrender" is used, and not "confiscation", as in the preceding article.

The construction of the fourth and fifth articles have given the India Office most embarrassment.

These are the articles which define the rights reserved to the Maharajah by the Treaty.

Four questions arise, or have been raised, as to the true interpretation of these fourth and fifth articles :

1. As to the duration of the pension.
2. As to the proper recipient of the pension and its disposal or distribution to or amongst the person or persons intended to be benefited.
3. As to the amount of the pension.
4. As to the condition attached to the pension.

1. As to the duration of the pension. By a return printed 18, to the House of Commons, it appears that the pensions to Native Princes are of two kinds, hereditary, and for life.

The Maharajah contends that the present pension was intended to be hereditary.

The India Office has admitted that it could not be successfully contended that the whole pension should cease with the life of the Maharajah.

There is a clause, however, which has been apparently added to the fifth article after it was drawn.

The original draft would have been complete if it had ended at the word "*Bahadoor*". There follows a clause which says that the Maharajah

shall receive the portion of the pension allotted to him personally in certain events. These events are his loyalty, &c. This clause must be read as a proviso. It cannot be an addition to what goes before, for the fourth article had already said he was to receive the whole pension. It evidently means that he is not to receive the portion allotted unless he remains faithful, &c.

Now the India Office make use of this proviso to argue that the pension is to be split up into parts.

They say that a portion is to be allotted to the chief and other portions to the family and retainers. That the portion of the chief is to end with his death, and the other portions with the deaths of the several other persons intended to be benefited.

But this seems a forced and gratuitous construction, and one not necessarily to be inferred from the words on the context.

The pension is spoken of as one undivided pension, and its allotment is rather with the Maharajah than the India Office.

If one and undivided, and if, as is conceded, it cannot have been intended to end with the life of the Maharajah, who might die in infancy before satisfying the other beneficiaries, then it is a strong argument in favour of its hereditary nature.

In the memorandum of the India Office above referred to, it is pronounced (paragraph) that the name of the Maharajah is used only as the head of State.

For these reasons the Maharajah contends that the pension must be held to be hereditary.

The revenues and State property were permanent and hereditary, and in the absence of contrary stipulation the natural reading and interpretation would imply, and the justice of the case would require, that the pension should be of the same duration.

It could hardly have been intended that if the Maharajah should marry and leave a family his means of subsistence should end with his life.

2. The Treaty provides that the recipient of the pension should be the Maharajah. It follows that he should distribute it amongst himself, his family and retainers.

The India Office say this could not have been intended, because he was a minor at the time, and because he might incur forfeiture under the proviso in the fifth article.

But that is a penal clause, and therefore exceptional.

It was not either desired or expected that the Maharajah would prove disloyal. If he were to become so, then of course payments would

cease to him; but there is nothing in the Treaty to prohibit his receiving the full pension so long as he remained loyal.

On the other hand, his family or followers might prove disloyal to himself or the Government, and then it would be right that he should have the power to withdraw their allowances, and this the Maharajah contends is the true meaning of the Treaty.

As to his minority, that is no obstacle to this reading of the Treaty, for the powers exercised by him would be administered by his guardian during that period. And his guardian was a person appointed by the Indian Government.

3. As to the total amount of the pension: This is left somewhat uncertain by the Treaty. There is an open margin of one lakh, or £10,000. The words are, not less than four, and not exceeding five lakhs of rupees.

This points to a provision for an increasing rather than a diminishing family, and would seem to contemplate the probability of the marriage of the Maharajah, and of his having a wife and children.

4. As to the condition at the end of the Treaty, we have already spoken of this. It probably was an afterthought, otherwise it would have formed a proviso to the fourth article. It seems out of place in the fifth, which does not otherwise treat of pecuniary matters.

But however this may be, it is evidently a penal clause, and ought to be construed strictly, and should not be allowed to control the interpretation of the rest of the document; except so far as directly expressed, nor until the event of the disloyalty, against which it was meant to provide, should occur.

166. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, INDIA OFFICE.

CARLTON CLUB, APRIL 21, 1885.

My Lord,

I beg of you kindly to inform the Government of India that it is my intention to join the British army as a volunteer, should unfortunately a war break out between England and Russia, and proceed from Bombay via Kurrachee, and through Beloochistan to Afghanistan, thus entirely avoiding passing through the Punjab.

My father was an ally of the British Crown, and I myself also have had the honour of the being styled as such, and although my Christian guardian has thought it fit to oppress and ill-treat me, yet I am determined to prove my loyalty to my Sovereign by placing my life at her service.

I am determined not to be deterred from this resolve (unless physical force is employed by the India Government), and to convince the British nation that, however, unjustly treated, I am at heart loyal to my gracious Sovereign.

I shall leave my family hostages in your Lordship's hands, and the only favour I ask is that the war premiums on policies of insurance on my life may be paid by the Government when I leave this country so that my wife and children may not be sufferers by my devotion to the British nation.

Should I survive, the money thus advanced shall be refunded with interest to the India Treasury.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's Obedient Servant,
Duleep Singh.

167. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON,
TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 7.

TELEGRAM¹ DATED 29TH APRIL, 1885.

Secret. Dalip Singh writes that in the event of war, resolved to join army as volunteer proceeding from Bombay to Quetta and Afghanistan, and will not be deterred unless Indian Government use physical force. I propose to reply that, if he goes to India, he must regulate his movements according to Viceroy's instructions as was said to him in 1882. Do you agree?

168. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE,
LONDON

NO. 8.

TELEGRAM NO. 1345, DATED 1ST MAY, 85.

Foreign Secret. Your telegram 29th. Dalip Singh. We agree in proposed reply, We think it undesirable he should visit India, and we could not let him join army.

169. FROM EARL OF KIMBERLEY TO MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH

INDIA OFFICE, 5TH MAY, 1885.

Maharajah,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo, informing me of your intention to proceed to India for the purpose of

¹ Foreign Deptt, Secret 1, June 1885 No. 7 to 12.

joining the British army as a volunteer should war break out between England and Russia, and asking that the war premiums on the policies of the insurance on your life may be paid by Government when you leave this country.

In reply I have to state, after giving the matter due consideration in Council, that whilst Her Majesty's Government are very sensible of the loyal feelings by which you are actuated, neither they nor the Government of India think it desirable that your Highness should proceed to India, nor would it be possible to comply with your wishes as to joining the army. In these circumstances the question as to war premiums on the policies of insurance on your life will not arise.

I take this opportunity to remind your Highness that in accordance with the intimation made to you in my predecessor's letter of the 23rd October, 1882, if at any time you proceed to India, it will be necessary for you, whilst there, to regulate your movements, in conformity with the instructions you would receive from the Viceroy.

I have the honour to remain,
Your Highness'
Sincere friend and well-wisher,
Kimberley.

170. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EARL
OF KIMBERLEY, INDIA OFFICE

7TH MAY, 1885.

My Lord,

I beg to acknowledge with regret that part of your letter in which you decline, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, my proffered services with Her Majesty's troops. I will not further pursue this subject, as fortunately the threatened war seems to be averted for the present.

But that part of your Lordship's letter in which you state 'that neither Her Majesty's Government nor the Government of India think it desirable that I should proceed to India, but if at any time I should proceed to that country, it would be necessary for me while there to regulate my movements in conformity with instructions, I might receive from the Viceroy, raises a very serious question.

It is true that the Treaty of Lahore of 1849 (to which I have always submitted) contains a clause apparently restricting my residence to such place as the Governor-General of India might select. But I desire to point out to your Lordship that this restriction was formally removed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company in their letter to me of the 19th February, 1857. And that Secretary Sir George Grey, by letter from the Home Office of the 8th April, 1863, in answer

to one which I had caused to be written enquiring "what steps would be required to enable me to enjoy all the rights and privileges of a British subject without restriction", informed me that I was already entitled to all the privileges referred to.

Having regard to the foregoing, I desire to inform your Lordship and the Council of the India Board, that I am by no means prepared to give up my rights as a British subject, or to submit to any restrictions upon my movements, either here or in India, or any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

My present wish and intention is to sell my estates in Suffolk, for the reasons already stated to Her Majesty's Government, and to take up my residence at Delhi, retiring to the Hills in the hot season.

Having no desire to cause any embarrassment to Her Majesty's Government, or the Government of India, I will nevertheless gladly attend to any hints they may throw out as to my residence or otherwise, always reserving my free liberty of actions as a loyal British subject.

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,
Duleep Singh.

171. FROM COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE K.C.S.I., SECRETARY
POLITICAL & SECRET DEPTT. TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.,
SECRETARY TO GOVT. OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPTT.

NO. 9, NO. 152.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
8TH MAY, 1885.

I forward herewith for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy copy of correspondence which has passed with the Maharaja Dalip Singh.

From Maharaja Dalip	S.	Dt.	21st April	85	(See No. 13)
To	"	"	5th May	"	(See No. 16)
From	"	"	7th May	"	(See No. 17)

172. FROM EARL OF KIMBERLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INDIA TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH¹

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
4TH JUNE, 1885.

With reference to your Highness' letter of the 7th May, which had been under my consideration in Council, I think it right to inform you

1. Foreign Deptt. Secret I July 1885 Nos. 24-25.

that Her Majesty's Government are unable to acquiesce in your Highness's view that the restrictions placed by Terms of Lahore, of 29th March, 1849, upon your residence in India are no longer in force.

Sir James Melvill's letter of 19th January, 1857, has not been understood as applying to that country, as clearly appears from the correspondence which passed between your Highness and Sir Charles Wood on the occasion of your visit to India in 1864, and from the letter addressed to your Highness by Lord Hartington on the 23rd October, 1882.

173. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EARL
OF KIMBERLEY, INDIA OFFICE, S.W.¹

CARLTON CLUB, S.W.
JUNE 8, 1885.

My Lord,

I have read with regret the announcement contained in your Lordship's letter of the 4th June, to the effect that the India Council do not consider themselves bound by the engagements entered into with me by the East India Company's Board in 1857, nor by the authoritative declaration of the Home Office in my favour in 1863.

That Sir Charles Wood and Lord Hartington successively should on former occasions have equally disregarded my rights, does not in my opinion afford any justification to the India Council, as it certainly does not yield any satisfaction to myself.

As English Governor-General took advantage of his position as my guardian to deprive me of my kingdom in 1849.

The poor promise of a pension which he made on that occasion has proved illusory so far as I am concerned, for the India Office has withheld more than half the amount from me. My private patrimony in land and moveable property of great value has been likewise appropriated by the British Government without justification in law or right, and every account or redress has hitherto been denied.

Owing to these causes my continued residence in England has become impossible consistently with the respect I owe to myself, and I desire to return to India.

If I were now at the mercy of the India Office as to my personal liberty I should certainly feel little hope for my future comfort and independence. Fortunately, however, in this matter, I am, if I do not mistake, under the protection of the law.

1. Foreign Secret, July 1885, No. 25.

The Government may with impunity succeed in stripping me of my property ; but freedom is the right of every British subject. If, therefore, the Council of the India Board do not (as your Lordship says) acquiesce in my views, I beg your Lordship to inform the Council that neither do I acquiesce in their decision, and that upon my arrival in India I have no intention of regulating my movements in conformity with the directions of the Viceroy, although His Excellency's wishes will always have the greatest weight with me.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient Servant,
Duleep Singh.

174. FROM SIR C.V. AITCHISON, K.C.S.I.,
TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ. C.S.I.¹

(Demi Official)

SIMLA, 8TH AUGUST, 1885 .

I send, for your information, extract of a letter with enclosure in original from the Revd. Mr. Weitbrecht of Batala—Dalip Singh has been secretly circulating Evans Bell's book pretty widely in the Punjab.

You will find an account of Sardar Sarup Singh's family in pages 192 to 196 of Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs*.

175. FROM THE REVD. MR. WEITBRECHT TO SIR CHARLES
AITCHISON

NO. 18

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, BATALA,
1ST AUGUST, 1885.

My dear Sir Charles.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I happened to see at Fattengarh in our Tehsil the other day. It appears the Sardar in question, Sarup Singh, came to the Headmaster of our Mission School at Fatehgarh and asked him to write an English letter for him to Maharaja Dalip Singh, expressing his interest in His Highness' fortunes and asking for the gift of a photograph. This is the reply. My Headmaster being Christian showed me the letter and I requested him to copy it which he had done. With it came two books which you possibly know, *The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Dalip Singh* by Major Evans Bell, and *The Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Government* printed for private circulation. It struck me that possibly the information might be of some use and I send it on the chance.

176. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO
SARDAR SARUP SINGH

NO. 19

HOLLAND PARK, KENSINGTON,
28TH JUNE, 1885.

I have pleasure in complying with your request and have given orders to send you a copy of the "*Annexation of the Punjab...*" and a likeness of myself.

Although I am not acquainted personally with you yet, I am very familiar with your ancestors' names having read a great deal about the Kanaihya Misl. It affords me also very great pleasure to note that you are the grandson of the Rani Chand Kaur and as such a relative of mine.

You have no doubt read in the newspapers about the estate I claim in the Punjab as my private ancestral property, but I have very little hope of obtaining justice from these Christians whose immorality (I know by long residence amongst them) knows no bounds where payment of a large sum of money is concerned. However, if I cannot have my rights, I intend shortly to return to India and after visiting either Abchal Nagar or Amritsar for the purpose of rejoining the faith of my ancestors to reside at Delhi.

I hope to be able to ask you all my relations and relatives to be present at the solemn ceremony of my taking the *Pouhal*.

[Also see No. 201]

177. FROM H.M. DURAND ESQ., C.S.I., TO LIEUTENANT
J.R. DUNLOP SMITH¹

(Demi Official)

NO. 20.

SIMLA, 21ST AUGUST, 1885.

Will you kindly tell Sir Charles Aitchison that I am much obliged to him for his letter of the 8th instant and its enclosures regarding Dalip Singh?

If His Honour has no objection, I should be glad to have any further information of the same kind, which you can send me at any time.

178. FROM D.M. McCracken TO H.M. DURAND¹

The *Koh-i-noor* newspaper of 25th August, 1885, (published at Lahore) stated that Maharaja Dalip Singh had Rs. 1,000 by the hand of

¹. Foreign Secret. Sept. 1885. No. 17.

Sardar Thakur Singh to be offered at the Golden Temple at Amritsar and that it was spent in the purchase of *Karha Parshad* which was distributed at the temple for two days. Prayers also were offered up on behalf of the Maharaja.

179. FROM J.W.McANDREW TO COL. MENZIES¹

NO. 18.

I happened to hear when passing through Amritsar that Sardar Thakur Singh, the father of the Raja Sansi men, and who went to England sometime ago to visit Dalip Singh, has returned to India and is now going about Hyderabad.

This may be already known but in case not, I write to know, as wherever Thakur Singh is, he is sure to be up to mischief. Sardar Thakur Singh Sindawalia's actions and movements may be vigilantly watched during his visit to Hyderabad.

180. FROM C.P. TUPPER ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.,
(Demi-Official)

K.W. NO. 2—Confidential

6TH OCTOBER, 1885.

The Lieutenant-Governor's attention has been called to the following paragraph in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 15th September, 1885, viz:—

"His Highness the Maharaja Dalip Singh has engaged passage to India for himself; the Maharani, their family, and attendants by the *Paramatta*, leaving Gravesend on October 28th next."

A paragraph in the *Pioneer* of the 2nd October 1885, however, states that the Maharajah has postponed his departure from England till the middle of Dec. next.

Colonel Harcourt, Deputy Commissioner of the Gurdaspur district, has also written to me to say that a pensioner of Dalip Singh's, named Jamiyat Rai, who lives near Shahgharib in the Shakurgarh tahsil of that district, came to him lately and showed him a letter he had just received from the Maharajah. In this Dalip Singh regretted he had so long neglected to pay Jamiyat Rai his pension, but now sent him a cheque for Rs. 4,000 on a bank, and added that Jamiyat Rai would be glad to learn that he had paid certain sums to his father's samadh, as also to his mother's and so was again *pakka* Sikh. He concluded by remarking that he was now a poor man and was going to live quietly at Delhi.

1. Foreign Secret. Sept. 1885.

Beyond the above, the Lieutenant-Governor has no information on the subject of the Maharajah's proposed visit to India, and would be much obliged if the Foreign Office would kindly let him know any particulars that they have in regard to the matter.

Mr. McCracken informed you demi-officially on the 1st September, 1885, that Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, who had returned to India from a visit to the Maharajah in England, had gone to the Sikh shrine at Apchalnagar in Hyderabad to make an offering on behalf of His Highness.

On the 25th June last, one Harkishan Das, *prohit* or family priest of the Maharajah Dalip Singh, who went on a visit to His Highness in England in the year 1883, applied to the Lieutenant-Governor, and said he was desired by the Maharaja to offer *Karah parshad* (sweetmeats) on behalf of His Highness at the Golden Temple at Amritsar, at the tomb of Sardar Ranjit Singh at Lahore, and at the tomb of Sardar Mahan Singh at Gujranwala, and prayed that orders might be issued instructing the district officers not to interfere with the ceremony.

On the understanding that the ceremony was a purely religious one and of simple character, the petitioner was told that the orders of Government were not called for, but the Deputy Commissioners of the three districts concerned would be informed of his intentions.

Accordingly, between the 20th and 22nd August, 1885, *karah parshad* to the value of Rs. 250 was presented at the Golden Temple, Akal Bunga, and other gurdwaras, on behalf of the Maharaja, by Harkishan Das and Sardar Man Singh, Manager of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Twenty-one trays of *karah parshad* were distributed daily among the people present on the occasion. Rs. 250 were, in addition, devoted to offerings at the gurdwaras, and to making gifts to the attendants at the Golden Temple and to the poor.

The following prayer is reported to have been offered up by the priests at the Golden Temple and Akal Bunga :—

“May that Maharajah Dalip Singh, who has sent presents, money and *karah parshad*, enjoy good health and *Sikhidan* (blessings of the Sikh faith).”

Captain Gulab Singh of Attari, Sardar Kahn Singh of Majitha, and a number of other gentlemen were present at these ceremonies.

The vernacular newspapers in the Punjab have begun to discuss the Maharajah's return to India, and congratulate Sardar Thakur Singh on his success in prevailing on His Highness to re-embrace the religion of his forefathers.

The news of the Maharajah's expected return to India has given rise to a number of more or less wild rumours in the Punjab among others :—

That he will be made Ruler of the Punjab and sent against the Russians (From Ludhiana).

That with the aid of Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, he will assist Government to obtain Sikh recruits (From Gurdaspur).

That he will be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army (From Amritsar).

That the Punjab will be restored to him (From Delhi).

That he will settle in Kashmir (From Amritsar).

These reports show that His Highness' projected visit to India is engaging a good deal of attention in this province.

181. FROM C.L. TUPPER ESQ., PUNJAB SECRETARIAT
TO SECRETARY
(Demi Official)

K. W. NO. 1

6TH OCTOBER, 1885.

States that the Lieutenant Governor's attention has been called to a paragraph in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 15th September, 1885, regarding the return to India of Maharaja Duleep Singh, and states that His Honour would be glad to have any available particulars.

Let me have very early a note giving all the information we have to print this. 6th Oct. 1885. H.M.D.

In 1882¹, Maharaja Dhulip Singh addressed Secretary of State on the subject of his desire to resign his rank owing to the inadequacy of the income² £13,000 per annum, at present enjoyed by him. This correspondence was sent out to us for opinion. In reply we informed³ the Secretary of State that there was no objection to the abandonment by His Highness of the title of Maharaja, if His Highness so desired it. But the Government of India deprecated any increase to the allowance already given to the Maharaja.

In August 1882, on receipt of a telegram⁴ from the Secretary of State, intimating that the Maharaja was pressing for a reply to his communication in respect of the resignation of his title, and that he was also hinting his desire to visit, and perhaps permanently reside in the Punjab, His Lordship was informed⁵ by telegraph that it was thought undesirable that the Maharaja should either reside in or visit India; on the 16th November 1882, however, the Secretary of State informed⁶ us

1. Political A, July 1882, Nos. 182-184.

2. His allowance is £25,000 per annum.

3. Political A, July 1882, Nos. 182-184.

4. Political A, August 1882, Nos. 542-544.

5. Political A, I. August 1882, Nos. 452-544.

6. A Political I. February, 1883, Nos. 101-140.

that after consulting his legal advisers on the subject, he had informed His Highness that:

"While he is at liberty to proceed to India, should he so wish, his movements when there will have to be regulated in conformity with the instructions he may receive from the Government of India, and that it is improbable that permission will be accorded him to visit the Punjab".

Nothing further was done in the matter until the receipt of Reuter's telegram¹ dated the 25th July, 1883, reporting that :

When we asked² the Secretary of State to give us the timely notice if the Maharaja carries out his intention. In reply to this telegram we were informed³ that nothing official had been received from the Maharaja on the subject⁴ of his visit to India, but the Secretary of State enquired whether it would not be advisable to inform His Highness that if he goes to India, he will, under Article 5 of the Terms⁵ of Lahore be required to reside at places selected being named before Dhulip Singh leaves England. The Secretary of State was informed⁶ in reply to his enquiries, after consultation with Charles Aitchison, that the year 1883 and 1884 were, for political reasons, considered very inopportune for the

Maharaja's visit, and while strongly deprecating permission being granted in any circumstances, held that his Highness, if he does come, cannot be allowed to visit Punjab or go

Later in this year (1883) a letter was circulated in the Punjab, in connection with Surendra Nath Banerjee's case, in which the words "*Maharaja Dhulip Singh Ki Jai*" were used. Sir Charles Aitchison while considering the paper of no great importance, thought it indicated the use that might be made of the Maharaja's name. 7-10-85. G.S.F.

north of Allahabad nor visit Hyderabad.

In April 1885, the Secretary of State telegraphed⁷ to the Government of India, saying that Dhulip Singh was determined in the event of war with Russia to join the army as a volunteer, but that it was proposed to reply that if he goes to India, he must regulate his movements in accordance with the wishes of the Government of India as was said to

1. Secret 1st December 1883, Nos. 8-17.

2. Secret 1 December 1883, Nos. 8-17.

3. This intention was expressed in a private letter.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Aitchison's Treaties*, Vol. VI., Page 47.

6. Secret 1. December 1883, Nos. 8-17.

7. Secret 1. June, 1885, Nos. 7-12.

him in 1882. In reply the Secretary of State was told¹ that it was thought undesirable that Dhulip Singh should visit India, and that he could not be allowed to join the army. A copy of the correspondence on this subject was sent² to us by Sir O.T. Burne in May 1885, which showed³ the Maharaja's determination not to give up his rights as a British subject, nor to submit to any restriction upon his movements either in England or India, and that he intended to sell his English estates, and to take up his residence in Delhi, retiring to the hills in the hot weather. The Maharaja was informed that Her Majesty's Government could not acquiesce in His Highness' views.

Nothing further on the subject has since been heard from England. But in August last Sir C. Aitchison sent⁴ us demi-officially an extract from a letter from the Revd. Mr. Weitbrecht of Batala which showed that Maharaja Dhulip Singh has been circulating widely in the Punjab, Major Evans Bell's book, *The Annexation of the Punjab* and the *Maharaja Dulip Singh and the Government*. This extract was forwarded to Sir O.T. Burne.

In the September last, Mr. McCracken, Personal Assistant to the Inspector General of Police, Punjab, sent⁵ us a copy of a letter from the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore, stating that Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, who had lately returned from a visit to Maharaja Dhulip Singh in England, was at Hyderabad. The Resident was written to demi-officially about this on the 10th September, and he was asked to keep watch on the Sardar's movements.

H.P. Caston. 7th October 1885.

181 A. OFFICE NOTE

The foregoing note, to which I have made some additions gives an account of the Maharaja's recent attempts or threats to visit India. The Papers regarding Lord Canning's refusal to permit His Highness to return to this country in 1860, and regarding the visit which he was allowed to pay in 1864, have not been put up. But I do not delay the case for them, as it may be wanted today in Council. On return the old proceedings (which are probably in Calcutta) will be got out. From the references in recent proceedings, it appears that what occurred in those years was shortly this. In 1860 the Maharaja's proposal to return to the Punjab was, after discussing with the Secretary of the State, negatived on the

1. Secret I. June, 1885, Nos. 7-12.

2. Secret I. June 1885, Nos. 7-12.

3. Secret I. July 1885, Nos. 23-25.

4. Secret I. August 1885, Nos. 17-21.

5. Secret I. September 1885, Nos. 17-19.

representations of Lord Canning's Government. Lord Canning does not seem to have been opposed to His Highness' residence in India, provided it was not in the Punjab. But at that time His Highness' disposition was supposed to be unexceptionable. In 1864 the Maharaja was given permission to come to India for the special purpose of celebrating his mother's obsequies, but his stay was short—a month. The Government of India prohibited his going to the Punjab, and practically confined his movements to the limits of the Bombay Presidency.

The Office note correctly summarizes the later correspondence. It is, however, necessary to add reference to the discussion which took place in 1882 regarding the effect of the clause (Article V) of the Terms of Lahore, by which His Highness bound himself to "reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select." The Secretary of State held, on the advice of Council, that "such place" in that Article applied to India only (see Secretary of State's telegram of 31st¹ October 1882). Accordingly in his despatch of 16th² November, 1882, the Government of India was informed that "the Maharaja is entitled to return to India either on a visit or permanently, but subject to the restriction imposed by Article V of the Terms of Lahore, which, though waived in 1857, so far as residence out of India is concerned, remains in force as regards that country."

The Maharaja's name appears in the published passenger list of the P. and O. Steamers for November (?).

8th October, 1885. G.S.F.

182. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL

ELVEDEN HALL, THETFORD,
7TH OCTOBER, 1885.

Having now definitely arranged to quit England on the 16th of December next, I write to ask whether before my departure for India I may expect a reply to the letter I had the honour to address Your Lordship's predecessor, the Earl of Kimberley, on the 10th March last, regarding my private estates and salt mines in the Punjab, and demanding that justice be rendered me?

I am leaving England in order to provide my family with such a home in India as shall not be sold at my death.

I request that instructions be forwarded to the proper authorities to pass my luggage through the Custom House at Bombay without examination as on all former occasions.

1. Proceedings No. 129 A., A—Political 1, February 1883, Nos. 101-140.

2. Proceedings No. 129 A, *Ibid.*

I desire also that my stipend be continued to be paid into Messrs. Coutts and Co.'s Bank as heretofore, and that the following life pensions be deducted from it and disbursed by the India Office Treasury (in order to secure for the recipients a more regular payment), the first payment of them commencing on 1st of January, 1886.

To Lady Login	at the rate of	£ 500 per annum
" Mrs. James Oliphant	" " "	£ 500 per annum
" Miss Marry Lang	" " "	£ 30 per annum
" My old Scotch game-keeper, John Peebles.	" " "	£ 40 per annum
" My English Game-keeper	" " "	£ 70 per annum

183 FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SARDAR SANT SINGH

ELVEDEN HALL,
THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
OCT. 7TH, 1885.

My dear Sirdar Sant Singh,

I am very pleased to receive your letter. I thank you very much for offering me your kind services but there is nothing that I require. As the British Government refuse to do me justice, therefore, I shall leave England on the 16th of December next and take up my residence quietly at Delhi for I am poor now.

I am very pleased to find in you a relative of my dear late mother.

As you are aware by this time that I have rejoined the faith of my ancestors, I salute you with *Wah Goroo jee dee Futteh* and remain,

Your affectionate relative,
Duleep Singh.

184. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 12

TELEGRAM NO. 34521,
DATED 12TH OCTOBER, 1885.

Foreign Secret. Duleep Singh's name is in published passenger list of Peninsular and Oriental Steamers. Is anything known of his intentions?

185 FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 13.

TELEGRAM DATED 14TH OCTOBER, 1885.

Secret—Your telegram of 12th. Dhulip Singh has engaged passage for himself and family by Peninsular Steamer *Verona*, leaving 16th



Elveden Hall
Tottenham
Suffolk

My dear Sardar Sant Singh

I am very pleased to receive your letter. I thank you very much for offering ^{me} your kind services but there is nothing that I require. As the British Government refuse to do me justice ~~and~~ therefore I shall leave England on the 16 of December next and take up my residence quietly at Delhi for I am poor now.

I am very pleased to find in you

a relative of my dear late Mother

As you are ^{aware} by this time that I have exposed the faith of my ancestors I salute you with Wah! Jooda Jee dee Futeh and remain

Your Affectionate relative

Duleep Singh

Oct 7 - 1885

December, and has written that he has arranged definitely to (start) for India on that date. I am replying that you will be informed, and that after his arrival it will be necessary for him to conform to your orders to reside wherever you shall desire, and to travel only with your permission. Some doubt whether he will really go. I will keep you informed.

Submitted.

15th October, 1885. H.P. Caston.

SECRETARY

Shall we consider now what arrangements are to be taken for Maharaja's reception or may we await a further communication ?

15th October 1885. G.S.F.

Better do it now. Please give the Punjab full information, so far—before anything else.

16th October 1885. H.M.D.

186. FROM LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL TO HIS HIGHNESS
MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

NO. 20.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
15TH OCTOBER, 1885.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness's letter of the 7th instant.

I regret that I am not in a position to inform Your Highness when a reply may be expected from the Government of India to the reference which has been made to them on the subject of your claims to private estates in the Punjab.

The Viceroy of India will be made acquainted with Your Highness's intention to proceed to that country on the 16th December next.

On that point, I have to refer Your Highness to the concluding paragraph of Lord Kimberley's letter of the 5th May last, and to inform Your Highness that, after your arrival in India, it will be requisite for you to conform to the orders of the Viceroy, to reside wherever His Excellency shall desire, and to travel only with His Excellency's permission. I have further to remind Your Highness that it will be necessary for communications to be opened with the various Insurance Offices in which your life is assured in respect to the additional premiums which they may require on policies assigned to Trustees by the Act of 1882.

Your Highness will bear in mind that, so far as policies to the amount of £50,000 are concerned, the premiums including any increase required, are a charge against your stipend and will be deducted therefrom.

I regret that I am unable to undertake the disbursement from the Treasury of this office of the pensions mentioned in your letter. Your Highness will have no difficulty in arranging that matter with the agents who will receive your stipend.

187. FROM G.S. FORBES, ESQ., TO C.L. TUPPER, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

Confidential

SIMLA,

16TH OCTOBER, 1885.

In reply to your confidential demi-official dated the 6th October, 1885, to Durand, on the subject of the intended visit to India of Maharajah Dhulip Singh, I am to state, for the information of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, that the Secretary of State was asked with reference to the appearance of the Maharajah's name in the published list of passengers to India by the P&O steamers whether anything was known of His Highness's intended visit. His Lordship now replies that "Dhulip Singh has engaged passage for himself and family by Peninsular Steamer *Verona* leaving 16th December, and has written that he has arranged definitely to (start ?) for India on that date. I am replying that you will be informed, and that after his arrival it will be necessary for him to conform to your orders to reside wherever you shall desire, and to travel only with your permission. Some doubt whether he will really go. I will keep you informed."

This is all the information we have on the subject.

[Demi-Official to C.L. Tupper, Esq., dated 16th October 1885]

Resubmitted with papers¹ received from Calcutta relative to Maharaja Dhulip Singh's reception on His Highness's visit to Calcutta in 1864. It will be observed that, with the exception of a salute of 21 guns, and deputation of an officer from the Viceregal Staff to meet the Maharaja and convey him to his residence, no other honours were paid him. It does not appear also from our papers that Government made any arrangements in respect of Dhulip Singh's residence, &c.

H.P. Caston. 26th October, 1885.

SECRETARY

The question for consideration concerns the regulation of the Maharaja's movements on his entering Indian territories.

As soon as the vessel carrying His Highness puts into the Aden

1. Political B, February 1864, Nos. 10-11.

harbour, the Viceroy has, under the treaty of Lahore, the right to declare and assign the Maharaja's place of future residence.

In 1883¹ it was decided in prospect of Dhulip Singh's return to India that on no account should he be permitted to visit the Punjab or to go North of Allahabad, or take up his residence at Hyderabad.

The reasons which determined decision still hold. His adherents and well-wishers have quite recently² been circulating, in the north of India, pamphlets favourable to his pretension. And prayers offered for himself in the temple at Amritsar.

Should therefore the Maharaja make the journey which he has advertised and come out to India, it might be well to stop him at Aden and intern him there. If he is permitted to come, Madras with Ootacamund in the hot weather would be suitable.

A further question is whether any intimation of the resolution of the Government of India should be given to the Maharaja before he leaves England.

Lord Kimberley wrote³ to His Highness on the 4th June, 1885, informing him that the restrictions placed on him by the Terms of Lahore were still in force. But perhaps if he were more precisely told that his fate would be Aden or Madras, he might reconsider his intention.

I presume the Secretary of State has taken steps to have His Highness's movements watched, and that it is not necessary to remind on this point.

29th October, 1885

Camp. 30th October 1885. G.S.F.

188. FROM THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY, POLITICAL
AND SECRET DEPTT. TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVT.
OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPTT.

NO. 18. NO. 312.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
16TH OCTOBER, 1885.

With reference to the Secretary of State's telegram of the 14th instant, I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, copy of correspondence⁴ that has passed with the Maharaja

1. Secret I, December 1883, Nos. 8-17

2. See correspondence referred to at the end of the office note of the 7th October.

3. Proceedings, No. 24, in Secret I, July 1885 Nos. 23-25.

4. From Maharaja Dhulip Singh, dated 7th October, 1885.
To Maharaja Dhulip Singh, dated 15th October, 1885.

Dhulip Singh in regard to His Highness's intention of proceeding to India.

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY, POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT,
NO. 312, DATED THE 16TH OCTOBER, 1885.

With reference to Secretary of State's telegram, dated 14th October, forwards copy of correspondence with Maharaja Dhulip Singh regarding his expressed intention of going to India.

The Bombay Superintendent of P. & O. Company is unable to say positively by what steamer Dhulip Singh has engaged a passage. He however says that from the London papers it would seem that the Maharaja sails in the *Verona* on 12th December and is due in Bombay on 12th January. In the papers enclosed in the recent despatch from Political Secretary, India, dated 16th October 1885, the Maharaja in a letter to Lord Randolph Churchill of 7th October, expresses his intention of leaving England definitely on the 16th December, and Lord Randolph Churchill telegraphed on 14th October that Dhulip Singh had engaged a passage for himself and family by the Steamer *Verona* leaving 16th December, and would start for India on that day. H. SEVESTRE—17th November 1885. (Telegram to Private Secretary to Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab No. 107 C.I. dated the 19th November 1885).

189. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
TO LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

NO. 25.

THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
20TH OCTOBER, 1885.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter of the 15th instant.

With reference to that portion of the letter which relates to my personal liberty, I have already expressed my views in my letters to Lord Kimberley of the 7th May and 8th June last, and I desire to be informed whether force will be employed to compel me to reside wherever the Viceroy of India shall appoint, and prevent my travelling without His Excellency's permission, or whether my freedom and rights as a British subject are under protection of the law, and what would be the consequences of my refusal to comply with the arbitrary dictates of the Viceroy of Her Majesty's Government.

I think I am entitled to complain of the great delay which has taken place in reference to the enquiry as to my private estates, but on that subject and with reference to the other matters touched in Your Lordship's communication, I propose to address you in a separate letter.

190. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON TO VICEROY

NO. 14.

26TH OCTOBER, 1885.

Secret—My telegram of 14th October. Dhulip Singh having inquired whether force will be used to control his movements. I have replied that it will rest with Your Excellency to adopt such measures as you may think necessary in order to secure compliance with any instructions you may give in respect to them.

191. FROM RANDOLPH S. CHURCHILL TO MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH

INDIA OFFICE,
26TH OCTOBER, 1885.

Maharajah,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Highness's letter of the 20th instant, and to state in reply to the inquiry therein made, that it will rest with the Viceroy of India to adopt such measures as he may think necessary in order to secure compliance with any instructions which His Excellency may give in respect to Your Highness's movements when in India.

I have the honour to be,
Your Highness' Most obedient Servant,
Randolph S. Churchill.

192. FROM COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPTT., TO THE SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT
NO. 24.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
30TH OCT., 1885.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, copy of a letter from His Highness the Maharaja Dhulip Singh relative¹ to his intended visit to India.

1. 20th October, 1885 ; 26th October, 1885.

193. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
TO LORD R. CHURCHILL

NO. 29.

ELVEDEN HALL, THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
2ND NOVEMBER, 1885.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter of 26th October last. I cannot tell Your Lordship how pleased I am to learn that the Government have definitely determined the very course which I have all along desired should be followed towards me on my arrival in India in order to help forward my destiny. I welcome therefore the official persecution which awaits me in India, for it has been foretold by the last Sikh Goroo or teacher (who died about 1725*) that I shall suffer in this manner, and that when I shall have been reduced to absolute poverty then my prosperity is to commence.

It also much flatters my vanity that the all powerful British Government should think me worthy of its notice, and desire to make a martyr of me in the eyes of my countrymen and now co-religionists, instead of treating me as I expected with contempt, and leaving me to my own devices until I had committed some act of disloyalty towards the Crown.

I feel very proud indeed of the fact that the buzzing of a wretched little gnat should have disturbed the repose of the mighty British Lion, and in consequence the India Government should think it necessary as it were to set "out to seek a flea".

What effect this ill-treatment, foretold by Goroo Govind Singh, of one so intimately connected by prophecy with Sikh Faith as I am, will have on the mind of my countrymen I am not able to imagine, but doubtless seeing all predictions come literally to pass in my case, they will not unnaturally look forward to the fulfilment of the rest of the prophecy shortly.

Although, my Lord, I have seen enough of the vaunted British morality and justice not to hope that my claims will be seriously entertained by the India Council, yet as I desire to put upon record another little bill of damages against my Christian guardian, therefore I have the honour of forwarding under a separate cover two copies of catalogues of different sales by auction of my private property wrongfully taken from me with my estates and salt mines at the annexation of the Punjab.

I further desire to state that after the deduction of the extra premium on policies of Life insurance in consequence of my returning to reside in India, my stipend will be reduced to some £12,000 per annum, and that my object in leaving England is to provide such a home for my descendants as will not be sold after my death, and by economy and other modes to

* The Guru (Govind Singh) died on October 6-7, 1708.

make the best provision I can for them during my life with the resources at my disposal, and that on reaching Bombay I will proceed to Delhi with that intention, leaving it to His Excellency the Viceroy to employ force if he thinks proper to do so in order to prevent my travelling to that city.

But it does not say much for the supposed stability of the British Raj, when the Government think it necessary to impose restrictions on the movements of such as I who neither possess an army nor money to cause any trouble with.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
Duleep Singh.

194. FROM COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT TO H.M. DURAND,
ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA,
FOREIGN DEPTT.

NO. 28. NO. 336

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
6TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, copy of letter from His Highness Maharaja Dulip Singh relative to his visit to India.

195. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY
NO. 16.

TELEGRAM DATED 9TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

Secret—My telegram of 26th October. Dhulip Singh in impertinent letter states that on arriving at Bombay he will proceed to Delhi with intention apparently of residing there. Leave you to employ force if you think proper in order to prevent his travelling to that city.

196. FROM FOREIGN, INDORE TO POLITICAL, BOMBAY
NO. 16.

TELEGRAM DATED 14TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

Please enquire from P. & O. Office what steamer Maharaja Dhulip Singh is expected to arrive Bombay.

197. FROM POLITICAL, BOMBAY TO FOREIGN, VICEROY'S
CAMP, INDORE

NO. 17.

TELEGRAM DATED 14TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

Your telegram of today. Superintendent, P. & O. states that he is unable to say by what steamer the Maharaja Dhulip Singh has engaged a

passage, but from the lists published in London papers, the Maharajah is entered as being booked by the *Verona* leaving London on 12th December and due at Bombay on 12th January next.

198. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., JAIPUR, TO THE
PRIVATE SECRETARY, LIEUT. GOVT., PUNJAB
NO. 21.

TELEGRAM NO. 107 C. I.,
DATED 19TH NOV., 1885.

Personal. Would you kindly ask Sir Charles Aitchison to be good enough to give me his personal opinion with regard to residence of Dhulip Singh. He has announced that he intends to leave England for India on 12th December, and that on arrival in Bombay he will proceed to Deihi. I propose suggesting to the Viceroy that Dhulip Singh be informed beforehand that, if he comes to India, he will be required to live at Ootacamand or some other place in the Madras Presidency and that he will not be permitted to visit the Punjab. He has asked whether force will be used to prevent him. He might be told that Viceroy hopes he will not compel Government to do anything so distasteful to them. I suppose Sir Charles Aitchison is decidedly of opinion that he cannot be allowed to go to the Punjab.

199. FROM PUNJAB (PRIVATE SECRETARY), TO FOREIGN
NO. 22.

TELEGRAM DATED 19TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

No. 37, Personal. Your telegram No. 107, Sir Charles Aitchison decidedly opposed to Dhulip Singh visiting any place in Punjab. It will cause excitement, be unfair strain on loyalty of many and may be taken advantage of by Kukas and others to create disturbances. His return contrary to orders would be a breach of Article V of Terms of 1849. Sir Charles Aitchison agrees in your suggestions, and thinks every method short of force should be used to prevent his return to Punjab. Sir Charles Aitchison does not advise use of force. It would do more harm than visit. If he must come, he should be treated with honour and respect under regulations to be issued by the Viceroy.

200. FROM VICEROY, AGRA, TO SECRETARY OF
STATE, LONDON

NO. 23.

TELEGRAM DATED 27TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

Secret. Your telegram 9th, Duleep Singh. I think Maharaja should be informed before hand that, if he comes to India, he will be required to

live at Ootacamund or some other place in Madras Presidency which Government of India may select, and that he will not be permitted to visit the Punjab. If he asks again whether force will be used to control his movement, he might I think be told that I hope he will not compel the Government of India to take a step which would be so painful to them.

201. FROM W. COLDSTREAM, ESQ., TO ELSMIE ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

GURDASPUR,
28TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

I had today a call from Sarup Singh, a young man, resident in Fatehgarh, who is somewhat nearly related to the late reigning family of Lahore.

He showed me two letters which he had received during the last four months from Maharaja Dhulip Singh of such a nature that I think I had better give you a resume of their contents.

The first was dated 25th June, and it began by saying he was pleased to send a book (appears to be a book in English about the annexation of the Punjab printed at the Maharaja's expense. I have asked that it be sent to me to look at) and his picture. The context seemed to mean that the book had been asked for by Sarup Singh. The letter went on to say that the writer claimed near kinship with Sarup Singh, that no doubt Sarup Singh had heard of the writer's claim to his ancestral estates in the Punjab: "but", it continued, "I have very little hope of obtaining justice from these Christians whose immorality (I know by long experience among them) knows no bounds when payment of a large sum of money is concerned". The letter went on to say he was coming back to India, and would settle in Delhi after he had "rejoined the faith of his fathers" at Apchalanagar or Amritsar; and concluded with the wish that all his kindred might be "present at the solemn ceremony of his taking the Pahul".

The second letter of August 17th : one was written from Holland House, Kensington, and the other from his country seat Elveden Hall. It said the writer was glad to hear the book had been liked, and that it might be translated as it was the writer's own property (?) that Sarup Singh would have heard of the writer's having sent Rs. 500 for *Karah parshad* to Amritsar by the hand of Parohit Harkishan Das ; and that Rs. 250 had been sent to Lahore and Gujranwala, respectively, for offering at the Samadhs of his ancestors; that he had been coming out in October, but had to delay two months to get money to pay his passage expenses ; that it was not, he believed, generally known in India that he was very poor ;

it concluded with the Sikh salutation, "*Wah Guru ji ki fatteh*" your sincere friend, Dhulip Singh".

Possibly it may be no news that this kind of thing is going on ; but it seems to me worthwhile to write it to you, in case it is not known. I spoke kindly to the young man, but noticed to him the objectionable tone of the writing, and warned him not to mix himself up with any disloyalty. He was quite open, and I have no doubt I could get any information out of him which might be considered necessary.

[Also vide No. 174]

202. FROM LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR INDIA TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH, G.C.S.I

NO. 31

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
30TH NOVEMBER, 1885.

With reference to former correspondence on the subject of your movements in India during Your Highness's contemplated visit to that country, I am requested by the Viceroy to inform Your Highness that, on your arrival there, you will be required to live at Ootacamund or such other place in the Madras Presidency, as the Government of India may select, and that Your Highness will not be permitted to visit the Punjab.

203. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH,
G.C.S.I., TO LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR INDIA

NO. 32

ELVEDEN HALL THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
2ND DECEMBER, 1885.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter of 30th November last, conveying to me perfectly unnecessary information as to my place of residence in India. I have already on several occasions informed the India Council that I intend on reaching Bombay to proceed to Delhi, and His Excellency the Viceroy has only to have put under arrest, and sent to any part of India that he may think proper to do so. For I am quite prepared to suffer any persecution from the most immoral and unjust British Government, which, because it is incapable of doing justice, prefers to bully the weak rather than disgorge what it has acquired in a most unscrupulous manner.

For the verification of the above assertion, I refer Your Lordship to the *Punjab Papers, 1848-49*, in which it will be found stated that the British

nation constituted itself my guardian under the Treaty of Bhyrowal, but finding the obligations contracted under that document inconvenient, and because no pecuniary gain would accrue to itself by carrying out in their integrity not only deprived me most unjustly of my kingdom, but also appropriated to its own use all my private property.

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that I have put off my departure for India for a few weeks longer owing to various causes, and will again address a communication on the subject nearer the time.

204. FROM COL. SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPTT., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.,
C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
FOREIGN DEPTT.

NO. 30. NO. 367.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
4TH DECEMBER, 1885.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy,

To Dhulip Singh, dated 30th
November 1885.
From Dhulip Singh, 2nd
December 1885.

copy of letters as noted in the margin
relative to the Maharaja Dhulip Singh's
contemplated visit to India.

FROM SECRETARY POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT,
NO. 367, DATED THE 4TH DECEMBER, 1885.

Forwards, for information, copy of letters relative to Maharaja Dhulip Singh's contemplated visit to India.

SECRETARY

These letters breathe with the malice and vexation of impotent rage. The last letter intimates the further postponement of the Maharajah's departure. Of this we were informed at the time by the Secretary of State's telegram of the 4th December.

With regard to the Maharaja's pecuniary position, I find it thus described in his petition of 29th March 1882 (K.W. No. 2 A-Political-1, January 1883, Nos. 101-140) :—

"Some two or three years after the arrival of your humble petitioner in this country, his life stipend was increased to £25,000. Subsequently £105,000 was also given to him for the purchase of an estate in England. To this estate he added later, and received as a loan the sums of £110,000

and £30,000, upon which he has had to pay interest at the rate of, on part 4, and the rest 5 per cent...thus reducing his income of £25,000 to £19,332. The sum has to bear a further charge in premium on policies of life insurance and is reduced to £16,332. From this must be deducted also £3,000 per annum interest upon debts contracted in rebuilding and furnishing his house. Thus his available income at the present time is some £13,000 per annum."

By an Act of Parliament passed later in the same year in which his petition was written, the Maharaja was advanced a sum £60,000 without interest.

There is nothing to show that, if any, his private debts are; but it seems probable that his private creditors were paid off out of the advances made to His Highness by Government and that the interest debts due to Government and the Policy Instalments referred to in his petition, are the principal, if not the only, charges upon his income.

In his letter to the Secretary of State of the 7th October last, the Maharaja desired the India Office to pay from his stipend only certain life pensions. But this does not prove much one way or another.

G.S.F.

205. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY

NO. 27.

TELEGRAM DATED 4TH DECEMBER, 1885.

Secret. Your Lordship's telegram, dated 27th November, Dhulip Singh. Communications made as suggested. Maharaja in reply repeats in a defiant tone intention of proceeding to Delhi, but states he has deferred departure for a few weeks. I am informed date now proposed is 20th January.

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY OF STATE,
4TH DECEMBER, 1885.

States that Dhulip Singh means to go to Delhi, but has deferred his departure till, probably 20th January 1886.

Issue demi-official to Colonel Mackinnon and bring up the file in Calcutta.

8th December 1885. H.M.D.

(Demi-official to Colonel Mackinnon, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, dated the 8th December 1885.)
Calcutta, 8th December, 1885.

Is it the case that Dhulip Singh's allowances are mortgaged, and any reduction of them would chiefly hurt his creditors.

H.M.D.

206. AFFAIRS OF THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

(Confidential)

NO. 35.

4TH DECEMBER, 1885.

(Continuation of Memorandum dated 1st July 1885)

Application for a detailed statement of account, showing the pension annually paid since 5th September 1859 to His Highness, his dependants, and others, under Terms of Lahore, 1849.

Foreign letter, No. 97 dated 12th June 1885, Home, 1066 of 1885.

On the 12th June 1885, the Government of India reported as follows :—

"We have the honour to inform Your Lordship that we have received, through the Government of the Punjab, an application from Messrs. Farrer & Co., Solicitors, of 66, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, on behalf of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, in which they request to be furnished with a detailed statement of account, showing the pensions that have been annually paid since the 5th September 1859 to His Highness, his dependants, and others, under the 4th Article of the Arrangement concluded on the 29th March 1849.

"2. A statement of the kind referred to, prepared up to the 4th September, 1859, was supplied to the Maharaja by Sir Charles Wood in 1861, and His Highness now desires to have it completed up to date. Mr. Talbot on behalf of Messrs. Farrer & Co., was supplied in July 1881 by the Punjab Government with a revised statement now asked for they desire to be furnished with particulars of the annual payments since 1859. This would necessitate an examination of the accounts of the India Accountant-General for each year since September 1859, and also of the Home Accounts for the same period. The undertaking would involve great labour and research.

"3. It is understood that His Highness's wish is to ascertain the amount of the pensions which have lapsed, with the object, apparently, of laying a claim to the balance so discovered. On this point we would refer Your Lordship to Viscount Cranbrook's Despatch No. 30, dated the 6th March 1879, in which we were informed that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Maharaja Dhulip Singh was not entitled to any surplus arising from the fund appropriated to himself and his dependants by the Terms of the Arrangement of 1849, and that a communication in the above sense had been addressed to the Maharaja. Having regard

to this decision, we do not think the Government can properly be called upon to obtain for His Highness an account of moneys to which he has no claim. The preparation of such a statement could only have the effect of raising false hopes, and causing His Highness unnecessary disappointment.

"4. If Your Lordship, however, is of opinion that the Maharaja's request should be complied with, and thinks fit to direct that an examination of the Home Accounts should be made, we, for your part, are prepared to have the statement completed, so far as the accounts of the Government of India will help.

"5. In conclusion, we would request that Your Lordship's decision may be communicated direct to Messrs. Farrer & Co."

206 A. 2. The following letter was accordingly addressed to Messrs. Farrer & Co. on the 22nd July :—

"With reference to a request recently made by you to the Government of India on behalf of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh to be furnished with a detailed statement of account, showing pensions that have been annually paid since the 5th September 1859 to His Highness, his dependants, and others, under the 4th Article of the Terms of Lahore of 1849, I am directed by Lord Randolph Churchill to state that neither the Government of India nor Her Majesty's Government see any grounds for complying with the application."

206 B. 3. In the following letter of the October 1885,¹ His Highness announced his intention of embarking for India on the 16th December :—

"Having now definitely arranged to quit England on the 16th of December next, I write to ask whether, before my departure for India, I may expect a reply to the letter I had the honour to address Your Lordship's predecessor, the Earl of Kimberley, on the 10th March last, regarding my private estates and salt mines in the Punjab, and demanding that justice be rendered me.

"I am leaving England in order to provide my family with such a home in India as shall not be sold at my death.

"I request that instructions be forwarded to the proper authorities to pass my luggage through the Custom House at Bombay without examination, as on all former occasions.

"I desire also that my stipend continued to be paid into Messrs. Coutts & Co.'s Bank as heretofore, and that the following life pensions be deducted from it and disbursed by the India Office Treasury (in order to secure for the recipients a more regular payment), the first payment of them commencing on 1st of January 1886 :—

1. Home, 1339 of 1885.

"To Lady Login, at the rate of £5 00 per annum.

"To Mrs. James Oliphant, at the rate of £500 per annum.

"To Miss Marry Lang, at the rate of £30 per annum.

"To my old Scotch gamekeeper, John Peebles, at the rate of £40 per annum.

"To my English gamekeeper, James Mayes, at the rate of £70 per annum."

206 C. 4. On the 12th October, the Viceroy telegraphed that the Maharaja's name was in the published passenger list of Peninsular and Oriental steamer and inquired if anything was known of his intentions.

206 D. 5. The Secretary of State replied on the 14th October:—

"Dhulip Singh has engaged passages for himself and family by Peninsular and Oriental steamer Verona, leaving 16th December, and has written that he has arranged definitely to leave for India on that date. I am replying that you will be informed, and that, after his arrival, it will be necessary for him to conform to your orders, to reside wherever you shall desire, and to travel only with your permission. Some doubt whether he will really go. I will keep you informed."

206 E. 6. And on the 15th October, the Secretary of State addressed the following reply to the Maharaja, informing him that, after his arrival in India, it would be requisite for him to conform to the orders of Viceroy, to reside wherever Lord Dufferin shall desire, and to travel only with His Excellency's permission.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness's letter of 7th instant.

"I regret that I am not in a position to inform Your Highness when a reply may be expected from the Govt. of India to the reference which has been made to them on the subject of your claims to private estates in the Punjab.

"The Viceroy of India will be made acquainted with Your Highness's intention to proceed to that country on the 16th December next.

"On that point I have to refer Your Highness to the concluding paragraph of Lord Kimberley's letter of the 5th May last and to inform Your Highness that, after your arrival in India, it will be requisite for you to conform to the orders of the Viceroy, to reside wherever His Excellency's permission is granted. I have further to remind Your Highness that it will be necessary for communications to be opened with the various insurance offices in which your life is assured in respect to the additional premiums which they may require on the policies assigned to trustees by the Act of 1882.

"Your Highness will bear in mind that so far as policies to the amount of £50,000 are concerned, the premiums, including any increase required, are a charge against your stipend, and will be deducted therefrom.

"I regret that I am unable to undertake the disbursement from the Treasury of this Office of the pensions mentioned in your letter. Your Highness will have no difficulty in arranging the matter with the agents who will receive your stipend."

206 F. 7. The Maharaja acknowledged the receipt¹ of this communication on the 20th October 1885, and inquired whether force would be employed to compel him to reside wherever the Viceroy might direct.

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter of the 15th instant.

"With reference to that portion of the letter which relates to my personal liberty, I have already expressed my views in my letters to Lord Kimberley of the 7th May and 8th June last, and I desire to be informed whether force will be employed to compel me to reside wherever the Viceroy of India shall appoint, and prevent my travelling without His Excellency's permission, or whether my freedom and rights as a British subject are under protection of the law, and what would be the consequence of my refusal to comply with the arbitrary dictates of the Viceroy of Her Majesty's Government.

"I think I am entitled to complain of the great delay which has taken place in reference to the other matters touched on in Your Lordship's communication, I propose to address you in a separate letter.

206 G. 8. Lord Randolph Churchill informed the Maharaja, in reply, on the 20th October, that it :

"Will rest with the Viceroy of India to adopt such measures as he may think necessary in order to secure compliance with any instructions which His Excellency may give in respect of Your Highness's movement when in India."

206 H. 9. The substance of this answer was telegraphed to the Viceroy on the same day.

206 I. 10. The Maharaja sent² the following rejoinder on the 2nd November.

[See No. 193]

206 J. 11. No reply was given to this letter, but, on the 9th November, the Viceroy was informed of its purport in the following terms :—

1. Home, 1474.

2. Home, 1539.

"My telegram of the 20th October. Dhulip Singh, in impertinent letter, states that, on reaching Bombay, he will proceed to Delhi, with the intention apparently of residing there, leaving it to you to employ force, if you think proper, in order to prevent his travelling to that city."

This intention is stated in the copy of the following letter¹, which the Maharaja is said to have addressed to Sardar Sarup Singh at Fatehgarh.

"Enclosed is a copy of a letter², which I happened to see at Fatehgarh in our tahsil the other day. It appears that the Sardar in question, Sarup Singh, came to the headmaster of our Mission School at Fatehgarh and asked him to write an English letter for him to Maharaja Dhulip Singh, expressing his interest in His Highness's fortunes, and asking for the gift of 3 photographs. This is the reply. My headmaster, being a Christian, showed me the letter, and I requested him to copy it, which he has done. With it came two books which you possibly know—"The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh", by Major Evans Bell, and "The Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government", printed for private circulation. It struck me that possibly the information might be of some use, and send it on the chance.

206 K. "53, Holland Park, Kensington, W., 28th June 1885.
"Sardar Jee,

"I have pleasure in complying with your request, and have given orders to send you a copy of the "*Annexation of the Punjab.....*", and a likeness of myself.

"Although I am not acquainted personally with you, yet I am very familiar with your ancestors' names having read a great deal about the Kanaia Missal. It affords me also very great pleasure to note that you are the grandson of the Rani Chand Kower, and as such a relative of mine.

"You have no doubt read in the newspapers about the estate I claim in the Punjab as my private ancestral property, but I have very little hope of obtaining justice from these Christians, whose immorality (I know by long residence amongst them) knows no bounds where payment of a large sum of money is concerned. However if I cannot have my rights, I intend shortly to return to India; and after visiting either Apchalnagar or Umritsar, for the purpose of rejoining the faith of my ancestors, to reside at Delhi.

1. Enclosure to Demi-Official letter from Mr. Durand to Sir Owen Burne dated 21st August 1885.

2. Copy from the Rev. Mr. Weibrecht, C.M.S., Batala 21st August 1885, to Sir C. Aitchison.

"I hope to be able to ask you all, my relations and relatives, to be present at the solemn ceremony of my taking the *Pouhal*.

"Your sincerely,
(Signed) Dhulip Singh".

13. The Maharaja has not been called upon to state whether he acknowledges to have written the above letter to Sarup Singh.

206 L. 14. On the 27th November, the Viceroy telegraphed as follows :—

"I think Maharaja should be informed beforehand that if he comes to India, he will be required to live at Ootacmand, or some other place in the Madras Presidency which the Government of India may select, and that he will not be permitted to visit the Punjab. If he asks again whether force will be used to control his movements he might, I think, be told that I hope he will not compel the Government of India to take a step which would be so painful to them."

206 M. 15. On the 30th November, Lord Randolph Churchill conveyed this decision of the Viceroy to the Maharaja in the following terms :—

"With reference to former correspondence on the subject of your movement in India during your Highness's contemplated visit to that country, I am requested by the Viceroy to inform Your Highness that on your arrival there you will be required to live at Ootacmand or such other place in the Madras Presidency as the Government of India may select, and that Your Highness will not be permitted to visit Punjab."

206 N. 16. Maharaja returned the following reply on the 2nd December :

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter on 30th November last, conveying to me perfectly unnecessary information as to my place of residence in India.

"I have already on several occasions; informed the India Council that I intend on reaching Bombay to proceed to Delhi, and His Excellency the Viceroy has only to have me put under arrest and sent to any part of India that he may think proper to do. For I am quite prepared to suffer any persecution from the most immoral and unjust British Government, which, because it is incapable of doing justice, prefers to bully the weak rather than disgorge what it has acquired in a most unscrupulous manner.

"For the verification of the above assertion, I refer Your Lordship to the *"Punjab Papers, 1849*, in which it will be found stated that the British nation constituted itself my guardian under the Treaty of Bhyrowal,

but finding the obligations contracted under the document inconvenient, and because no pecuniary gain would accrue to itself by carrying them out in their integrity, not only deprived me most unjustly of my kingdom, but also appropriated to its own use all my private property.

"I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that I have put off my departure for India for a few weeks longer, owing to various causes, and will again address a communication on the subject nearer the time."

206 O. 17. It has not been deemed expedient to reply to this letter, but its contents have been communicated to the Viceroy in the following message of this day's date :

"Your telegram, 27th November, Dhulip Singh. Communication made as suggested. Maharaja in reply repeats in defiant tone intention of proceeding to Delhi, but states he has deferred departure for few weeks. Am informed date now proposed is 20th January.

Political and Secret Department

4th December 1885.

F.N.

207. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO COLONEL
MACKINNON

LUCKNOW, 8TH DECEMBER, 1885.

I had to trouble you a day or two with a long cypher telegram about King Thebaw. I am afraid I must trouble you again about almost equally inconvenient person—Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

He has announced his intention of coming out to India and residing at Delhi, and has been informed in reply that he will not be allowed to visit the Punjab, and will be required to live at some place in Madras Presidency. Would His Excellency the Governor kindly take the matter into consideration and would you let me know for the Viceroy's information what place His Excellency considers most suitable ?

Of course, the Viceroy wishes to avoid anything that can look like harshness, and Dhulip Singh will, if possible, be allowed to live free of all restraint upon his large income. But he must settle down somewhere in the Madras Presidency. Would Madras itself do or Ootacmand or Bangalore ? The last named place might be regarded as within the Madras Presidency for present purposes, but it is not very desirable to subject the young Maharajah to Dhulip Singh's influence. He may never come after all, and in any case he will not come before February, but if he comes he will give as much trouble as possible.

I am sorry to say the Viceroy is still unwell, and has had to give up his visit to Benaras.

Our Burma war telegram had to be discontinued, because we found ourselves hopelessly distanced by the press correspondents. The official news was always too late to give us an opportunity of keeping the other Government informed in advance of the public. I should be much obliged if you would explain this to Mr. Grant-Duff.

208. FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W.H. MACKINNON
TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MADRAS,
11TH DECEMBER, 1885.

I am directed by His Excellency to say that the subject of housing Dhulip Singh has been considered in Council here.

Ootacamund would present many inconveniences. Madras would be out of the question; but if ample notice was given, no doubt some fitting place could be found. Kudaikanel, on the top of the Pulnays, is the spot which, up to this time, has most commended itself to the Madras Government. It is one of the nicest hill stations in India, or anywhere else, with a climate far superior to that of the Nilgiris.

Other places have been talked of, but I need not mention them for the present.

209. FROM C.L. TUPPER, ESQ., TO H.M., DURAND ESQ., C.S.I.†

(Demi-Official)

Confidential

LAHORE, 12TH DECEMBER, 1885.

In continuation of my demi-official (confidential) letter of the 6th October last, on the subject of the projected visit to India of Maharajah Dhulip Singh, I am now desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to send you the further information received by this Government regarding the proceeding of Sardar Thakur Singh Sindanwalia, and other adherents of the Maharajah in the Punjab, and also as to the popular feeling about his coming to India.

Sardar Thakur Singh after his return from England spent, as you know, some time in Hyderabad, and the object of his visit was, it is stated on good authority, to enlist the sympathies of all the Sikhs in the Nizam's employment and the Sikh Colony at Nandair in favour of Dhulip Singh.

From Hyderabad Sardar Thakur Singh went to Indore, with the same object in view, and both he and many other agents were said to be engaged in arousing sympathy among the Sikhs employed in Native States.

From Indore he travelled towards Ajmer; and on the journey dilated

to his travelling companions on the wrongs of Dhulip Singh, who, he declared, was coming to India to recover his Kingdom. Thakur Singh also said that a movement of the Sikhs was being organised in the Punjab and all over India to support the Maharajah. The Sardar expressed an intention of going to England himself to inform the Maharajah when all was prepared, and of forcing him to come to India.

A considerable number of Sikhs from Hyderabad accompanied the Sardar all the way to Indore, and when he left that place a large deputation of Sikhs was present at the railway station to see him off, showing the high consideration in which he is held.

Sardar Thakur Singh went on from Indore to Rewari in the Gurgaon District, and proceeded thence to Dadri in the Jind State. This was early in October last.

All through November the Sardar was reported to be still in Dadri; but I now learn on good authority that he has left there for Calcutta, and that he will proceed thence to Bombay in time to receive Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

The Sardar is reported to have the intention of conducting Dhulip Singh to Apchalnagar, if he makes certain beforehand that the priests of the Sikh shrine there will give him the *Pahul*. Thakur Singh's chief desire just now is said to be to bring about the performance of the *Pahul* ceremony for the Maharajah and get him publicly accepted as a Sikh.

Sardar Thakur Singh is of an intriguing disposition and not without a certain sort of capacity. He is, however, not a good man of business and is heavily involved. He is cautious about appearing in this part of the Punjab for fear of his creditors, at least one of whom holds a decree against him.

In 1883, he applied to Government under Section 35 (g) of Act IV of 1872 (the Punjab Laws Act) to be declared unfit to manage his estate. The declaration was made, and his affairs are now administered by the Court of Wards.

I attach a copy of a confidential demi-official letter, dated 28th November, 1885, from Mr. Coldstream, Deputy Commissioner of the Gurdaspur district, addressed to the Commissioner of the Lahore Division, which gives some information about two letters received by Sarup Singh of Fatehgarh in the Gurdaspur district from Maharajah Dhulip Singh.

This Sarup Singh must not be confounded with Sardar Sarup Singh, Malwai, mentioned in Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 192-196, who lives at Lahore.

The book sent by the Maharajah and called *The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh* is by Major Evans Bell and published by Trubner and Co. It is written in the style of their bitter hostility to Government common to all his political and polemical writings.

A copy of the first letter quoted by Mr. Coldstream was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor in July last by the Revd. Mr. Weitbrecht, to whom it had been given by a Native School Master whom Sarup Singh employed to answer it. Sir Charles forwarded it to you on the 8th August last.

Several copies of this work¹ are known to be in the possession of Natives at Lahore.

On the 16th November, 1885, the District Superintendent of Police here reported confidentially that the Maharaja had written to one Hira Singh of Sialkot to engage about 20 sharp servants for him, and to proceed with them to Bombay to meet him by the 1st January next.

He was also said to have written to Mussamat Rami, a woman servant of the latter Maharaja Runjeet Singh, and to Pandit Ram Singh, Joshi (astrologer), to meet him at Delhi.

Quite recently it was reported that the Maharaja's return and restoration to power were freely spoken of by the people attending the great Diwali fair at Amritsar in the beginning of November last, and his expected arrival in the Delhi is said to be exciting much interest there. The Kukas too, are said to look forward to Dhulip Singh's coming with pleasure, as it has been spread abroad by certain of them that this will be followed by the release and return of their exiled Guru, Ram Singh. As Ram Singh is now dead, their hopes in this behalf will be disappointed.

210. FROM COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., TO H.M.
DURAND ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

No. 34.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
18TH DECEMBER, 1885.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, six copies of confidential memorandum with regard to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

1. I.e., Major Bell's book

211. FROM C.L. TUPPER ESQ., C.S.I., TO H.M. DURAND

(Demi-Official)

Confidential

LAHORE, 28TH DECEMBER, 1885.

In continuation of my demi-official confidential letter of the 12th instant, on the subject of the proceedings of Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, & c., I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that it has been ascertained that the Sardar has had Major Even Bell's work entitled "*The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharajah Duleep Singh*", translated into Gurmukhi, and has arranged to have 300 copies printed at the '*Aftab-i-Punjab*' press in Lahore city. It is said that the Sardar intends to circulate this Punjabi translation of Major Bell's book gratis to certain persons in this province.

The translation is being copied for the press by Partap Singh of Amritsar, and as soon as it is completed, the work will be struck off.

Partap Singh accompanied Sardar Thakur Singh to England, and while there, read the *Granth* to the Maharaja. He returned to India about a month before the Sardar. He is said to be profligate and of indifferent character, but has ingratiated himself with Sardar Thakur Singh, who is very fond of him.

Diwan Butah Singh, the proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Punjab* press, has an establishment with 8 printing machines near the Kotwali in Lahore city. Prior to the deportation of the late Guru Ram Singh, he was an active Kuka; but he does not now openly profess the Kuka tenets. He is a wealthy man. He was originally Diwan to Maharani Jinda, and shortly before the rebellion of Mulraj at Multan, was detected in attempting to create a disturbance in favour of the Maharani, and was deported to Allahabad where he was detained as a political prisoner for seven years.

In 1866, he set up a press at Lahore, and twice a month issued a law report called *Anwar-ul-shams*, which is still in existence. In 1872 he started the *Aftab-i-Punjab* newspaper, which is, as a rule, moderate in tone. The abolition of kine-killing has however, been advocated from time to time; and in January 1883 a very distorted account of the murder of a police constable at Bhaini, in the Ludhiana district, at the hands of a Kuka fanatic, named Arbangi Das, was published in this paper, showing a certain amount of sympathy with the Kukas.

Diwan Buta Singh is believed to keep up a correspondence with Sardar Thakur Singh.

The Sardar, with 10 or 12 attendants, was seen at the Rewari railway station on the 6th December, and passed through Delhi later on, on his way, it is believed, to Indore.

Before he left Dadri he wrote to Jamiyat Rai Jhiwar of the Gurdaspur district and several other persons, and invited them to meet the Maharaja at Delhi, where, it is reported, the upper storey of a house in the Chandni Chauk, has been taken for him.

Various rumours about the Maharaja's coming continue to circulate, but I need not recapitulate them here, as they are all noticed in the Weekly Political Abstract issuing from the special Branch of the Central Police Office.

P.S.—Since this letter was drafted Thakur Singh has come to Lahore. He came and paid me a visit yesterday.

Nothing of any importance was said.

DEMI-OFFICIAL FROM C. L. TUPPER ESQ., SECRETARY, PUNJAB
GOVERNMENT, TO SECRETARY, DATED THE 28TH DECEMBER, 1885.

In continuation of demi-official of 12th instant, states that Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, is circulating Major Evans Bell's work entitled *The Annexation of Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh*.

The other two files relating to Maharaja Dhulip Singh were sent on yesterday.

The places mentioned in Colonel Mackinnon's letter are (1) Madras ; (2) Ootacamund and (3) Kudai Kanal.

1. Madras. Mr. Grant Duff's Government are of opinion that it "would be out of the question; but if ample notice were given, no doubt some fitting place could be found." I understand the last clause to refer to Madras town.

I agree that to Madras itself there are several objections. The Maharaja is a Punjabi and has been for years in England. A cool and temperate climate, at any rate for seven or eight months in the year would therefore be essential. Thus Madras, if selected as his headquarters, would require to be supplemented by some hill station. There would be many inconveniences in having two residences. The two places would necessitate arrangements of quite different kinds. These disadvantages would attach to any station on the plains.

Further Madras affords easy facilities for getting away, either by land or sea. On board a foreign vessel, he would be out of the jurisdiction, on the high seas in half an hour; and by rail he would be in French territory in a very short time. Besides in a large city, it would be difficult to watch His Highness's movements, or the persons with whom he communicates.

2. Kudia Kanai is a sanitorium on the Pulani Hills in the Madura district, some 40 miles south of Trichinopoly, and some 40 miles from the nearest railway station on the South Indian Railway. The plateau is over 7000 feet above sea-level, and has a most excellent climate, perhaps the best in India. There are a few permanent European residents, and a considerable number go up for the summer. During the winter months, it is virtually deserted.

The disadvantages of the place as a residence for the Maharaja is its seclusion. It would make His Highness more morbid and irritable than he is; if he did not die of ennui.

3. Ootacamund. On the whole I should prefer Ootacamund. The climate is suitable. There is enough going on even in winter months, which are mild and bracing, to make it no hardship to require His Highness to remain continuously throughout the year. In the summer the Government is there, and the Maharaja would be able to enjoy the pleasures of society. Supervision would be effected; and there is accommodation available.

5th January 1886.

G.S.F.

HIS EXCELLENCY

The papers below relate to the case of Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

According to our latest information the Maharaja proposes to leave England on the 20th January. He has announced his intention of going up to Delhi on arrival, and though informed that this will not be permitted, and that he will be required to live in the Madras Presidency, he adheres to his intention, or professes to do so.

It is possible that having been firmly met he may give up his proposed visit, and the whole thing may have been merely an attempt to extort money, but on the other hand the Maharaja may come out, and it is necessary to be prepared in good time. It has to be decided:

- (1) Where the Maharaja is to live for the future if he comes, and
- (2) What measures are to be taken for inducing him to settle down at the place selected.

As to (1) put on a letter from Colonel MacKinnon, expressing Mr.

Grant Duff's opinion that Kudai Kanai would be a good place. Mr. Forbes has noted upon this proposal, and thinks Ootacmand more suitable. The Madras Government would naturally prefer not to have Dhulip Singh at headquarters, and Ootacmand is a place where he would see a good many people, and have special opportunities for giving trouble. On the whole I shall be inclined to prefer Kudai Kanai. It is undesirable to have Dhulip Singh in India at all, and though Your Excellency would not wish to treat him harshly, I think that if he forces the hand of the Government of India by coming out here, avowedly to be a thorn in our side, we had better make him feel that his life will not be altogether an agreeable one. In any case, whether he is sent to Ootacmand or elsewhere, there will be some unpleasantness and scandal, and we need not I think, while we are about it, shrink from putting him as far as possible out of harm's way. This may have the effect of making him more reasonable, and if he elects to go have again, I would let him do so on condition that he promises to remain there. A good deal depends on the attitude he takes upon arrival, but so far as I can judge at present I would choose Kudai Kanai.

As to (2) I would try in the first place to make Dhulip Singh to see the uselessness of resistance. A selected officer might see him in Bombay, and use every possible effort to persuade him to go quickly southwards. If he cannot be persuaded, and insists upon starting for Delhi, then I can see nothing for it, but to stop him by stronger measures. I would have ready in Bombay a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 and would insist upon his submitting. The whole affair would be very disagreeable, and it may raise an embarrassing discussion in India and in England about the provision of this Regulation, which are not in accordance with European ideas. But we cannot let the Maharaja override us, and if he forces a conflict, I would take any measures which may be necessary to show him once for all that the Government of India means to be obeyed. It is however possible that the Legislative Department show us some way out of it without using the Regulation¹.

The question of Maharaja's treatment when he is safely conveyed. If he compels us to use force, I imagine we are free from the engagement of 1849, and² can give him such an allowance as may seem desirable. I would make this liberal but not, excessive, and would keep him under

1. I should mention here that Sir Charles Aitchison does not advise the use of force. He thinks it would do more harm than letting Dhulip Singh get his own way. H.M.D.

2. Aitchison, Vol. VI, p. 47, Art. 5,

surveillance. He cannot be allowed to intrigue freely in the Punjab. If he is comparatively reasonable he could be more leniently treated but his arrival in Bombay will, I am afraid, be a sure proof that he means to give as much trouble as he can. Two other questions have arisen in the course of the correspondence. The Maharaja has in the first place claimed some estates in the Punjab, and the matter has been referred to the Punjab Government, and considered in the Foreign and Legislative Departments. I would defer this question until we know whether the Maharaja is coming to India. Secondly, it has been suggested that we might warn the Maharaja if he comes to India and declines to live where he is told, his present allowance will be subject to forfeiture.

I would let this matter alone. Such a warning would not stop him and might be used against us.

The engagement of 1849 contains a provision which does not seem to me to have been fully considered. His personal allowance is promised to him on condition that "he shall remain obedient to the British Government." I do not see why this should be taken to refer only to his residing at such a place as the Governor-General may select. It seems to me to be a general provision for the Maharaja's good conduct. However it is not much use discussing this now.

7th January, 1886. H.M.D.

Circulate and bring in Council.

6th January 1886.

Circulated

9th January 1886.

I have read all these papers and shall be prepared to discuss the question in Council. If the Maharaja comes to India, and if we have ultimately to use force, then the plan recommended by Mr. Durand of sending him under a warrant to reside at Kudai Kanal is as good as any, but I should prefer to go a good deal out of our way to prevent his coming to India, and if he comes, to avoid using force, which would have a very bad effect.

10th January 1886. S.C.B.

I would deal liberally with the Maharaja whilst he consents to remain in England, but I do not think we should allow our hands to be forced. Should he persist in leaving England I would advise the Secretary of State to tell him plainly, before he embarks, that his conduct will be treated as disobedience to British Government, and that, on landing in India, he will be placed under restraint unless he conforms to the Viceroy's orders.

11th January 1886. C.P.I.

I am strongly disposed to deal liberally with the Maharaja. Without saying that his difficulties are not at all his own faults or that he had been badly treated, his case seems to me one deserving very great consideration in itself, and one in which it is not all our interest to push matters to extremities. I would rather pay his debts and give him a fresh start on a reasonable income in England than run the risk of the scandal and political difficulties of his returning to India.

13th January 1886. T.C.H.

The moment we show any willingness to treat, we place ourselves in the Maharaja's hands, who will be perfectly aware that it is nothing but the fear of his coming to India that lead us to negotiate with him. I agree with Sir Bayley and Mr. Ilbert and Mr. Hope that he should not be dealt with in an illiberal spirit, but I do not see how any liberality on our side will help us with a man who feels that we only move at all not because we wish to be liberal, but because we are afraid of the alternative. Unless he abandons formally all design of coming to India, I would not so much as look at his case; and I would give him to understand that anything now done for him will be done only on the execution of an engagement on his part to remain in England, and will cease, *ipso facto*, should he break that engagement. I should like to know with reference to 'A' and Mr. Durand's note what our power of restraining Dhulip Singh's action really amounts to. It is a very dangerous game for us to play 'Chantage' lives on fear, and we shall form no exception to the rule.

In any case I should like to learn what his liabilities are and his assets and what the amount at present annually assigned to him.

I do not believe his return to India would be least dangerous, and what we have, it seems to me, to do is rather to put ourselves right with the public at home than with the Indian public. A proposal to examine his affairs with a view to settlement (as of grace not as of right), on the condition of his assenting to remain in England would probably put us in a right position at home. But I would give nothing for nothing.

A.C.

HIS EXCELLENCY

I understand that the following telegram to the Secretary of State represents the views of the Council :—

"Have you any further information about Dhulip Singh? Is it certain that he really intends coming to India? If so, we think he should be informed that persistence on his part in attempt to disregard our expressed wishes will under Act 5 of the terms granted to him in 1849 absolve us from any existing obligations regarding his pension. At same time we think Dhulip Singh's arrival in India so undesirable that provided he abandons his intention, and enters into formal undertaking not

to leave England in future, we should be prepared to examine state of his affairs with view (H.E.'s modification instead of to final and liberal settlement) of ameliorating his position."

15th January 1886.

H.M.D.

With the above slight modification His Excellency approves.

15th January 1885.

H.M.D.

(Telegram was sent from Viceroy Calcutta to Secretary of State, No. 1771, dated the 16th January 1886).

212. PENSIONARY CLAIMS OF MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH UNDER THE TERMS OF LAHORE OF 1849

K.W.N. 3.

These claims are regulated by the 4th and 5th articles of the "Terms granted to and accepted by the Maharaja Dhalip Singh" on the 29th March 1849, which run thus, page 47, Aitchison, VI :

"4th—His Highness Dhalip Singh shall receive from the Hon'ble East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State, a pension not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

5th—His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharaja Dhalip Singh Bahadur, and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above-mentioned pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select."

2. The Maharaja has on various occasions represented that he is entitled to any difference that may exist between 4 lakhs and the total sum expended under the fourth article of the Terms. This difference increases as the allowances to servants, officials, &c., fall in; and the Maharaja accordingly claims all such lapses.

The point has been repeatedly considered, and, so far as his claim to lapses is concerned, uniformly decided against the Maharaja.

3. The question was first raised¹ by the Punjab Board of Administration in 1852 when they were informed by Lord Dalhousie's Government that :

His Lordship in Council never intended that the 4 lakhs alluded to should be appropriated for the Maharaja and the Royal family and their personal followers alone. His intention was that provision should be

1. F.C. 19th November 1852, Nos. 149-51.

made from this source for all the servants of the State—in short that the sum of 4 lakhs should form a provision for all who had any claim to pension.

The Maharaja's revenue was definitely fixed at Rs. 1,20,000.... All lapses of pensions will revert to Government."

Again before leaving India Lord Dalhousie left on record a Minute (dated 15th February 1856) explaining among other things relative to the Maharaja's position when he should attain manhood, the precise nature of His Highness's pensionary claims under the Terms. It in effect (paragraph 5) repeated the former ruling.

5. The first occasion on which the claim was raised on behalf of the Maharaja himself was in the course of the correspondence which took place in connection with the settlement of His Highness's income on his reaching majority. A copy of this correspondence forms proceedings No. 138 in A-Political-I, February 1883, Nos. 101-140. The Maharaja's letter¹ of 3rd June 1859 to Lord Stanley intimates that, "If the allowances granted by treaty to me and my family and dependants is a mere life annuity ...I may reasonably require that full statement be furnished to me of the amount from 40 to 50 lakhs of rupees (which having been granted from the date of the treaty of 1849) should have been credited to this amount".

The claim is more definitely repeated in the Maharaja's letter of 1st November 1859 (No. 24 of correspondence and subsequent letters).

6. Sir Charles Wood's letter of 23rd March 1860 clearly explained to the Maharaja His Highness's position under the terms. The rights arising out of that document are further discussed and stated at length in a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary of State and his Council and forwarded to His Highness. This memorandum is No. 29 of the correspondence and should be read. It will be seen that, while the claims to lapses was firmly negated, the Secretary of State was prepared to make a permanent provision for His Highness and his family from the difference between the sums allotted to the Maharaja, his relatives and the servants of the state, and the amount of 4 lakhs assigned by the Treaty.

The total 4 lakhs had never been fully assigned. The British Government admitted that, while the Maharaja had no personal claim to any part of the 4 lakhs unallotted, they were bound to apply any such unallotted portion for the purposes stated in the Terms. This difference and its accumulations the Secretary of State accordingly proposed to apply in capitalizing a sum producing £10,000 a year as a trust fund for the benefit of His Highness's family.

1. F.C. 28th February, 1856, No. 27.

2. No. 13 of the correspondence, page 16

7. A good deal of correspondence ensued as to the amount of accumulation. But ultimately it was agreed that, instead of forming a capitalized trust fund, the sum of £105,000, as representing the accumulation, should be spent in the purchase of an estate in England, over which he should have full power of devise, subject to his widow's settlement. The Maharaja was also to be enabled to devise to his offspring such amount of 4 per cent India capital stock as would yield £7,000 per annum. This arrangement was proposed in Sir Charles Wood's letter of the 26th July 1862¹, and was ultimately² accepted by the Maharaja on the 7th January 1863, "in full satisfaction of all personal claims upon the British Government."

8. This arrangement finally disposed of the obligations of the British Government in respect of the difference between the sum assigned by the Treaty and the sum allotted under it; and was intended to be a final adjustment of all the Maharaja's personal claims. But the Maharaja, though for a time pacified, was not long in re-asserting his alleged rights to the lapses. The claim was indirectly revived in a memorandum sent to the Duke of Argyll in May 1868. No notice was taken of it; but the Maharaja succeeded in squeezing another Rs. 3,800 per annum out of Government, thereby raising the total provision for his family after his death to £15,000 a year.

9. In January 1878, the claim was more boldly repeated, when it was again refuted by Lord Salisbury (2nd April 1878), who referred His Highness to Sir Charles Wood's letter of 23rd March, and intimated that "Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to regard this question as open to further discussion, or to admit any claim on the part of Your Highness to a personal interest in the appropriation of any portion of the sum named in the Terms of Lahore other than the stipend of £25,000 a year, which has been paid to you since you attained your majority".

10. Subsequently, the Government, at various times, advanced the Maharaja large sums, and gave him valuable pecuniary privileges, in consideration of the embarrassed state of his affairs. A full account of these transactions down to 1882 is given in Mr. Moore's memorandum of 22nd June 1882 (No. 126 in A-Political-I, February 1883, Nos. 101-140). The arrangement made were embodied in an Act of Parliament passed in August 1882.

11. In 1884 an account of the amount of the lapses was made up

1. No. 34 of correspondence, *ibid.* Page 29.

2. No. 37 *ibid.* Page 31.

3. Nos. 49 and 50, *ibid.* Pages 36-37.

4. No. 64, *ibid.* Page 44

5. No. 68, *ibid.* Page 45

when it was ascertained to Rs. 1,74,000 (A-Political-I., July 1884, Nos. 129-134).

12. In June 1885, the Government of India advised that no statement of the account should be given to the Maharaja (Despatch No. 97, dated 12th June 1885, internal A., June 1885, Nos. 171-174). And the Secretary of State, concurring, so informed His Highness's solicitors (22nd July 1885)¹.

13. Here the correspondence for the present ends.

13th January 1886. G.S.F.

213. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

NO. 95

ELVEDEN HALL,
THETFORD, SUFFOLK,
16TH JANUARY, 1886.

The conviction in my mind that the circumstances under which I differ from the Indian Council have never been fully and fairly represented to Your Lordship induces me to lay the following narrative of facts before you, as a last effort to obtain some measure of justice, before I am driven from this country, where I once fondly hoped to have found a permanent home.

In order clearly to understand my position towards the British Government, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the present century. It was in the year 1800 that my father, Ranjit Singh, made himself master of Lahore, acquired sovereignty over the Punjab, and accepted by the Sikh nation as Maharaja, or king. Previously to that, Ranjit, the son of Maha Singh, and grandson of Churru, had been only one of the great chiefs, or Sardars of the Punjab, the head of the Sookerchukkee Missul. There belonged to him in this private status several large estates, of which the most important are in the neighbourhood of Goojranwala, Ramnagar, and Pind Dadun Khan, the property of his grandfather, and near Shadeewal and Wazirabad, acquired by his father; he also inherited and acquired very valuable personal property in jewels, and other moveables. In consequence of services he had rendered to the King of Kabul, Shah Zaman, that potentate, who was then the titular sovereign of the Punjab, gave Runjit Singh a grant of the city of Lahore and of the Government of the whole Punjab, which, though then recognizing the Afghan

1. Internal A., September, 1885.

2. Nos. 46-47.

ruler as its suzerain, became independent, a few years later its independence being recognized by the British Government in a treaty which it made in 1809 with Ranjit, where the latter is cordially accepted as the faithful friend and ally of the British nation.

The services which my father, Ranjit Singh, rendered to the British Government, as well as to his own country, were considerable. He mediated between England and the Maharatta Chief Holker; he put an end to the civil strife between the rival chiefs, but ruling with a strong hand, and with the assistance of the powerful army he had created, he secured peace as well as prosperity, and gave the English no cause for uneasiness or alarm.

After a reign of forty years Ranjit died, leaving to his successors his new kingdom in a prosperous state, besides a considerable private estate in lands and personal property.

On Ranjit's death Khurruk Singh succeeded to the throne of the Punjab, and reigned for a year. Sher Singh succeeded Khurruk, and died in 1843.

When, at the age of five, in the year 1843, I was called to the throne of the Punjab, the country was in a more or less disturbed state from want of sufficient authority in Ranjit's successors. The British Government did not view these disturbances with equanimity. The Sikhs, as they watched the massing of British troops on their frontier, not less naturally concluded that they were menaced by invasion. On the principle, therefore, of carrying the war into the enemy's country, and meeting the coming foe, they attacked the English. They were conquered in the series of battles which began with Feroz Shah and ended with Sobraon.

At the commencement of the year 1846, the struggle was over. The whole Punjab was practically at the feet of the British, but Lord Hardinge, from motives of policy and want of sufficient resources, did not then think fit to annex or appropriate the kingdom to British rule. This fact appears from his despatches and from the concurrent testimony both of Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Lawrence (Vide *Life of Sir H. Lawrence* pp. 385 and 421; also *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II., p. 277). The effect of the two treaties of peace concluded in my name, with the British Government at Lahore and Bhyrowal in 1846, was to place the Punjab under the dictatorship of a British Resident, to secure a payment of twenty-two lacs of rupees by the Lahore State to the English as a contribution to the expenses of the military occupation, which was extended from December 1846 to September 1854, and to constitute the British Government my guardian until my coming of age, which would happen, according to native custom, at sixteen year of age—that is to say in 1854. The British Government undertook to maintain sufficient British force at Lahore for my

protection and the preservation of the peace of country.

Long before the year 1854 arrived, the relations of the Punjab and myself as its Sovereign to the English Government underwent a complete change. An emeute at Multan in 1848 preceded a declared rebellion against my ministers and the British authority, which might, however, have been prevented had the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, and the Commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, displayed greater promptitude. The British force was not at Lahore but at a distance, and Lord Dalhousie and Gough would not set it in motion for several months, not in fact until the insurrection had spread to an alarming extent. The sequel was a struggle often called in popular language the second Sikh war. It is to be noticed, however, that this term is inappropriate, as it was not a war levied by the British Government against my Government or people. On the contrary, the British operations were undertaken in my name and with the assistance of those of my troops (no inconsiderable number) who remained faithful to me. The British force and the loyal Sikhs overcame the rebels at Chillianwallah and Gujerat, and peace was restored.

Lord Dalhousie then issued a proclamation to the effect that, for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of continual outrage and the renewal of perpetual wars, it was necessary for the British Government to annex the Punjab and to depose me from its sovereignty. Upon this proclamation I will only remark that the contest, just ended, had been primarily due to the dilatoriness and inaction of the British Government, and that I myself was the person who had the best reason to complain in the matter, on account of the neglect of my English guardians and protectors to fulfil the duties they had taken upon themselves by the treaties of 1846.

While Lord Dalhousie professed to lament the necessity by which he was compelled to depose from his throne a successor of Ranjit Singh, it is clear that he was keenly alive to the material advantages which would accrue to England as the mistress of the Punjab. Although, as he said, the expenses of entering on a new country must necessarily be heavy at the commencement, "I have," he proceeded to observe, "no hesitation in expressing a confident belief that the Punjab will, at no distant time, be not only a source but a profitable possession". (Vide *Papers relating to the Punjab*, 1847-9.P. 663.)

The treaty of annexation confiscated all the "property of the State" to the East India Company by way of indemnity for the expenses of the war and in payment of the arrears due from the State of Lahore to British Government in pursuance of the Treaty of 1846. The *Koh-i-noor* diamond was surrendered by me to the Queen of England. I was to be paid for myself, relatives, and servants, a pension of not less than four and not more than five lacs of Rupees a year—in other words, from £40,000 to

£50,000 per annum. Finally, it was specified as a condition of this payment that I should remain obedient to the British Government, and should fix my residence where the Governor-General of India should select.

This document makes no mention of a confiscation of any other property save that of the state. The inevitable result, therefore, is that all property, not coming within this category, is excluded from it, in other words, that it was not even contemplated by those who dictated the terms of my deposition, that my private manors or estates, or jewels and personal property, were to be touched. It may further be remarked that this result of the treaty is confirmed by the explicit provision made with reference to the destination of the *Koh-i-noor*. If it was designed to confiscate any of my other private possessions, the names of these would also surely have been set forth. Even supposing that the confiscation of any portion of my private property could be vindicated by this document, I ask Your Lordship to consider the exceptional position of responsibility which the British Government had assumed to myself. They had made me their ward, and their ward I was to remain for five years after the treaty of 1849. They had already failed to secure for the Punjab the peace and order which they guaranteed to maintain by the treaties of 1846. The second Sikh war, as it is incorrectly styled, placed me under no fresh obligation of any kind to England. On the contrary, that was largely due to English remissness.

In this way it came about that just thirty-six years ago I was transformed from being the Sovereign of the Punjab into a pensioned dependent on the British Government, who had before this charged themselves with the duty of superintending and promoting my welfare. Circumstances had led or compelled to place myself unreservedly in British hands. I trusted implicitly to the good faith of the British Government, and the sole plea on which they could reasonably have withheld from me the income accruing from my possessions would have been a financial deficit in the affairs of the Punjab. Nothing of the sort happened. On the contrary, the sanguine estimate of revenue from the Punjab, formed by Lord Dalhousie, was largely exceeded. The financial result of annexation during the first two years was a surplus of one hundred and six thousand pounds sterling. The subsequent annual surplus was estimated at about half a million. At any rate, therefore, the administration of the Punjab was not a losing concern. It would not, however, have yielded such results unless the revenue of my private estates had been mixed up with the revenue of the country. It is not, and never has been denied by the representatives of the British Government that my personal property was of extreme value, although the account of its sale has been withheld from me.

This is not all. As my subjects, the Sikh army, had ten years previously given the English much trouble, so did they in 1857 take a noble revenge on their former foes, by being instrumental in preserving for the

English their Indian Empire during the memorable Mutiny of that year. If the Sikhs had not responded to John Lawrence's appeal, the English might have lost India. "We have", wrote Lawrence to Lord Stanley in 1857, "Only Punjabi troops with which to hold the country and aid in reconquering Hindustan." And again, after the suppression of the rebellion, in the report of the administration of the Punjab, dated May 1858, Sir John Lawrence wrote of the Punjab troops :—"In our service they have endured not only all the fatigues and privations incident to war, but they have also borne severe moral temptations. They have cared neither for the flattery, nor the threats of our enemies, nor for the taunts of the disaffected, nor the bribes of the traitors. They have never mistrusted our intentions though they saw the whole Bengal army the prey of jealousy and suspicion." The Sikhs, in other words, exhibited in 1857 the same great qualities which General Graham and the English Press have complimented them on displaying in the Soudan in 1885. It is nothing to the point to say that the Sikhs were indebted for all their excellence to the teaching and example of their British rulers and officers. In the first place, it cannot be proved that such is the case. In the second, assuming that it is the case, England was bound by the arrangement into which she entered with the Sikh people and the Sikh Sovereign in 1846 and 1849 to do her utmost to improve them in every respect. Is it not, therefore, plain that it is incumbent on the British Government above all things to treat with justice, if they cannot show generosity, the deposed monarch of the Sikh people ?

Let me now call Your Lordship's attention to the manner in which the British Government proceeded to quit themselves in the face of the cumulative and specific obligations. In 1858 the East India Company ceased to exist, and my dealings were henceforth with the British Government alone. I was eight years of age when the Treaties of Lahore and Bhyrowal were signed. I was therefore eleven when my dominion was annexed to British India, and when the supremacy of the East India Company was suppressed by the supremacy of the Queen I was exactly twenty years of age. I had been brought up completely under English auspices. Directly the British Government had assumed my guardianship, the Governor-General issued a proclamation in which he said that he felt the interest of a father in the education and guardianship of the young Prince. It was considered expedient to separate me from the Maharani, my mother, and this step was taken in the August of 1847. My allowance in 1849 at the age of eleven was fixed at £12,000 a year, and my Superintendent was Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Login. Nothing can have been more far reaching and absolute than the supervision of my education and maintenance which the British Government took upon itself. In 1853 I was received into the Church of England, being baptized by a clergyman at Fatehgarh on the 8th of March of that year. The British Government, in short, assumed

towards me the relations at once of a parent, a trustee, a guardian, and, when by the Treaty of 1849 they stipulated to pay me a pension, a debtor. It only remained for them to assume, as they did later on, the functions of a judge. I was never given to understand that my future state would not be commensurate with the grandeur and dignity of my youthful surroundings. My allowance was, in September 1856, at my age of nineteen, increased from £12,000 to £15,000 a year. This, I ask Your Lordship to remember, was done under the direct sanction of the English Government. In 1854 I came to England, where I have resided continuously to the present time; but am now about to be driven forth by the refusal of the British Government to acknowledge my just claims.

It was not my original intention to settle in England permanently. I was encouraged to do so by the British Government acting as my guardian, and I was prevented by the mutiny from returning to my native land in 1857. It is therefore only reasonable and barely just that the Government which parctically selected my domicile should, out of the ample funds belonging to me of which they have taken possession, place me in a position equal to its demands; and if the restitution of the whole of my private property is out of the question, it is still the bounden duty of the British Government to place at my disposal such sums as will enable me to support my dignity upon a scale adequate to the conditions under which I was brought up and to the anticipations of my future which I was then led to form. Nor have I indulged in England in needless pomp and prodigality. I have taken exactly the rank assigned to me by the Government of England. I am still a prince, although dispossessed of my kingdom, but deposed simply to suit the convenience of England. I have never received a hint from the Government which was still acting, as, indeed, it acts today, in the capacity of my trustee, that I was looking at my prospects through too roseate a medium. I consider it is equally the duty of the British Government and nation to provide for my family and for the adequate maintenance, after my death, of my eldest son and heirs made upon a scale not inferior to my own.

And here it may be well to summarise, for your Lordship's information, the chief items in the debtor and creditor account between myself and the British Government, from the annexation of the Punjab to the present day. Between the years 1849 and 1856 I received £12,000 a year. Between 1856 and 1858, £15,000. From 1858 I have nominally received £25,000. In addition to these payments, there have been allowances to relatives or dependants originally estimated by the British Government at £18,000 a year. Many of the recipients of these allowances have died off, and the Imperial Exchequer has been proportionately relieved. Now, I believe, the amount paid is not more than £4,000 or £5,000 per annum. The rest goes to the Government Exchequer, instead of to myself, as it

ought according to the provisions of 1849 and according to Sir Charles Wood's own interpretation of those provisions in his memo of 1860. It may be further stated that when, in 1862, the Government advanced me a sum for the purchase of an estate, the advance was not in excess of the Government savings. Subsequently, it is true, I have been equipped with funds for the purchase of a property in Suffolk, but for this advance I have paid interest. Estimating, therefore, my present allowance at £ 25,000 a year, more than £7,000 must be deducted for the payment of interest on the sums advanced to me, and premiums on the policies of insurance which the Government required me to effect on my life. The net sums which I now receive is, therefore, less than £18,000 a year. Strange as it may seem, I am, in consequence of this arrangement, paying interest to the Government which, even under the Treaty of 1849, is still in my debt. The only reason why I cannot recover the amount of this debt from the British Government is that my debtors who were my guardians and are my trustees, are also my judges. Of the original pension of from £40,000 to £50,000 a year, or, to strike a balance, say £45,000 a year, nothing more has been heard. The Panjab revenues, however, which were to provide the means of paying this pension, are undergoing no diminution. Again, these revenues will continue after my death. But the British Government do not contemplate sanctioning any such prospective claim upon them. In fact, the only allowance reserved for my widow and children is to come out of the money realised by the sale of my estates in England, of my insurance moneys, and of the sum of £72,000 East India Stock. The total immediate value at any given moment of these would be £172,000 or, if invested at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., £5,020 a year, irrespective of any Suffolk estates, which at the present moment are utterly unsaleable, and produce absolutely no income except the value of the game.

It is impossible for me to estimate the exact value of my private estates in the Punjab. I have given a detailed schedule of them to Lord Kimberley on the March 10, 1885, and I would gladly send you a copy of that despatch if Your Lordship would look at it. The annual value of the villages comprised in this list cannot be less, upon the lowest computation, than £25,000 a year, while the salt mines within the limits of my manors, belonging to me not as Maharaja but as Sardar or private landowner, do not fall short of £400,000 a year. In addition to this, there are proceeds of the sale of my personal property five and thirty years ago. Two catalogues those of the seventh and the final sales are now in my possession. They include, amongst other items, a likeness of my father, Ranjit Singh, and their perusal has left a painful impression upon my mind. It seems that the very persons who were the trustees, and should have been the protectors of my private possessions and of my person, did not hesitate to sell all my valuable moveable property, goods, furniture, shawls, plate,

arms, and ornaments of the chase and war. Not only was this done, but I have been unable to get any account of the proceeds of these sales, when on a moderate computation, a million of pounds sterling worth of property was sold at Lahore, doubtless at a great sacrifice. Some few articles of furniture and a portion of the least valuable jewels were, it is true, reserved for my use. At Fattengarh, where the British Government had fixed my residence, most of these were destroyed during the mutiny, and their value, which was not less than £25,000, has never been repaid to me. When I called the attention of the India office to the subject, a sum of £3,000 was offered me which I declined to accept.

The terms of 1849 state that I am to be treated with respect and honour. From Her Most Gracious Majesty, now the Empress of India, I have always received not only these but the greatest kindness. The justice of my claims has been theoretically admitted by the highest representatives of the British State. After the Treaty of Bhyrowal, the Governor-General of India, in a letter to the Resident of Lahore, dwelt upon the necessity incumbent of him to be guided by the obligation which the British Government contracted when it consented to be the guardian of the young Prince (myself) during his minority.

All this has led to no satisfactory result in my favour in a material sense; and I find myself now compelled, in consequence of the insufficiency of my income, to break up my home, interrupt the education of my children and to leave England.

Not to weary Your Lordship by a longer recital of my grievances, I will come to the object of this letter in a few words.

There are wrongs which can and those which cannot be remedied.

I do not aspire to be reinstated on the throne of the Punjab.

I do not even expect the realization of the whole of what I consider my just claims.

Moreover, I am not now asking Your Lordship to admit any of my claims, though it has been necessary for me to explain them to Your Lordship to make my meaning clear.

I know also that Your Lordship, not being now Secretary of State for India (though you formerly held that office) is not in a position to deal with a question of finance belonging to that department.

But I address Your Lordship as the Prime Minister of this great country in a matter which was considered at one time to be of national importance, and which concerns the honour of the parties interested.

If the subject of my complaint were a difference between private individuals, it could be settled in the law courts, but being a matter of state, I am advised that the courts of this country are not open to me.

I ask Your Lordship, therefore, to exert the influence and authority of your high position to provide some machinery for examining and dealing with my claims, and putting them in train for equitable settlement. It cannot, I venture to think, be more satisfactory to Your Lordship's mind than it is to my own that the Government should remain under the imputation of having arbitrarily deprived even an individual no more important than myself of his rights, without enquiry and without redress.

A fair and honest inquiry, by the highest legal authorities in Your Lordship's House, I think, is due to me, especially as to the residue of the pension over and above the £25,000 a year paid to me, which has now lapsed, and should be paid over to me (as a very high legal authority thinks after reading the Treaty carefully.)

I need not say that I court the fullest legal investigation, and should much desire a decision by a Court of Arbitration consisting of the eminent Law Lords of the House of Peers.

I shall be willing to be bound by the equitable award of such a court if they will take my whole case into their consideration, and to accept it as a satisfactory termination of all my differences, even if it should turn out to be unfavourable to my expectations.

I make this last appeal to Your Lordship before finally taking leave of this country.

214. FROM MR. HENRY MANNERS TO MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH

NO. 96

FOREIGN OFFICE,
25TH JANUARY, 1886.

I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to inform you that he has carefully considered the memorandum which you were good enough to place in his hands, and also the printed book, which he herewith returns. He regrets very much that he is not in a position to accede to the request with which your memorandum concludes.

Subject to any appeal to a Court of Law which you may be advised is open to you, the disposal of all questions involving any charge upon Indian finances is placed, by Act of Parliament, in the hands of the Secretary of State for India and the Council of India, and cannot be assumed by any other authority. The determination of the questions raised by you with respect to the meaning of Treaty entered into by Lord Dalhousie thirty years ago, and of the import of the words "property of the State" used upon that occasion, could not be satisfactorily arrived at by any other authority in this country, even if there was one which,

under the existing law, possessed the necessary competence, and I have no doubt that the Secretary of State and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters.

215. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON
TO VICEROY, CALCUTTA

NO. 36.

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH JANUARY, 1886.

Secret—Your telegram of 16th. Dhulip Singh has deferred departure till 17th February. He has not yet paid for passage, I doubt expediency of further offers to him. Nothing in reason would satisfy him.

Secretary

for information

The Secretary of State says nothing regarding the information which we suggested be made to the Maharaja. 29th Jan. 1886. G.S.F.

216. CLAIMS OF MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
*MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN
MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH AND SIR OWEN BURNE*

(Confidential)

NO. 94.

29TH JANUARY, 1886.

The Maharaja called on me on the 28th, bringing with him the enclosed papers, and drawing my attention to the last paragraph of Mr. Manners, letter to him, stating that "the Secretary of State for India and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters". This appeared to give him some hope of his case being reopened at the India Office, and he asked me the meaning of it. I told him that it was impossible for me to give an opinion before I had read the papers, but that it was my duty at once to tell him that, so far as I was aware, the Secretary of State for India in Council had no intention of reopening his case. The Maharaja then asked if I would hear what he had to say. I replied certainly that that was a part of my official duty, and I added a very disagreeable part, more especially at a moment, as was now the case, when I had to catch a certain train and only had ten minutes to spare. Having put him into high good humour with this remark, which I spoke in his own language, he began to narrate his claims and wrongs. As to the former he said that he claimed—(1) Private estates valued at £25,000 a year, personal property wrongly sold after the annexation of the Punjab, valued at £25,001, and Pind Dadun Khan Salt

Mines which belonged to him, and which he rated at £400,000 a year. (2) The payment to him, with arrears, of the "five lakh fund" mentioned in Art. V of the Terms of 29th March 1849. (3) Adequate provision for his eldest son and his heirs on a scale not inferior to his own. As to his wrongs, he said, (1) He was much offended with Government for not 'trusting' him with special reference to their refusal last to allow him to go to India, and to take part as *Aide-de-Camp* in the then threatening war. (2) That out of his allowances of £25,000 he has in reality only received £14,000 a year, £9,000 being paid for insurances and premiums, and £2,000 expended in other fixed payments he had to make. (3) That the only allowance granted to his widow and children was to come out of the sale of the estate, &c., in other words, £172,000 or £5,000 a year at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. irrespective of his Suffolk estates, which were worth nothing. (4) That his eldest son would receive only about £3,000 a year, an amount "ill-befitting the son of a king".

In reply, I said that his claims were enormous and visionary, and that I could not see much in his wrongs. It was impossible for any Government, if they wished ever to do so, to commit themselves to an inquiry on so hopeless basis, or to attempt to satisfy demands framed on so large a scale. Moreover, my own Department was filled with correspondence on his case, which would prove that, year after year, he had thankfully accepted the concessions given to him, and had finally agreed to an Act of Parliament which it was hoped at the time would, once for all, put an end to all further disagreements. The Maharaja rejoined that this was true enough, that he had done it all in ignorance of his real position, that he had only recently realised that position, that he was a king and ought to be treated as such, that one of the highest legal authorities in England had assured him, after an examination of his claims, that they were all perfectly just, and that persons of rank, among whom he named the Duke of Grafton, sympathized with him. After a few more words, in which I gathered that nothing short of an inquiry on his full claims would satisfy him, I was obliged to hurry away, and his Highness asked me to see him again the following day. I agreed. He accordingly came again today (29th January).

In this interview with me today the Maharaja was more excited in his manner than yesterday, especially when he touched upon the subject of his own position as 'King' but he was very courteous and very frank. Perhaps it may be more convenient for present purposes if I put down our conversation as nearly as possible, word for word.

Sir O. Burne—Well, Maharaja, I have read your memorial to Lord Salisbury. There is nothing in it which has not been already dealt with in past correspondence, so that I will not attempt to argue your case with

you. This, in your present frame of mind, will, I see, be labour thrown away. I will merely, therefore, speak of your claims as they strike me personally as one who is a true friend to you. They are preposterous. I cannot comprehend how a person in your position can court rebuff by demands which no Government in its sense can even consider, much less satisfy.

Maharaja—I like your frankness and appreciate it. But I can assure you that nothing short of their recognition by Government, and adequate compensation, will satisfy me. I want, at any rate, a full inquiry on them. If the case is given against me I shall be satisfied. Why cannot the Privy Council, or the House of Lords, adjudicate on my case?

Sir O. Burne—That is impossible. It is a question which has often been raised and settled in the negative, and you will never get any Government to agree to so direct an interference with the powers of the Government of India, in its dealings with the Native Princes and their pensions. Moreover, you refer to transactions of nearly half a century ago, which, if reopened as you desire, would reopen every single act of State of the British Government in India from the rise of the East India Company till now.

Maharaja—True, I see it, and other people have told me the same thing. I give it up. But will not the Government of India give me this full inquiry? They have treated me like an animal; they are now trying to goad me to desperation; they forget I am a king; they have offended a man once loyal to them, and only too anxious now to show his loyalty, if he be given what high legal authorities and others tell him are his just dues.

Sir O. Burne—All this, Maharaja, is beside the mark. You have got wind in the head, and have lost your ordinary good sense. Now let us view the matter in a business like way. You, on your part, signed away your kingdom with alacrity; you could say nothing at the time against the justice then dealt out to you; you have since then thankfully accepted from year to year, until lately, all that the Government of India have done for you. Finally, you agreed to an Act of Parliament which you now want to upset, by claims which it is impossible for any Government to admit.

Maharaja—I acknowledge all this. I now see, however, that I have been a fool. It is only lately that I have learnt to realize my position as a king.

Sir O. Burne—But suppose now I were a most benevolent Secretary of State, filled with pity for you, and with every desire to meet your views, what would satisfy you? Suppose I were to say, for instance, that you shall have £25,000 a year, clear for all charges, would that do so?

Maharaja—Certainly not. I want an inquiry into my claims and reasonable compensation for money unjustly withheld from me.

Sir O. Burne—Suppose, then, I were to offer you an increased allowance for your eldest son on your death, and buy a moderate estate for him as a gift, would that satisfy you?

Maharaja—Certainly not. I am a king. My son ought to have what I have, and an estate befitting a prince. This you will not give. No. The Government of India want to get rid of me and my family, that we may sink into oblivion.

Sir O. Burne—Well, Maharaja, I see that benevolence won't do. Picture me, therefore, an austere Secretary of State. Suppose I were to say to you—"You are disobeying our distinct wishes by going to India. You will therefore be seized when you get there, you will be deprived of your stipends and be made to reside in some spot selected by Government of India, What then?"

Maharaja—I should laugh at you. This is just what I want. You must at any rate feed and clothe me and my family, and my income will be then more than made up by subscriptions from every *ryot* in the Punjab and from every part of India. Moreover, I know that no Government would dare resort such a step in view of English public opinion, and the consequences of it in India.

Sir O. Burne—Well then, Maharaja, I see that, from your point of view, neither benevolence nor austerity will meet your case. What on earth are you going to India for? I cannot quite understand why a nobleman like you, who has embraced Christianity, who, whatever you may say to the contrary, has had a comfortable home in this country, and has been treated with consideration, should want to go to India, where you will certainly not be comfortable, and may risk the loss of all that you have got.

Maharaja—I have already taken the first step to abjure Christianity, because I no longer believe in 'so-called' Christian Governments. I am resolved to go to India in order to settle at Delhi, where I can resume my native habits, bring up my children to a livelihood there, get my hawking and shooting, &c. The Government of India should let me do this. If they touch me, it would shake the Punjab, if not now, at any rate later on. I am determined to go. I have fixed the 17th February, but I may delay a week. My friends advise me to stay on to see if I can get an inquiry, and, moreover, there is now a change of Government, and I think Lord Kimberley will befriend me.

After a few more words the Maharaja left. Throughout our conversation we were both perfectly good tempered, my sole object all the time being to endeavour to ascertain what would satisfy his so-called claims. On leaving he repeated his wish for an inquiry, he thanked me for receiving and listening to him, and left an impression on my mind that he really

intends to go to India as a last venture, and that his so-called claims necessitate some very large concessions if they are listened to. It is only fair to add, however, that the Maharaja emphatically repeated. "If I am granted an inquiry, and adjudged to receive nothing, after a fair examination of my claims, I shall be satisfied".

29th January 1886.

O.T.B.

217. FROM VICEROY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, LONDON

NO. 358.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST FEBRUARY, 1886.

"Your telegram 28th. Dhuleep Singh. Please give us timely notice if he intends to start. Has he received warning suggested in our telegram 16th?"

30th January 1886. H.M.D.

1st February 1886. D.

HIS EXCELLENCY

Perhaps this telegram might be circulated for the opinion of Hon'ble Members. The Secretary of State does not seem disposed to take the same view as the Government of India, and Dhuleep Singh may therefore come after all. We do not know whether the Secretary of State has given him the warning suggested.

Circulated.

2nd February 1886. C.P.I.

2nd February 1886. S.C.B.

2nd February 1886. T.C.H.

2nd February 1886. A.C.

218. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY CALCUTTA

NO. 38.

TELEGRAM DATED 2ND FEBRUARY, 1886,

Secret—Your Lordship's telegram dated 1st. Dhuleep Singh. Warning suggested has not been formally given, but we have ascertained that it would be useless. Recent interview with Burne confirmed opinion that no reasonable concession would be accepted; still it might be useful to know the maximum limit of pecuniary concession you would recommend; his claims being as follows:—First, Court of Enquiry; second, private estates including Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines; third, five lakhs

of rupees fund with arrears; fourth, better provision for his family at his death.

219. NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(EARL OF KIMBERLEY)

NO. 97.

8TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

Sir O. Burne.

Duleep Singh having requested me to see him immediately as he was about to start for India, I had an interview with him at this office on the 8th instant. I thought it better to see him, as otherwise he would have represented me as unwilling even to hear what he had to say. But I did not anticipate any result from the interview, and so it turned out. The Maharajah repeated his often told complaints of the injustice with which the British Government had treated him, and put forward again the exaggerated claims, well known at this office. He informed me finally that he laid particular stress on his claims for payment, with arrears and interest of pension, i.e., the lapsed portion of the "five lakh fund" referred to in Sir O. Burne's minute, and for the proceeds of the sale of the jewels, &c., as shown in the catalogue which he left with me, and which I understood him to estimate at £450,000.

On his referring to the inadequacy of the £3,000 a year provided for his son, I observed that this was more like a matter of business. This he evidently understood as a hint that some moderate pecuniary concession might possibly be offered to him, for he immediately replied—"Pray understand that nothing like an offer of £5,000 or £10,000 a year to my income would satisfy me. I want an enquiry into my claims." He professed unshaken loyalty, and complained of the refusal to allow him to give his services, in case a war had broken out with Russia, and the want of confidence shown him by the Government of India in not allowing him to reside at Delhi, and requiring him to reside at Ootacmand. He said, however, he would obey the Viceroy's orders.

I told him I was sorry to find he still adhered to his preposterous claims, which he must know could not be entertained, and with regard to his complaints of the want of confidence in him, I said that non-acceptance of his offer to service was not due to distrust of his loyalty, which was not of a nature to inspire the Government of India with confidence in him.

In taking leave of me he said—"I see it is all of no use, but I shall wait a few days to see whether I get any satisfaction, and, if not, I shall go broken hearted to India."

I should add that he complained he had never received an answer with respect to his claim for "private estates," which was referred to India. How is this? He ought to receive some definite answer.

220. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH,
TO COL. SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY, POLITICAL
AND SECRET DEPTT.

NO. 43.

ELVEDEN HALL, THETFORD,
9TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

I am extremely sorry to trouble you with this letter, but I really do not know what to do in the matter, or who else to write on the subject.

As the India Government desire me to reside at Ootacmand, I cannot do better on reflection in order to show my entire loyalty to my Most Gracious Sovereign than to comply with the wishes of the Viceroy, and will shortly address the Secretary of State officially on the subject. But my object in writing to you unofficially is to request that steps may be taken through the proper channel to hire an inexpensive house at my expense at Ootacmand as my Agents (Messrs. Grindlay and Co.) have no business transactions with any one there, or they would carry out my instructions.

As I know that at the hill station in India, there is a considerable difficulty some time in procuring a residence and the time of year is getting on, therefore I do not know what else to do, but to make an application to you at the India Office.

I have put off my departure from the 17th instant to 10th March next.

221. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INDIA

NO. 49.

LONDON, ELVEDEN HALL, SUFFOLK,
10TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

Your Lordship having kindly assured me at the interview so courteously accorded me by you on the 8th instant that my loyalty towards my most gracious sovereign was never doubted for a moment. I beg to apologise for and to withdraw any expression of disrespect ever employed intentionally or otherwise by me towards Her Majesty's Indian Government.

I desire to add further that, in consequence of the above assurance, I am now most willing to reside either at Ootacmand or any other place in India that the Viceroy may think proper to name (although I beg of Your Lordship kindly to ask His Excellency by telegraph, for reasons explained by

me at the interview to reconsider objections to my living at Delhi, and thus prove my loyalty at the sacrifice of all personal considerations).

My sole object in returning to India is to lay by money for my family while myself fully enjoying the comforts I have been accustomed to all my life, and Delhi presents the best field for the purpose as by advancing savings from my stipend to the *ryots* on crops of indigo in that neighbourhood as much as from 25 to 30 per cent. per annum can be obtained on the invested capital.

222. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.

Demi-official (Confidential)

11TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

In continuation of Tupper's demi-official confidential letter of the 28th December last regarding the proceedings of Sardar Thakur Singh, Sandhanwalia, I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that Sardar Attar Singh, C.I.E., Chief of Bhadaur, who is likely to be well informed, states that he has ascertained that Diwan Buta Singh, proprietor of the Aftab-i-Punjab Press, and Harkishen Das, prohibitor or family priest of the Maharaja, have within the last few days received intimation that Dalip Singh has postponed his intended visit to India for three months, in consequence, it is alleged, of the fall of the Conservative ministry, as he has friends in the other party who will support his claims.

Sardar Attar Singh says the reasons of the Maharaja's desire to return to India are twofold :—

- (1) because living is cheaper in India than in England; and
- (2) because he has received offers of alliances for his children if he brings them to India, and he wishes to marry them to persons in the Punjab.

FROM W.M. YOUNG ESQ., SECRETARY TO PUNJAB GOVERNMENT

(Demi-official)

THE 11TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

In continuation of the demi-official of 28th December, communicates certain information in connection with the intended visit of Maharaja Dalip Singh to India.

No orders

C.S.F.

SECRETARY

Your query dated 14th above. Are the proceedings marginally noted the papers you allude to ?

Political	A May	1870	Nos.	186-188
"	" June	1877	"	182-183
"	" August	1879	"	18- 20
J.S.	" January	1886	"	

If not, there are no others in Camp.

HIS EXCELLENCY

The Secretary of State telegraphs that a recent interview between Dhulip Singh and Sir Owen Burne confirmed the opinion that no reasonable concession would be accepted by the Maharaja; but it is added it might be useful to know the maximum limit of pecuniary concession the Government of India would recommend. The Maharaja's claims are stated as follows :

First : Court of Enquiry

Second: Private estates including Pind Dadun Khan salt Mines.

Third : Five Lakh Fund with arrears.

Fourth: Better provision for family.

The first demand I think is impossible. Dhulip Singh's claims have been threshed out over and over again, and the Government of India should decide without any formal Court of Enquiry what it will give him. A Court of Enquiry would be useless and in some respects mischievous.

As to the second demand I have not in Camp all the papers about the claim to private estates, but I think the Legislative Department lately decided that it was barred, and moreover Dhulip Singh has never brought forward any good evidence on the subject. I can find nothing at all about the Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines, but have telegraphed to the Punjab Government to enquire.

As to the Third claim again I have not all the old papers, but I think there is something to be said for Dhulip Singh's view on this point. By the terms of agreement of 1849, we undertook to pay a pension of not less than four and not more than five lakhs per annum, for the support of the Maharaja, his relatives, and the servants of the state. It has been held that we were nevertheless not bound to make over to the Maharaja, besides the amount fixed for himself personally, the unexpended balance of the pension ; but I am not sure that this contention was tenable. It was in accordance with Lord Dalhousie's expressed intentions, but not apparently in accordance with the terms of the agreement. As a matter of fact, we have given the Maharaja a considerable portion of the unexpended balance, but some I believe remain.

As to the fourth demand I understand that Dhulip Singh's family would have at his death :

1. His landed estates ;
2. A guaranteed pension of £10,800 a year ;
3. Nearly a quarter of a million in money.

This seems a fairly good provision.

The case was discussed in Council in Calcutta, and I think it would be well to have the opinion of Council now. I would propose therefore to telegraph to Foreign Office—"Secretary of State telegraphs :—Begins ... Ends. Please circulate case to Council for opinion with such papers as you have. Viceroy's telegram of 1st asked for timely notice of Dhulip Singh's departure, and enquired whether he had been warned that disregard of our wishes would absolve us from existing obligations regarding pension. Can you make out amount of unexpended balance of general pension after deducting all extra payments made to Dhulip Singh ?

It might be well also to telegraph to the Secretary of State :—"Your telegram 2nd. Dhulip Singh will send answer regarding limit of pecuniary concession after reference to Calcutta."

19th February, 1886. H.M.D

20th February, 1886. D.

223. FROM COLONEL SIR O. T. BURNE, K. C. S. I.,
SECRETARY, POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT,
TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

NO. 42.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
12TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the

Letter to His Highness Dhulip Singh of
11th February.

Viceroy, copy of correspondence relative to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

The matters now requiring orders are :—

1. Whether we are to ask the Secretary of State when Dhulip starts or started.
2. Whether a Court of Enquiry is to be allowed or refused.
3. If the opinion of Council has not been communicated to the Secretary of State, whether Your Excellency is prepared to leave to him the decision as to the amount of pecuniary concession which can be made.

13th March, 1886. H.M.D.

FROM VICEROY TO SECRETARY OF STATE

Has Dhulip Singh started for India ? If not, what are his present intentions ?

Mr. Durand

The above telegram as drafted by you is approved by His Excellency. The file is retained for His Excellency to read the notes at leisure.

17th March, 1886. D.M.W.

(Telegram to Secretary of State, London, No. 9421, dated 18th March, 1886.)

FROM SECRETARY POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT, INDIA OFFICE,
LONDON, TO THE SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

NO. 43.

DATED THE 12TH FEBRUARY, 1886

Forwards copy of correspondence relative to Maharaja Dhulip Singh's return to India.

SECRETARY

The Secretary of State's telegram repeated in your No. 62 C.I. of 21st February last, was circulated to Hon'ble Members of Council.

The Statement marked A in the Financial Department shows the payments made to or on account of Maharaja Dhulip Singh personally.

As explained in the notes K.W. to A—Political July 1884, Nos. 129-134, on account of the payments made to relatives, servants, &c., i.e., all other payments made out of the treaty assignment, would require a considerable time to prepare. The Imperial accounts do not separate political pensions of the kind under the several authorities by which they are granted. The books of the Accountant-General, North Western Provinces and Punjab, must be examined and the item taken out. It is for decision whether such examination shall now be made.

Meantime it may be noted that in 1883 the payment to servants, pensioners, &c., was Rs. 45, 477. The present yearly payment is probably not much than this.

The amount now received by the Maharaja by way of stipend, after deduction of interest on such advances are chargeable with interest, may be taken at £22,300. The stipend is paid in sterling, I understand. Assuming an exchange of 1-7 per rupee, £ 22,300 represents Rs. 2,81,537. The whole present payments against the treaty assignments of 4 lakhs therefore be fairly put down at this sum, plus the pension payment of to servants, &c., or at a total of Rs. 3,27,014.

I pointed out in my note of the 13th January 1886, paragraphs 6-9, that in 1863-64 an agreement was concluded with the Maharaja under which, while his claim to lapsed pensions was disallowed, he was held entitled to the benefit of such portion of the assignment as has not been allotted or appropriated. The total unallotted amount which had accumulated up to 1860 was found to be £76,5000. To secure to the Maharaja the benefit of this sum, as well as of future unappropriated balances (not being lapses), the Government, under the scheme referred to, purchase for His Highness a landed estate which cost £105,000, and they further capitalized a sum to constitute a trust fund for the benefit of His Highness's family after his death. The total sum so provided was as ultimately arranged £15,000 a year.

The purchase of the estate and the beneficiary provision for His Highness's family was, as I understand the case, a full money equivalent not only for unallotted balances then existing but for all future balances. Indeed it is I think probable that actuarial calculation would show that the provision then accepted by the Maharaja discounted at the present rate of exchange only unappropriated balances, but a considerable portion of lapses.

The unappropriated portion of the original assignment should be a sum more or less definite, but from the statement in No. 33 of the papers at page 29 of A-political-I, February 1883, Nos. 101-140, it will seem to have varied greatly, doubtless owing to occasional payments made therefrom. It may, however, I think be fairly taken at between one and two lakhs of rupees.

If I am right therefore in understanding that the whole of the unallotted, portion has been committed, its yearly value would fall to be added to the annual payments made under the treaty. These payments I have calculated above to be Rs. 3,27,014. If a sum of between one and two lakhs is to be added to this, the treaty obligations is, in the present state of the exchange market, being then fully satisfied.

The foregoing is one mode of representing the Maharaja's claims. It may however be deemed better to get an accurate statement from the local Accountant-General of the actual payments, &c., under the treaty; and then to examine the manner in which the Government has satisfied its treaty obligations.

9th March, 1886. G.S.F.

HIS EXCELLENCY

The first thing to be done about Dhulip Singh is to telegraph enquiring when he will start or has started.

We might say :—

“Has Dhulip Singh started for India ? If not, what are his present intentions ?”

For the rest it seems impossible without much delay to make out exactly what has been paid on behalf of his dependants. We cannot, tell from the papers in the Financial Department, and must examine the papers of local accounts officers.

I find from a note of Mr. Ilbert's within that, after a meeting of Council on the 5th February he telegraphed to Your Excellency as follows :

“We are inclined to leave amount of pecuniary concession to Secretary of State, on understanding that no concession is to be made about mines or other private estates ; that Dhulip Singh gives acquittance in full and effectual undertaking not to go to India; and that no further payment is to be made to him hereafter”.

If this opinion has been accepted and communicated to the Secretary of State, I suppose he is acting upon it, but I do not know whether Your

* I understand that the Secretary of State was not informed.

H.M.D.
7

Excellency received Mr. Ilbert's telegram which was not sent through the Foreign Office. If no steps have yet

been taken upon the opinion then given by Council, it remains to be decided whether Your Excellency accepts it.* What Dhulip Singh claim is :—

1. A court of inquiry.
2. Private estates including Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines.
3. Five Lakhs rupees of fund with arrears.
4. A better provision for his family at his death.

I presume that the Court of Enquiry will be refused. The case has been considered over and over again, and it is one for the decision of the Government of India. I understand that Council opinion covers the other three claims, so I do not note on those. I would only remark on Mr. Forbes's note that it is doubtful whether Dhulip Singh and his family and dependants are not receiving at the present rate of exchange more than a full equivalent of the four lakhs per annum we were bound by the engagement of 1849 to pay. This point is however not clear and can only be cleared up by local enquiries.

224. FROM COLONEL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY
POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT, TO HIS
HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, G.C.S.I.

NO. 45.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
11TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, stating that you have postponed your intended departure for India till the

10th of March next, and asking that arrangements may be made for securing an inexpensive house at Ootacmond for Your Highness's use.

I will communicate at once with the Government of India on the subject.

225. FROM FOREIGN, VICEROY'S CAMP, TO PUNJAB, LAHORE

NO. 39.

TELEGRAM NO. 31 C.I.,
DATED 14TH FEBRUARY, 1886,

"What is Dhulip Singh's claim to Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines? I cannot find from papers in camp that this point has been raised."

Have we the papers which were in a separate file regarding the decisions given about the payment of arrears and future lapses from the five lakhs which we undertook in 1849 to spend annually upon the Maharaja and his dependants?

14th February, 1886. H.M.D.

226. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY

NO. 98.

19TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

The reply of the late Prime Minister, the Marquis of Salisbury, to the statement I submitted to His Lordship concludes as follows:—"And I have no doubt that the Secretary of State and his Council has both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters.

Therefore I venture once more to address Your Lordship about my affairs, and, awaiting your reply to my letter of the 10th March 1885, to ask you to cooperate with me in obtaining an authoritative decision on the constructions of the treaty of 1849.

It has been suggested to me that probably some of the eminent lawyers in Your Lordship's House could be requested to consider the terms of that treaty, and pronounce an opinion as to whether a just and right interpretation has been put by the Government upon the mode of disposal of the sum of not less than four nor exceeding five lakhs of rupees (the value of the rupee at that time being equal to two shillings), which it was stipulated I should receive annually for the maintenance of myself, my relatives, and the servants of the State.

For my part, I should be willing to be bound by such a decision.

If your Lordship should see fit to comply with my request, the only further stipulation, I would make is that I should be allowed to suggest

the name of one member of the Court, and that I should be heard by Counsel before their Lordships.

227. FROM FOREIGN, VICEROY'S CAMP, TO FOREIGN UNDER SECRETARY, CALCUTTA

TELEGRAM NO. 62 C. I.,
DATED 21ST FEBRUARY, 1886.

Telegram No. 62 C. I. Secretary of State telegraphs—Begins. (Here enter telegram, dated the 2nd February 1886). Please circulate case to Council for opinion with such papers as you have. Viceroy's telegram of 1st asked for timely notice of Dhulip Singh's departure, and enquired whether he had been warned that disregard of our wishes would absolve us from existing obligations regarding pension. Can you make out amount of unexpended balance of general pension after deducting all extra payments made to Dhulip Singh? What would be total arrears and what would be annual balance?

228. FROM VICEROY (VICEROY'S CAMP) TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 40.

TELEGRAM NO. 63 C. I.,
DATED 21ST FEBRUARY, 1886.

Secret—Foreign—your telegram 2nd. Dhulip Singh. Will send answer regarding limit of pecuniary concession after reference to Calcutta.

229. FROM PUNJAB GOVERNMENT TO FOREIGN SECRETARY

NO. 41.

TELEGRAM DATED 22ND FEBRUARY, 1886.

Dhulip Singh's claim to Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines was entered in statement forwarded with your 1893, dated 10th June 1885. Statement was returned in original with a demi-official, 8th October 1885, and no copy kept.

TELEGRAM FROM THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT

DATED THE 22ND FEBRUARY, 1886.

Intimates that Dhulip Singh's claim to Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines was entered in statement forwarded with Foreign Department No. 1893 of 10th June, 1885, was returned in original, and copy kept.

SECRETARY

Our official letter of the 10th June, and Punjab demi-official of the

8th October 1885, are not with the papers in Camp. Neither in the Statement.

No present orders seem necessary. The Calcutta Office will doubtless work out the account of unexpended balance.

Returned

24th February, 1886. J.S.

3rd March 1886, H.M.D.

In 1863—a gift of £ 105,000 for the purchase of an estate.

On the mortgage of his estate and that the interest £ 5,664 per annum would be deducted from his annuity. The mortgage was never executed.

In 1863—a loan of £110,000.

In 1886—a loan of £281,000.

In 1875—His life was ensured for £100,000 Government paying half the premium. In 1878-A loan of £10,00.

Interest £650 per annum

In 1879-A loan of £3,000.

In 1882 an Act was passed to enable the Government to make better financial arrangement for the management of Maharaja's affairs. Under

A-Political I. February 1882, Nos. 101-40 (126)

this Act His Highness was to mortgage certain of his estates to the Secretary of State, these were to be sold at his death and the proceeds invested for the benefit of his family, the Secretary of State benefitting only if the Maharaja died without issue*. In return the Government granted the following concession :

* He has six children

Before the Act was passed the Maharaja was given an advance of £ 3,836 out of the £ 47,000 promised; our papers do not show whether the former sum was deducted when the latter amount was paid.

policies worth £50,000.

1. An advance of £47,000 without interest.

2. To waive any claim to interest on £13,00 advanced in 1878 and 1879.

From the above it will be seen that Dhulip Singh received a present of £105,000 and a loan of 198,000, of which £13,000 do not bear interest. Also that Government pay the premiums on life

It may be added that Government have granted annual income of £10,800 to the Maharaja's children after his death.

As regards the amount of unexpended balance¹ up to date arising from the pension of "not less than 4 and not exceeding 5 lakhs of Company's rupees per annum" granted to Maharaja Dhulip Singh and his

Excess expenditure from 5th September 1859 to
31st November (?) 1868 (Finance A, Jan. 1869
Nos. 1826. 6288-4-4

Balance : 15,88,260-2-7

dependants, under the terms of the 29th March, 1849, we have not the information from the 1st July 1849, the date fixed for the payment of the

pension to 31st November (?) 1868 it amounted to Rs. 15,88,260-2-7 and in year 1884 alone to Rs. 1,74,158-5-4. To ascertain the unappropriated balance up to date, we would, it is presumed, require a statement of all payments and lapses under the terms of 1849 since the 1st December 1868, when the

** K.W.A.-Political-I July 1884 Nos. 129-134.

last statement was prepared, and to complete such a statement would** require an examination of the accounts of

each year both of the accounts of Indian Accounts General concerned and of the Home Accounts." It has now to be considered whether the statement

Internal A, June 1885, Nos. 171-174
" " Sept. " " 46-47

should be prepared. It was recently decided not to do so, when Dhulip Singh applied for a state-

ment of the kind.

26th February, 1886. C. E. PYSTER

26th February, 1886. A. J. R.

What we want prepared in first place is a statement of all the monies actually received by or paid for the benefit of the Maharaja. The total we can then compare with the treaty assignment. The claim of the Maharaja in respect of the lapses in pension payments is a different matter, and I believe we have moreover not the materials yet available to ascertain the balance on this account. The statement to which I have first referred is what now required.

I am not sure that the amounts specified in the office note include everything the Maharaja has received. The Financial Department no doubt have the correct figures and the case should go to them. Further, some of the benefits seem to be in the way of payments for remissions of interests, and their money value must be calculated.

4th March, 1886. G.S.F.

Financial Department unofficially.

1. Unexpended balance from 1st July, 1849, to 4th September, 1859. (Progs. May 1864; Rs. 16,51,093-3-5-11 A.P.

SECRETARY

I put up below a statement showing the payments made to Maharaja Dhulip Singh in England and India, in each year from 1854-55 to date.

6th March, 1886. W.C.M.

The statement is taken from our Finance and Revenue Accounts. It is presumably correct.

8th March, 1886. D.B.

To Foreign Department.

HIS EXCELLENCY

This telegram* to the Secretary of State involved the examination of

*Not received in office; it was a private one. J. S.—5th March 1886.

some papers not in Camp regarding the Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines and the arrears of the Five Lakh fund. Your

Excellency also wished the case to be submitted to Council for opinion as they had discussed it before. It is accordingly being worked up in Calcutta. I would answer :—

“Your private telegram 2nd Dhulip Singh. I will answer as soon as possible after arrival in Calcutta. Papers had to be examined there, and I wished for opinion of Council which has not yet reached me.”

At the same time I might telegraph to the Foreign Office in Calcutta :—

“Has Council given opinion on Dhulip Singh's case? If not please have papers ready on Viceroy's arrival.”

3rd March, 1886. H.M.D.

(Telegram to Under-Secretary, Calcutta, No. 130 C.I. dated 4th March 1886.)

Copy of the Foreign Secretary's telegram of 21st February is circulated to Hon'ble Members as directed. Meantime the papers will be examined to ascertain the amount which has at various times been advanced to the Maharaja.

23rd February, 1886.C.S.F.
Circulated 23rd February, 1886.

After the meeting of the Council on the 5th instant, I telegraphed to the Viceroy as follows :—We are inclined to leave amount of pecuniary concession to Secretary of State on understanding that no concession is to be made about mines or other private estates; that Dhulip Singh gives

acquittance in full and effectual undertaking not to go to India, and that no further payment is to be made to him hereafter.

24th February, 1886. C.P.I.

24th February, 1886. S.C.B.

24th February, 1886. T.C.H.

24th February, 1886 A.C.

F.T.H

The first point to be considered is the amount of payments made to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

His Highness, it will be remembered, enjoy a pension of £25,000 per annum. Originally it was £12,000, this was increased to £ 15,000 on his attaining the age of 18, and then to the amount he now receives, when he completed his 21st year.

The following advances &c., have been made to Dhulip Singh from

* Political A, August 1879, Nos. 18-20 (No. 20)	time to time. The information has been obtained from a despatch* to the Secretary of State from the Government of India in the Financial Department, and from a memo** enclosed in a despatch*** from the Secretary of State, which was transferred by this Department to the Finance Department for disposal.
** A-Political-I-February 1883, Nos. 101-140 (No. 126)	
*** A-Political-I, February 1883, Nos. 101-40 (103) <i>ibid</i> No. 125	

<i>Years</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Total</i>
1854-55	...	£ 11,344	£ 11,344
1855-56	...	1,125	1,125
1856-57	...	750	750
1857-58	...	...	...
1858-59	...	2,200	2,200
1859-60	...	800	800
1860-61	£ 32,878	1,100	33,978
1861-62	25,000	1,120	26,200
1862-63	1,31,467	1,120	1,32,667
1863-64	1,36,441	1,120	1,37,641
1864-65	20,600	900	21,500

<i>Years</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Total</i>
1865-66	20,600	1,200	21,800
1866-67	33,167	1,100	34,267
1867-68	19,879	1,200	21,079
1868-69	33,286	1,200	34,486
1869-70	19,336	1,200	20,536
1870-71	19,336	1,200	20,536
1871-72	19,336	1,200	20,536
1872-73	19,336	1,200	20,536
1873-74	19,336	1,200	20,536
1874-75	12,336	1,200	20,536
1875-76	19,336	1,200	20,536
1876-77	21,067	1,200	22,267
1877-78	21,067	1,200	22,267
1878-79	34,065	1,200	35,265
1879-80	21,065	1,200	22,265
1880-81	24,901	1,200	26,101
1881-82	21,065	1,200	22,265
1882-83	21,065	1,200	22,265
1883-84	69,576	1,200	70,776
1884-85	21,065	1,100	22,165
1885-86	Estimates	1,200	22,300
1886-87			

These are the figures taken from the Finance and Revenue Accounts.

8th March, 1886. J.F.F.

To Foreign Department unofficially.

230 FROM THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INDIA TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

NO 50.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
2ND MARCH, 1886.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness's letter of the 10th ultimo and in reply to say that it will give me much satisfaction to make known to the Viceroy the assurances therein contained.

With regard to your wish that I should request the Viceroy of India to reconsider his decision as to your place of residence in that country, this

CARLTON CLUB,

PALL MALL, S.W.

My dear Sindan ji

Wah! Goroaji de Fulleh.

I am very pleased to receive your letter but I advise you not to come near me without permission of Government as you might get into trouble with the authorities.

I intend to leave England with my family on the 31 of this month but it is possible a little longer delay may occur.

I need not tell you how pleased I shall be if the Government permits you to be present at my receiving "Poth" which I trust my Cousin Thakur Singh Sindan walia will administer to me.

I am now longing to return to India although Government

are afraid to let me visit
in the North Western Province
and desire me to ~~remain~~ live
at Ootakamund. but I put
my faith entirely in ~~the~~ Sutyam
who now that I turn to him for
protection I know will not
forsake me.

Your sincere friend & well-wisher

Subash Singh
Rashanijah

March 9. 1886.

is a matter in which the Secretary of State for India in Council does not exercise interference with the discretion of the Government of India.

A copy of your letter under reply will however be transmitted to the Viceroy.

231. FROM FOREIGN, VICEROY'S CAMP, TO FOREIGN
UNDER SECRETARY, CALCUTTA

TELEGRAM NO. 130 C.I.,
DATED 4TH MARCH, 1886.

Has council given opinion on Dhulip Singh's case? If not, please have papers ready on Viceroy's arrival.

232. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SARDAR
SANT SINGH

CARLTON CLUB, PALL MALL. S.W.
MARCH 9TH, 1886

My dear Sirdar Jee,

Wah ! Gooroo ji dee Futteh.

I am very pleased to receive your letter, but I advise you not to come near me without permission of Government as you might get into trouble with the authorities.

I intend to leave England with my family on the 31st of this month, but it is possible a little longer delay may occur.

I need not tell you how pleased I shall be (if the Government permits) for you to be present at my receiving *Powhl* which I trust my cousin Thakur Singh Sindanwalia will administer to me.

I am now longing to return to India although Government are afraid to let me reside in the North Westren Provinces and desire me to live at Ootakamand, but I put my faith entirely in Sutgooroo who now that I turn to Him for forgiveness I know will not forsake me.

Your sincere friend and welwisher
Duleep Singh
Maharajah.

March 9th, 1886.

233. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL
INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE NO. 10

K.W. NO. 4.

DATED 13TH MARCH, 1886.

Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia has received a letter from Maharaja Dhulip Singh, announcing his departure for India and his intention of staying 25 days in Egypt at his father-in-law's house.

Chirag-ud-din, a postal peon at Lahore, stated that his father had a letter from the Maharaja, enclosing a copy of his photograph. His Highness wrote that he remembered Chirag-ud-din, with whom he used to play as a child, and requested that the likeness he sent should be kept until he came out to India.

The Maharaja's arrival is daily expected at Delhi, and people are most anxious to see him. The latest rumour is that the Prince of Wales is coming out with His Highness, and that the latter will be sent to Rawalpindi.

The news of Dhulip Singh's approaching visit is creating a feeling of expectation among the Sikhs. They frequently enquire why and when he is coming, and what part of the country he will receive. The most prevalent idea regarding him appears to be that he will be reinstated as Chief of the Punjab to fight against the Russians.

234. FROM VICEROY, CALCUTTA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 45. TELEGRAM NO. 9421 DATED 18TH MARCH, 1886.

Foreign. Secret.—Has Dhulip Singh started for India? If not, what are his present intentions.

235. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY, CALCUTTA

NO. 46. TELEGRAM DATED 18TH MARCH, 1886.

Secret. Your telegram of 18th. Dhulip Singh intends leaving on 31st in Verona. Can you now reply to my telegram of 2nd February?

FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY, CALCUTTA

TELEGRAM DATED THE 18TH MARCH, 1886.

In reply to telegram of 18th instant states that Maharajah Dhulip Singh intends leaving on the 31st in the Verona, and enquires whether a reply can now be sent to his telegram of the 2nd February. Papers are with the Viceroy?

18th March, 1886. H.M.D.

Yes. Please see remarks of Private Secretary to the Governor-General dated 17th March.

19th March, 1886. C.E. PYSTER

19th March, 1886. A.J.R.

236. FROM VICEROY, CALCUTTA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 47. TELEGRAM NO. 9581, DATED 18TH MARCH, 1886.

Foreign, Sect. Dhulip Singh. Question was considered by Council during my absence, and I have now seen their opinion. We are willing to afford the Maharaja such relief as can be obtained by a maximum grant of £50,000. This sum or any smaller sum which you think sufficient could be applied—first, to payment of any debts due to persons other than Government; secondly, to decrease of debt due to Government, so as to make reasonable addition to Maharaja's income. Money would be given on understanding that Maharaja abandons all claims to mines or other private estates; that he gives acquittance in full and effectual undertaking never to return to India; and that no further payment will be made hereafter on any ground. Grant would preclude all future claim regarding five lakh fund and provision for family.

237. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE NO. 11

DATED 20TH MARCH, 1886.

The Maharaja Dhulip Singh is expected to arrive in India in April. People in Delhi are speculating as to where he will reside. Anxious enquiries are being made about His Highness in Hoshiarpur and wild rumours are current regarding the powers that will be conferred on him. Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia is said to have sent letters announcing that the Maharajah has re-embraced the Sikh religion in England, and has betrothed his daughters to the Buriya Sardars in the Ambala district. The Sikhs are elated and declare that they will pay their respects to His Highness, if permitted to do so by Government. The Hindus, on the other hand pray that Dhulip Singh and the Sikhs may never come into power again, but are of opinion that the Nihangs and Kukas may be foolish enough to join any demonstration got up in his favour. The Maharaja, they say, will lose his pension, and Sardar Thakur Singh will get into trouble before long, as he is of an intriguing and grasping disposition.

On the 6th and 7th March, Sardar Thakur Singh celebrated a *Bhog* in the Golden Temple at Amritsar on behalf, it is believed, of Maharaja Dhulip Singh, who was said to have started from England on the 3rd March.

Buta Singh, proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Punjab*, Lahore, is said to have held a meeting, at which it was resolved to submit a memorial to the

Lieutenant-Governor, praying that on arrival of Dhulip Singh, it should be notified publicly that all who wished to go and meet His Highness were at liberty to do so.

238. FROM MESSRS. FARRER & CO., TO MR. TREASURE,
INDIA OFFICE

NO. 99.

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS,
22ND MARCH, 1886.

We hear that the Maharaja has definitely made up his mind to start for India on the 31st of this month, and we will therefore carry out your instructions with regard to renewing all or any of the policies at the various Insurance Offices if you will let us know what you wish to be done.

Note—Messrs. Farrer have been requested to leave the policies at the Offices of several Insurance Companies for endorsement of license, and to desire the Companies to communicate with the Secretary of State as to payment of the premiums.

239. FROM MESSRS. COUTTS & CO.

NO. 122.

22ND MARCH, 1886.

We are requested by His Highness the Maharaja Dhulip Singh to enquire if after his departure from England, his monthly stipend will be paid to us for the credit of his account as heretofore without the production of a life certificate.

240. FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

NO. 87. NO. 21. (POLITICAL)

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
25TH MARCH, 1886.

I forward herewith, for the information of Your Excellency in Council and for such action as you may deem expedient, copy of letter from Maharaja

Dhulip Singh. Request that his cousin may meet him at Bombay.

* From Maharaja Dhulip Singh dated 11th March, 1886.

** To Maharaja Dhulip Singh dated 16th March, 1886.

Dhulip Singh, and of my reply thereto, on the subject of Sardar Thakur Singh being allowed to meet His Highness on his arrival in India.

(Enclosures)

241. FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY

NO. 86.

HOLLAND PARK,
11TH MARCH, 1886.

As my cousin, Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, informs me that he fears permission will not be accorded him to go to Bombay by the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, and as I particularly desire to be rebaptised into the faith of my ancestors by some relative of my own, may I therefore beg of Your Lordship kindly to request His Excellency by telegraph on my behalf or permit me to do so, that the Sardar be allowed to meet me on reaching India.

242. FROM THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., &c.,
TO HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

NO. 89.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
16TH MARCH, 1886.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant asking that your cousin, Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, may be allowed to meet you on reaching India, and to say, in reply, that I have written to the Viceroy making known Your Highness's wishes to His Excellency.

243. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO
VICEROY, CALCUTTA

NO. 51.

TELEGRAM DATED 25TH MARCH, 1886.

Your Lordship's telegram dated 20th. Dhulip Singh. After careful consideration in Council, formal communication was made to him yesterday by the Political Secretary, warning him of the consequences to which he is liable in India in certain eventualities under the Terms of 1849, and Regulation 3 of 1818, and informed him of the willingness of Your Government to grant a sum of £50,000 for purposes and on conditions named by you. He replied that he understood above named powers of Government, and unhesitatingly refused the grant. He has made all arrangements to leave for Bombay with his family on 31st in *Verona*.

HIS EXCELLENCY

Dhulip Singh, having has his offer on £50,000 and a warning as to the possible results of coming to India, insists upon coming. He leaves by

the *Verona* on the 31st March. The *Verona* goes to Bombay. I will find out when he arrives.

Dhalip Singh's attitude has attended in one respect. In a letter of the 10th February he expresses his readiness to live at Ootacmund, or any other place the Viceroy may name.

For the reasons before stated in the printed notes, I think we had better send him to Kudai Kanal, which is more out of the way, and quieter than Ootacmund. Colonel Mackinnon, the Private Secretary of Madras, describes it as one of the nicest hill stations in India, or anywhere else, with a climate far superior to that of Nilgerries. It is, however, a solitary place in winter. Ootacmand would be pleasanter, but it would be inconvenient to have Dhalip Singh at the Headquarters of the Government of Madras.

We cannot trust to Dhalip Singh's present fit of politeness. I would,

* I will think of a suitable man. Possible Mr. Arthur Crawford of Bombay would do. It may be desirable to provide by warrant for the rest of the family. This is rather a delicate question.

therefore, hold in reserve a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 and would send down an officer* to meet him at Bombay who should convey him, quietly if

possible, to Kudai Kanal.

Meanwhile, we should ask the Madras Government by telegram to prepare quarters at Kudai Kanal, and should find out from the Secretary of State what the party will be. I would telegraph :—

1. To the Secretary of State :—

"Your telegram 25th, Dhalip Singh, what is number and composition of party. I propose to send them to Kudai Kanal, said to be one of the best hill stations in India with exceptionally good climate."

2. To Madras :—

"Dhalip Singh is coming out in *Verona* sailing thirty-first March. Please take steps to procure accommodation at Kudai Kanal. Will telegraph number of party when received."

28th March, 1886 H.M.D.

29th March, 1886 D.

[Telegram to Secretary of State, No. 1054 I, dated the 30th March, 1886.]

[Telegram to Madras, No. 1055 I, dated 30th March, 1886.]

244. FROM COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY, POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT, TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

NO. 90. NO. 80

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
26TH MARCH, 1886.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, copy of correspondence relative to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

Memorandum, dated the 24th March (No. 245),
Letter from Maharaja, dated the 24th March

245. MEMORANDUM BY SIR O.T. BURNE, OF HIS INTERVIEW WITH MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

NO. 91.

24TH MARCH, 1886.

In accordance with the orders of the Secretary of State, I saw Maharaja Dhulip Singh today by appointment, and read to him very carefully the note (marked A¹), with which I had been furnished by the Secretary of State in Council.

The Maharaja listened attentively to the first portion of the note, and, on my asking if he clearly understood it, he replied in the affirmative, saying that he had considered the whole matter, and was quite aware that the Government of India had the powers of which I had reminded him. I then proceeded to read the second portion of the note, upon which he observed with vehemence that nothing would induce him to accept the "Paltry sum" offered; that his claims to private estates alone reached £400,000, a year; that he was not in debt, and wanted no money; that he was resolved to go to India, and that on no account whatever would he sign any paper either in renunciation of his claims or binding him never to return to his own country.

I deemed it my duty to assure the Maharaja that the communication I had now made to him had been inspired solely by feelings of consideration towards himself and to save him, if possible, from blindly pursuing a course of conduct which exchanged a life of certainty for one of uncertainty, and which could only end in misery to himself and his family. His Highness replied that he was not unmindful of this, and not ungrateful for the kind intention of Government towards him. He then entered into a somewhat rambling statement, assuring me, in the first place, of his

loyalty, and warning Government, in the second place, of the risk they would run if they imprisoned him in India. That step would exactly fulfil one part of the Sikh prophecy ; he was to be imprisoned ; then to escape, then to find himself in some, as yet unknown, Sikh village, to be supernaturally elected as Prophet and to lead the Sikh nation ; there was then to be a great war between England and Russia, in which he was to have a part, although it was not yet known which side he was to take ; that he was not to be a 'Fakir' and that he cared no longer for his position or property in England. After warning the Maharaja that all this was merely dreaming, as to which he might one day have a sad awakening, I took my leave, His Highness reassuring me that nothing would induce him to accept the grant of money offered to him, and that he had made all arrangements to leave for India on the 31st instant. He was firm and quiet in his manner during the interview, and thanked me warmly at the end of it for what he called my courtesy towards him.

245 A. NOTE A, REFERRED TO IN ABOVE.

The Secretary of State has received with satisfaction the repeated assurance, which the Maharaja has given of his unshaken loyalty and devotedness to Her Majesty, and it need scarcely be said that it would give Her Majesty's Government the greatest pain if anything would occur to disappoint the expectations which they trust they may confidently entertain as to His Highness's conduct in India.

In view, however, of the communication received from the Maharaja, specially those letters which relate to certain Sikh prophecy and to His Highness's announced intention on arriving in India to be rebaptised into the Sikh faith, the Secretary of State thinks that, before the Maharaja proceeds to India, it is due to His Highness that he should be reminded that independently of the right under the terms of Lahore of 1849 to withdraw his pension if he does not remain obedient to the British Government and reside at such a place as the Governor-General of India may select, he will, whilst in India, come under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 by which the Governor-General in Council is empowered, for reasons of State, to place under personal restraint individuals against whom it may not be deemed proper to take judicial proceedings ; those reasons being the due maintenance of alliances of the British Government with foreign powers, the preservation of tranquility in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion.

2. The Secretary of State further desires to make known to the Maharaja that the Viceroy, having had His Highness's various applications under his consideration, has recently informed the Secretary of State that the Government of India would be willing to grant His Highness

a sum not exceeding £50,000, to be applied to payment of any debts due by him to persons other than the Government; and, secondly, to decreasing the debt due by him to Government, on condition that His Highness enters into a formal engagement to desist from all claims whatsoever on the Government and never to return to India; and that the Secretary of State in Council, whilst in no way admitting the validity of the Maharaja's claims, would be prepared to sanction such a grant on the conditions named above.

246. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR O.T. BURNE

NO. 92.

24TH MARCH, 1886.

With reference to communication you were directed to make to me by the Secretary of State for India this afternoon, I think it only right to state for his information in this letter, that not even for five hundred thousand pounds (£500,000), were it offered me, would I either give acquittance for my just claims on the British Government, or bind myself never again to go to India.

The offer of fifty thousand pounds (50,000) made to me by you for the above purpose this afternoon would have been treated by me with the greatest contempt, were not that it came from a Minister of Her Majesty's Government for whom I have sincere respect.

My position on re-embracing the faith of my ancestors will become, in fulfilment of the prophecy, that of a Sikh Gooroo, and should the India Government be so ill-advised as to imprison me, I dare not predict the serious consequences that will follow sooner or latter. For it will be believed by the Sikhs, of whom a considerable number are in the British Army, that I have suffered degradation not in consequence of disloyalty on my part towards the Government but on account of my having renounced Christianity and re-embraced Sikhism.

It is extremely distasteful to me to say anything with reference to the above subject, but as a loyal subject I must do my duty, however painful, and warn Her Majesty's Government against the blind and judicial policy intended to be followed towards (me) in India, who am the son of the old ally of England.

I must confess that, thinking over what passed at our interview this afternoon, I have become convinced that the prophecy regarding myself will be literally fulfilled, and that I shall really be the Gooroo of the Sikhs after all, through the misguided policy of the Viceroy. But I do not care what happens to me, for my trust now is in the God of my ancestors and in my destiny.

Farewell, Sir Owen. May the blessing of the God of Baba Nanak rest upon you.

247. FROM COLONEL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT, TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERN-
MENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

NO. 93. NO. 90.

26TH MARCH, 1886.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy,

Memorandum, dated 24th March

copy of correspondence
regarding Maharaja
Dhulip Singh.

SECRETARY

There are three despatches for consideration :—

A. Political No. 21, dated 25th March, intimating Dhulip Singh's request for permission to Sardar Thakur Singh to meet him on his arrival.

As the Maharaja is coming to Bombay it has been decided, I believe, that nothing need be done in the matter at present. I spoke to the Secretary about this.

B. Secret No. 88, dated 26th March, contains (1) a memorandum of conversation between Sir O. Burne and the Maharaja on 24th March, and (2) Letter of same date from the Maharaja to Sir O. Burne.

In course of the conversation the Maharaja expressed his fixed resolution to come to India. He rejected with disdain the paltry sum of £50,000 offered to him by the Government of India, and declared he was not in debt and was not in want of money.

He hinted at the risk the British were running if they imprisoned him in India, and thereby fulfilling the Sikh prophecy which foretold the steps by which he would regain his kingdom.

In his letter of the same day he put his intentions and hopes in stronger language.

C. See No. 90, dated 26th March 1886—Forwards first a memorandum of an earlier conversation between the Maharaja and Sir Owen Burne which took place in January last, with connected correspondence.

In this conversation he pressed anew his monetary claims. His excuse for reopening matters which were believed to have been finally concluded by the settlement which ended in the Act of 1882, was that he had only lately learnt to realize his position as king. He expressed himself however ready to abide by an inquiry into his 'claims' even if after examination nothing should be adjudged to him. His Highness has however, it may be noted, expressed himself similarly before the previous settlements that have been made with him.

The enclosures to the despatch also include a letter from the Maharaja to the Secretary of State asking for an inquiry by the Law Lords; and a note of conversation on 10th February between the Maharaja and Lord Kimberley.

20th April, 1886. G.S.F.

248. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL
INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE NO. 12

DATED THE 27TH MARCH, 1886.

8. Pohlo Mal, Agent of Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, stated that the latter has received a telegram announcing that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh will start for India on the 16th March (Amritsar No. 11, of 13th March 1886).

Since the departure of the Maharaja has been reported, *Karahparshad* to the value of Rs. 5 is offered daily in his name at the Golden Temple in Amritsar. (Amritsar No. 11 of 20th March 1886).

A rumour is current that Dhulip Singh has sent a telegram to Sardar Jamiat Singh of the Gurdaspur district, stating that he expects to arrive at Bombay in April, and that those who wish to see him should come there. (Amritsar No. 11 of 20th March).

249. FROM VICEROY, CALCUTTA, TO SECRETARY OF
STATE, LONDON

TELEGRAM NO. 1054 I,
DATED 30TH MARCH, 1886.

Foreign. Secret. Your telegram 25th. Dhulip Singh. What is number and composition of party. I propose to send them to Kudai Kanal, said to be one of best hill stations in India with exceptionally good climate.

250 FROM FOREIGN, CALCUTTA, TO CHIEF
SECRETARY, MADRAS

NO 53.

TELEGRAM NO. 1055 I,
DATED 30TH MARCH, 1886.

Dhulip Singh is coming out in *Verona* sailing 31st March. Please take steps to procure accommodation at Kudai Kanal. Will telegraph number of party when received.

251. FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(NO. 115. NO. 26. POL.)

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
31ST MARCH, 1886.

Para I. With reference to past correspondence in connection with the affairs of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, I forward herewith, for the informa-

* A—Mem. by Sir Owen Burne, dated 24th March, 1886, with enclosures. [See No. 245]

B—Letter from Maharaja Duleep Singh, dated 24th March, 1886. [See No. 246]

C—Demi-official letter from Sir Owen Burne, dated 30th March, and Enclosure. [See No. 252, 253]

D—Letter from Maharaja Duleep Singh, dated 30th March, 1886. [See No. 254]

E—Letter from Messrs. Coutts and Co. dated 22nd March, 1886. [See No. 239]

F—Letter to Messrs. Coutts & Co. dated 30th March, 1886. [See No. 255]

tion of Your Excellency's Government, copies of papers noted in the margin by which you will observe that, after careful consideration in Council, I instructed my

Political Secretary to make an announcement to his Highness reminding the Maharaja in view of recent communications received from him of the penalties to which he will render himself liable in certain eventualities after arrival in India, and informing His Highness at the same time of the willingness of the Government of India, as stated in your telegram of the 20th instant, to grant him a sum of £ 50,000 on condition that he entered into a formal engagement to abandon all claims whatsoever on the Government and never to return to India.

2. It will be seen from Sir Owen Burne's memorandum of the 24th March, that the Maharaja after listening carefully to the communication made to him, stated that he was fully aware of the powers of the Governor-General in council in regard to his movements and conduct, that he refused the grants of money offered to him by the Government of India, and declined to consent now or hereafter to sign any condition of the character above indicated. His Highness has confirmed this refusal by a letter since received of which a copy is enclosed.

3. As I have already informed Your Excellency by telegram, the Maharaja left England with his family this day, in the *Verona*, en route to Bombay.

* Maharaja Duleep Singh. Rejection of grant of money offered to him. Departure for India.

252. FROM SIR OWEN BURNE TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
(Demi-Official)

NO. 119.

30TH MARCH, 1886.

Lord Kimberley has seen the enclosed letter in a newspaper, and begs me to send it to you in case Your Highness may desire to repudiate it, if not genuine. I send this by messenger, in case Your Highness may wish to return an answer by him.

(Enclosure in above)

253. MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH'S APPEAL TO
HIS COUNTRYMEN

[NO. 120]

LONDON, THE 25TH MARCH, 1886.

My beloved Countrymen.

It was not my intention ever to return to reside in India, but Sutgooroo, who governs all destiny, and is more powerful than I, his erring creature has caused circumstances to be so brought that, against my will, I am compelled to quit England, in order to occupy a humble sphere in India. I submit to His Will, being persuaded that whatever is for the best will happen.

I now, therefore, beg forgiveness of you, Khalsa Jee, or the Pure, for having forsaken the faith of my ancestors for a foreign religion; but I was very young when I embraced Christianity.

It is my fond desire on reaching Bombay to take the *Pahul* again, and I sincerely hope for your prayers to the Sutgooroo on that solemn occasion. But in returning to the faith of my ancestors, you must clearly understand, Khalsa Jee, that I have no intention of conforming to the errors introduced into Sikhism by those who were not true Sikhs—such for instance, as wretched caste observances or abstinence from meats and drinks, which Sutgooroo has ordained should be received with thankfulness by all mankind but to worship the pure and beautiful tenets of Baba Nanuk and obey the commands of Gooroo Govind Singh.

I am compelled to write this to you because I am not permitted to visit you in the Punjab as I had much hope to do.

Truly a noble reward for any unwavering loyalty to the Empress of India! But Sutgooroo's Will be done.

With Wah Gooroo Jee ki Futteh,

I remain,
My beloved countrymen,
Your own flesh and blood,
Duleep Singh.

254. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO
SIR OWEN BURNE

NO. 121.

30TH MARCH, 1886.

The letter is perfectly genuine, and therefore I do not desire to repudiate it.

We leave here about ten this evening, and sleep at the Great Eastern Hotel in Liverpool Street, so as to be ready to quit England tomorrow morning.

255. FROM MR. GODLEY TO MESSRS COUTTS & CO.

NO. 123.

30TH MARCH, 1886.

In reply to your letter of the 22nd instant, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to inform that, until further notice, any payments to you on account of the stipend of the Maharaja Duleep Singh will be made as heretofore, without the production of a life certificate, but it must be understood that the continuance of these payments must be subject to reconsideration in the event of the Maharaja's return to India.

256. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON TO
VICEROY'S CAMP

NO. 54.

TELEGRAM DATED 31ST MARCH, 1886.

Foreign. Confidential. Dhulip Singh left today in Peninsular and Oriental Steamer *Verona* for Bombay, accompanied by Maharani, three sons and three daughters, a Sikh attendant, a native servant, an European nurse and an *ayah*.

In recent communications with Political Secretary, he has used language of menacing character. Referring to eventual troubles in India, war with Russia and part he may take as head of the Sikh nation. An address from him to Sikhs stated to have been sent to India, just published in newspapers here and since acknowledged by Maharaja to be genuine. It announced his intention to be re-baptized into Sikh faith, with a view to take his blessing as Gooroo of nation. Maharaja laid stress on test of alleged prophecy, announced successive steps by which he is to be restored to power. He no doubt intends to circulate this in India. Affair, if neglected, might possibly give serious trouble, but I have no doubt you will take whatever measures you may deem necessary to prevent any dangerous feeling being excited among Sikhs. Dhulip Singh's communications should be carefully watched. He is in a new state of mind which seems to border on monomania.

FROM HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE

TELEGRAM DATED 31ST MARCH, 1886.

Reports the departure of Maharaja Dhulip Singh with his wife and six children in the *Verona* on the 31st March. Publication of an address by His Highness to the Sikh nation. His Highness's claims, &c.

(Telegram to Bombay Government No. 12 C.I., dated the 2nd April 1886).

(a) Telegraph to Punjab Government.

Dhulip Singh left England 31st in steamer *Verona* with family. He has lately used threatening language, and address by him to Sikh nation has been published in English papers. He apparently intends to do all possible mischief. Please watch communications. He will be sent under warrants to Kudai Kunal in Madras.

(b) Telegraph to Madras Government.

Dhulip Singh's party consists of Maharani, three sons, three daughters, one European nurse, and three native servants. As Dhulip Singh seems determined to do mischief it may be necessary to make careful arrangements for watching and isolating him.

(c) To Bombay Government.

Dhulip Singh left 31st in *Verona* with wife and six children. It will be necessary for him to go to Kudai Kunal in Madras. A warrant, under Regulation III of 1818 will be prepared and sent to you. Viceroy hopes Maharaja's removal may be so managed as to cause no excitement. A special officer should be sent to meet him and to explain the arrangements made for his journey, which would follow immediately on his landing. The warrant should be held in reserve and not produced unless absolutely necessary, but if he refused to go, he must be shown that resistance is useless. Special officer must accompany to Madras. You will understand that it is very desirable to do the whole thing as quietly as possible, and to say nothing about it beforehand. Crawford would perhaps be good man for this affair.

(d) To Foreign office, Simla.

Dhulip Singh has left England in *Verona* for Bombay. Consult Legislative Department early on question whether he could be stopped at Aden, and if so by what procedure. Send me warrant for his detention at Kudai Kunal, or if it can be signed in Simla by other Secretary send direct to Bombay. I have sent Bombay instructions for meeting and removing Maharaja to Madras.

3rd April, 1886. H.M.D.

We ought to include wife and three sons and three daughters in

warrant if possible, but I do not know names. Answer by telegram.

4th April, 1886.

H.M.D.

Telegram to Punjab Government No. 33 C.I. dated the 5th April, 1886. (a)

Telegram to Madras Government No. 34 C.I. dated the 5th April, 1886. (b)

„ Bombay „ „ 35 „ „ „ „ (c)

„ Foreign Secretary „ 36 „ „ „ „ „ (d)

257. FROM COLONEL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL AND SECRET DEPARTMENT, TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY GOVERN-
MENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,

2ND APRIL, 1886.

I forward herewith for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy letter from P. & O. Company to Sir O. Burne, announcing Maharaja Dhulip Singh's departure.

258. FROM CHAIRMAN P. & O. COMPANY, TO COLONEL
SIR O. BURNE, K.C.S.I.,

(Demi-Official)

NO. 125.

LONDON, 31ST MARCH, 1886.

Here is the memorandum duly signed in reference to Dhulip Singh.

Memorandum

The Maharaja Dhulip Singh, the Maharani, the two elder sons, and three young daughters and a son, left Gravesend today in the *Verona* for Bombay.

They had no suite, and were only accompanied by one Sikhs attendant, a native servant, one European nurse, and an ayah.

London,

The 31st March, 1886.

The Managing Director,

P. & O. Steam Navigation Company.

259. FROM FOREIGN, VICEROY'S CAMP CHAKIA, TO
POLITICAL BOMBAY

NO. 55.

TELEGRAM NO. 12 C.I.,
DATED 2ND APRIL, 1886.

No. 12 C.I. When will P. and O. Steamer arrive Bombay ?

260. *The Tribune* DATED APRIL 3, PAGE 8, COL I.

The vernacular press—Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

The '*Aftab-i-Punjab*' says :

The news that Maharaja Dhulip Singh will, on his arrival in this country, be told to take up his residence in Octacmand has taken us by surprise. If the news is not false, we have to deplore over the unpropriety of the order.

After regretting deeply the cruel treatment that has been dealt out to the Maharaja, it proceeds :—

The pension which the Maharaja gets now is only 25,000 Pounds sterling a year, and quite insufficient to enable His Highness to maintain himself in a position befitting his high rank. There is one thing more in this connection which we should not forget. This is that the pension now given to His Highness will not descend to his children. The Maharaja has, we see, repeatedly brought this to the notice of the British Government but no heed has been paid whatever to his request. Although the Maharaja has been in England for the last 30 years, and has been completely Anglicized and is one of the best and most loyal well-wishers of the British, still the Government treats him very cruelly and orders him to live in an out of the way place.

261. FROM BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

TELEGRAM NO. 1966.

DATED 5TH APRIL, 1886.

Intimate that P. and O. Steamer *Verona* is expected at Bombay about the 27th instant.

262. FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY, BENARAS

TELEGRAM DATED 5TH APRIL, 1886.

States that Dhalip Singh has left England for Bombay, and requests that Legislative Department may be consulted whether the Maharaja can be stopped at Aden, and if so by what procedure. Asks for a warrant for Duleep Singh's detention at Kudai Kanal.

This is submitted with all papers available here. They show that no question of issuing a warrant for Dhulip Singh's detention was raised when His Highness visited India in 1864. It might be mentioned that it was at first suggested that the Maharaja should be interned at Aden and Secretary

Political A. August, 1882
Nos. 542-544, see K.W.

noted that His Highness should be detained under a warrant. Under Section II of Bengal Regulation III of 1818 the warrant can be signed by "one of the Secretaries to the Government". Clause 3 of Section V of the Regulation

states that the warrant "shall be sufficient authority for the detention of any State Prisoner within the Presidency of Fort William," but it will be remembered that the Nepalese State Prisoners were detained at Ootacmund in Madras Presidency under this very Regulation.¹ Bombay and Madras have similar Regulation for the detention of State Prisoners; viz., Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, and Madras Regulation II of 1819.

The name of the Maharaja's wife and children are given in A-Political I., February 1883, Nos. 101-40.

6th April, 1886. C.E. Pyster

263. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE ESQ., TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

BENARAS, 6TH APRIL, 1886.

I forward you herewith copy of letter addressed by the Maharaja Dhulip Singh to Lord Kimberley. [See No. 241]

(a) SECRETARY

I suppose the Punjab and Bombay will be instructed to prevent the Thakur having communication with the Maharaja ?

12th April, 1886. G.S.F.

(b) HIS EXCELLENCY

Dhulip Singh wishes Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia to be allowed to meet him at Bombay for the purpose of rebaptising him into the faith of his fathers.

The Sardar is a troublesome person, who has visited Dhulip Singh, in England, and has since been doing mischief on his behalf out here. I would not permit him to see Dhulip Singh, who should go straight from his ship to Madras.

The Madras Government cannot find quarters immediately at Kudai Kanal; but will arrange temporarily to accommodate Dhulip Singh at Kotagiri near Ootacmund.

13th April, 1886. H.M.D.

264. FROM G.S. FORBES, ESQ., TO J.M. MACPHERSON, ESQ.
(Demi-Official)

Confidential and Very urgent

6TH APRIL, 1886.

The Maharaja Dhulip Singh has left England for Bombay in the S.S.

1. For authority, see Act XXIV of 1850, Act III of 1818,

Verona. Durand has just telegraphed from the Viceroy's camp to the Legislative Department on question whether he should be stopped at Aden and, if so, by what procedure.

Under the terms of Lahore (Aitchison, volume VI., Page 47) Article V., the Maharaja is bound to reside at such place as the Governor-

This has been held to mean place in
India. G.S.F.

General of India may select. His Highness has already been informed that on his arrival in India the foregoing article

will be put in force. The intention was to name a station in the Madras Presidency, and enforce his residence there (should occasion arise) by a warrant under the State Prisoners' Regulation. Now you will see inquiry is made whether he cannot be detained at Aden, either, as I understand, under the regulation or otherwise.

Will any part of the difficulty arise in reference to the fact that he is on board a British ship?

I am sorry to say none of papers in the case have reached Simla yet, but perhaps you may be able to advise without them.

265. FROM J.M. MACPHERSON, ESQ., TO G.S. FORBES, ESQ.
(Demi-Official) Confidential

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT, SIMLA,
6TH APRIL, 1886.

Your letter with regard to the Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

So far as I can judge on the facts before me, the Maharaja can be arrested at Aden under a warrant issued by the Governor of Bombay under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, which corresponds to Bengal Regulation III of 1818, by which similar powers are conferred on the Governor-General in Council.

There can be no question as to the Bombay Regulation being in force in Aden, as it has been specially declared to be in force there by a Notification under the Scheduled Districts Act (see Gazette of India, dated 28th June 1879, Part I., page 434). Nor do I think that the fact that the Maharajah will be on a British ship in the harbour of Aden and therefore within our territorial jurisdiction. Further I think that the issue of warrant by the Governor of Bombay can be justified on the ground that it is necessary "for the security of the British dominions from internal commotion" to place the Maharajah under personal restraint. "British dominions" in the preamble to the Regulation I take to mean any British dominions, and not merely the British dominions under the administration of the Governor

of Bombay. To restrict the words in this way would be to very materially limit the value of the Regulation.

It would seem moreover, I may say, that a warrant issued under the Regulation, if in proper form, could not be questioned. This is perfectly clear so far as a warrant under the Bengal Regulation is concerned (see the case of Amir Khan, 6 B.L. R., 392), and I think that the law would be held to be the same with regard to the warrants issued by the Governor of Bombay under this Regulation. I have not had time however to go as carefully into the point as I should like.

As to the Terms of Lahore, the breach by the Maharajah of the proviso to the 5th Term would seem to make him liable to a forfeiture of

This is understood. G.S.F.

the privileges granted him under the former part of the terms. It would not in any way affect his personal liberty, or, apart from the provisions of the Regulation, give the Government right to arrest him.

Though in my opinion, as stated above, I think the Maharajah can be arrested at Aden under the Bombay Regulation, it would perhaps be well for you to get a further opinion before taking any action. Neither James nor the Hon'ble Member will be in Simla before the end of the week, and that would probably be too late for you. I should therefore suggest your telegraphing at once to the Advocate-General, and requesting him to give a reply by telegraph. The question is a simple one, and could easily be both stated and answered in a telegram.

On Mr. Macpherson's letter we may reply :

Your telegram fifth April :—

Macpherson, only representative of Legislative Department, here advises that Maharaja can be arrested at Aden under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, State Prisoners. This Regulation has been specially declared in force in Aden. British dominions in preamble include in his opinion any British dominions and not merely dominions under Bombay. Moreover a warrant in proper form under Regulation could not be questioned ; at any rate it has been so held with reference to corresponding Bengal Regulation. Macpherson, however, advises telegraphic reference to Advocate-General. Perhaps however this is not necessary. If action is to be taken at Aden, you will, we assume, instruct Bombay accordingly. Today a warrant under Bengal Regulation, signed by Home Secretary, will be despatched to Bombay including wife and six children. This will give them names of family if an Aden warrant is to issue.

7th April, 1886.G.S.F.

7th April, 1886.W.J.C.

(Telegram to Foreign Secretary dated the 7th April, 1886.)

(Demi-official to J.B. Richey, Esq., C.S.I., dated the 8th April, 1886).

266. FROM CHIEF SECRETARY, MAHABLESHWAR,
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, BENARAS

NO. 60.

TELEGRAM DATED 7TH APRIL, 1886.

Your telegram of 5th attended to.

267. FROM C.S. FORBES ESQ., JUNIOR UNDER-SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPTT.,
TO J. B. RICHEY, ESQ., C.S.I., CHIEF SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

(Confidential)

SIMLA,

8TH APRIL, 1886.

I am directed by Mr. Durand to forward the enclosed Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 to be used against the Maharaja Dhulip Singh and his family under the circumstances which Mr. Durand has explained in communications addressed to you direct from the Viceroy's camp.

Warrant, dated Simla, the 18th April, 1886

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Maharaja Dhulip Singh Bahadur shall be placed under personal restraint at Kudai Kanai, Pulani Hill, Madura District, in the Presidency of Madras, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council and the provisions of the Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal).

On the death or release of Maharaja Dhulip Singh Bahadur or when this Warrant otherwise ceases to be operative, this Warrant is to be returned to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, with a memorandum endorsed thereon to explain the reason of its return.

It is further ordered that the special orders of the Governor-General-in-Council regarding this warrant be asked on the first day of January in each year, in the event of this Warrant not having been returned to this office before the above date.

A. P. Macdonnell,

Acting Secretary to the Government of India.

Similar warrants were issued in the name of Maharani Bamba, wife

of Maharaja Dhulip Singh Bahadur, Victor Albert Jay Dhulip Singh (son of the Maharaja), Frederick Victor Dhulip Singh (son of the Maharaja), Bamba Sophia Jindan Dhulip Singh (daughter of the Maharaja), Catherine Hilda Dhulip Singh (daughter of Maharaja), Sophia Alexandra Dhulip Singh (daughter of the Maharaja), Albert Edward Alexander Dhulip Singh (son of the Maharaja).

268. FROM GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY

NO. 61.

TELEGRAM DATED 9TH APRIL, 1886.

Dhulip Singh. Found wholly impossible for the present to get accommodation at Kudai Kunal for Dhulip Singh. Strongly recommend Kotagiri for a time.

269. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE, NO. 14,

DATED THE 10TH APRIL, 1886.

9. It is stated that the claims of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh to estates in the Punjab, yielding Rs. 82,00,000, are now under the consideration of Parliament, and that pending the receipt of final orders, he has been obliged to postpone his departure from England. A rumour prevails at Ludhiana that His Highness sent some money to the Brahmins of Benaras, but that they returned it and informed him that he could not become a Sikh again. The excitement at Delhi regarding the return of Dhulip Singh is reported to have subsided as soon as it was known that he would not be allowed to reside in the Punjab.

Note :—The Maharaja Dhulip Singh has, it is believed, sent telegrams to his *Parohit* Harkishan Das and Diwan Buta Singh, Proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Punjab* newspaper of Lahore, announcing his having sailed for Bombay on the 31st March.

270. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO MADRAS, OOTACMUND

NO. 62.

TELEGRAM NO. 11321,
DATED 12TH APRIL, 1886.

No. 11321. Your telegram 9th, Duleep Singh. Please get temporary accommodation at Kotagiri as recommended. Bombay Government will inform you of Duleep Singh's movements.

271. FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY, BOMBAY, TO
THE FOREIGN SECRETARY

NO. 63.

TELEGRAM DATED 14TH APRIL, 1886.

Your telegram of 5th. Duleep Singh Crawford undertakes affair. To avoid public comment he proposes in telegraphing to Government of India and Madras to refer to Maharaja and suite as "Burmese party." Government of Madras informed. All necessary arrangements being made quietly. Warrants received.

Telegram from Bombay Government, dated the 14th April, 1886.

With reference to this Office telegram of 5th instant, states that Mr. Crawford undertakes charge of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh and party, and that he proposes in telegraphing about them to refer them as "Burmese party". Adds that the warrants have been received.

No orders required on this telegram ?

Should any change be made in the warrant sent to Bombay Government as the Maharaja and party will for the present reside at Kotagiri, and not at Kudai Kanal ? A draft is submitted in accordance with Secretary's note of 13th April.

15th April 1886. C.E.
15th April 1886. A.J.R.

SECRETARY

We need not now address Bombay and Punjab as directed in your note of the 13th. If the Maharaja passes Aden the necessary action may be then taken.

<p>A draft to the Resident at Aden, with warrants under Regulation III of 1818, is put up.</p> <p>The question of communicating with Punjab will be taken up on despatch of the warrants.</p> <p>G.S.F.</p>	<p>(The office packet should be registered and placed in confidedtial covers.)</p> <p>15th April, 1886.</p>
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Telegram to Political Resident, Aden, No. 1177 I,

dated 15th April, 1886,

" " " Secretary of State

" " " No. 1178 I,
dated 15th April, 1886

„	Bombay Government	No. 1179 I, dated 15th April, 1886.
„	Punjab „	No. 1180 I, dated 15th April, 1886.

(Telegram to Secretary of State, dated the 16th April, 1886).

Remarks on draft letter to Political Resident, Aden :—

Very well. Copy to Bombay. Then send file to Legislative Department to see that all is right.

We might add in a telegram to the Resident that the warrants are only to be used in case of necessity, i.e., if the Maharaja refuses to submit without them. Let me have draft tomorrow. How old are the children.

15th April, 1886. H.M.D.

(To Political Resident, Aden, No. 1193 I, dated 16th April, 1886).

(To Bombay Government, No. 1194 I, dated 16th April, 1886).

272. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 64.

TELEGRAM NO. 1177 I,
DATED 15TH APRIL, 1886.

Maharaja Dhulip Singh with Maharani, six children, and servants is passenger by P. & O. Steamer *Verona* from London. Please require whole party to land and detain them under surveillance at Aden until further orders. Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 as extended by Act IV of 1850 have issued and will be transmitted to you in due course. You can inform Maharaja that disloyal address which has been issued by His Highness appears to render his return to India undesirable. Should His Highness on the announcement express desire to go back to England, he may be allowed to do so in English ship on giving you solemn pledge in writing that, in consideration of his release from his present detention, he will not renew his attempt to return to India and will abstain from all treasonable practices. Keep me informed by telegram of result of your proceedings.

273. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 66.

TELEGRAM NO. 1178 I,
DATED 15TH APRIL, 1886.

Foreign. Confidential. In consideration of fact noted in your telegram of 31st March that Dhulip Singh has issued an address to Sikhs which he acknowledges to be genuine, and in which he announces intention of assuming authority over Sikh nation, and that at the same time indicates

steps by which he is to be restored to power, and in view of communication made by him to Political Secretary at India Office of a menacing character in reference to eventual troubles in India and war with Russia, we have thought it desirable to issue warrants for detention of Maharaja and party at Aden. Order to this effect has been sent by telegraph to Aden authorities.

I have been obliged to delay for a few days addressing Your Lordship on this matter until my Council could be assembled at Simla.

274. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA TO BOMBAY

NO. 67.

TELEGRAM NO. 1179 I,
DATED 15TH APRIL, 1886.

In consequence to recent proceedings of Duleep Singh, it has now been decided to stop him at Aden, if possible. Following telegram sent to save time direct to Resident, Aden :--Begins. See telegram No. 1177 I, dated 15th April ante. Ends. Warrants will follow by today's post.

275. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO PUNJAB

NO. 68.

TELEGRAM NO. 1180 I,
DATED 15TH APRIL, 1886.

In consequence of recent proceedings of Dhulip Singh, it has been decided to stop him at Aden if possible. Orders have been issued to this effect.

276. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 15TH APRIL, 1886.

Private. Dhulip Singh. It is desirable that His Highness should be treated with all due personal consideration, and that his comfort should be provided for at Government expense as far as circumstances permit. Most important that the health of party should not suffer. Maharaja should not be permitted to communicate with outside world. In the event of his not returning to England, Agent from hence will arrive before end of month, but Maharaja should not be made acquainted with this circumstance.

277. FROM COLONEL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL SECRET DEPARTMENT, TO H.M. DURAND,
ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

NO. 160.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
16TH APRIL, 1886.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the

Dated the 31st March, 1886.

Viceroy, six copies of memorandum regarding Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

(Confidential)

No. 6.

AFFAIRS OF MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

(Continuation of Memorandum, dated the 4th December, 1885).

NO. 161.

Home. 101 of 1886.

On the 2nd January, 1886, Maharaja Dhulip Singh called on Sir Owen Burne to ask for an interview with the Secretary of State (Lord Randolph Churchill). In the course of conversation Sir Owen Burne gathered that the Maharaja's object in wishing to see the Secretary of State was :—

1. To urge his right to the "four lakh fund" and to obtain a definite reply to his claim.
2. To press for an answer to his "private estates" claim.

The Maharaja also mentioned the Sikh prophecy as to himself, his desire that Government would give him an estate in the Punjab where he could settle down with his family as a Sikh Chief loyal to the Government, and the postponement of his departure for India till February 1886. Lord Randolph Churchill instructed Sir Owen Burne to say, in reply to the Maharaja's inquiry, that in view of the official correspondence on the subject, he did not think such an interview would be attended with any advantage, as it would not be in His Lordship's power to say anything in the matter which would be satisfactory to the Maharaja.

The following is a copy of the Sikh prophecy—to use the words of the Maharaja "believed in by thousands of Sikhs, and whose numbers will be vastly increased when the course which the Government have intimated will be pursued towards me, and which is certain to make a martyr of me in the eyes of my co-religionists when I reach India."

The last Sikh Gooroo, or teacher, died about the year 1725¹.
Sikh prophecy.

"Being asked upon an occasion by his disciples whether he would ever again visit the world, Gooroo Govind Singh replied in the affirmative adding that he will take birth again in the household of Sikh who will marry a Muhammadan wife, and that his name will be Deep Singh, of which Dhulip Singh is a corruption. Although the Sikhs can possess as

¹ The tenth and the last Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, in fact, died on the night of October 6-7, 1708.

many as Muhammadan women in their harems as they can afford to support, yet Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was the only Sikh as far as I am aware, who went through the regular marriage ceremony with one.

"The Gooroo went on to say that this Deep Singh, after becoming dispossessed of all he had inherited, residing for a long time alone in a foreign land, will return and correct the errors into which the Sikhs have fallen in their worship of God and by neglect of his (the Gooroo's) tenets, but that before the latter comes to pass Deep Singh will suffer much persecution and will be reduced to absolute poverty.

"The Gooroo further predicts that Deep Singh will marry a Christian wife, and his children by her the Gooroo calls Englishmen in the prophecy.

"The Gooroo foretells that there will be a war between the two dogs Boochoo and Dultoo (presumably the bear and the bull dog) in which Deep Singh will take part, but that he will be defeated and will take refuge at certain village, (the name of which cannot at present be identified) and when there self-knowledge will be revealed to him.

"About that time *Dase baitche ooth Jasay Furrungyee, Tow Gaajen gay more Bhojhanggee*"; i.e. "The English after selling the country will quit the land. Then will thunder my snakes or disciples."

"It is further predicted that Deep Singh and his descendants will reign for three generations over the land lying between Calcutta and the Indus."

On the 16th January, 1886, the Viceroy enquired if there was any further information as to the Maharaja. Was it certain that he really intends coming to India? If so the Government of India thought he should be informed that persistence on his part in attempting to disregard their express wishes would, under Article 5 of the Terms granted to him in 1849, absolve them from any existing obligation regarding his pensions. At the same time they were of opinion that his arrival in India was not , that if he abandoned his intention and entered into a formal undertaking not to leave England in future, they would be prepared to examine the present state of his affairs with the view to ameliorating his position.

The Secretary of State replied (28th January) that the Maharaja had deferred his departure till the 17th February, but had not yet paid his passage and Lord Randolph Churchill added—"I doubt expediency of further offers to him, nothing in reason would satisfy him"

On the 16th January 1886, Maharaja Duleep Singh addressed a memorial to the Prime Minister (the Marquis of Salisbury), in which after

² The words should be : *Des bech uth jaen Farangi, Tau gaienge mor Bhujangi* :

देस बेच उठ जाँएँ फरंगी, तो गाजेंगे मोर भुजंगी ।

Bhujangi here means the young Khalsa Sikhs.

reciting his various claims, he requested that his case might be submitted for the decision of a "Court of Arbitration," consisting of the eminent Law Lords of the House of Peers." Lord Salisbury replied through his Secretary (25th January 1886) that he regretted very much that he was not in a position to accede to the request with which the memorial concluded. "Subject to any appeal to a Court of Law which you may be advised is open to you, the disposal of all questions involving any charge upon Indian finance is placed, by act of Parliament, in the hands of the Secretary of State and the Council of India, and cannot be assumed by any other authority. The determination of the question raised by you with respect to the meaning of the Treaty entered into by Lord Dalhousie thirty years ago, and of the import of the words 'property of the State' used upon that occasion could not be satisfactorily arrived at by any other authority in the country, even if there was one which, under the existing law, possessed the necessary competence, and I have no doubt that the Secretary of State and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters."

A few days afterwards the Maharaja called on Sir O. Burne, and, referring to the letter which he had received from Lord Salisbury's Private Secretary, once more formulated his several claims and advanced a pretension till then unheard of, viz., "that he was a king."

The conversation is recorded in the following Note by Sir Owen Burne (dated 29th January 1886, vide No. 66).

On the 1st February, 1886, the Viceroy asked that timely notice be given to the Government of India if the Maharaja intended to start, and inquired if he had received the warning suggested in their telegram of the 16th January.

The Secretary of State replied on the 2nd February.

"Warning suggested has not been formally given, but we have ascertained that it would be useless. Recent interview with Burne confirms opinion that no reasonable concession would be accepted. Still, it might be useful to know the maximum limit of pecuniary concession you would recommend, his claims being as follows :—

- (1) Court of Enquiry ;
- (2) Private Estates, including Pind Dadun Khan Salt Mines;
- (3) Five Lakh Fund with arrears ;
- (4) better provision for family at his death "

On the 9th February the Maharaja wrote to Sir O. Burne, (Home, 205) asking that a house might be hired for him at Ootacmund. His Highness said :—

"As the India Government desire me to reside at Ootacmund, I cannot do better on reflection in order to show my entire loyalty to my most

Gracious Sovereign than to comply with the wishes of the Viceroy, and will shortly address the Secretary of State officially on the subject. But my object in writing to you unofficially is to request that steps may be taken through the proper channel to hire an inexpensive house at my expense at Ootacmund, as my agents (Messrs. Grindlay & Co.) have no business transactions with anyone there, or they would carry out my instructions.

"As I know that at the hill stations in India there is a considerable difficulty some time in procuring a residence and the time of year is getting on, therefore, I do not know what else to do, but to make an application to you at the India Office.

"I have put off my departure from the 17th instant to 10th March next."

Sir Owen Burne replied (11th February) that he would communicate at once with Government of India on the subject and the Viceroy was informed by telegraph on the same day.

Interview with the Earl of Kimberley,
8th February, 1886.

The Earl of Kimberley was now Secretary of State for India, and on the 8th February, he granted an

interview to the Maharaja, and in the following note recorded the conversation which took place.

[See No. 219]

(* Note:—According to the Government of India letter of the 29th December 1883, this matter is still under consideration, awaiting information from the Government of the Punjab, North-West Province and Oudh.)

Two days later the Maharaja wrote to Lord Kimberley that he was willing to reside at any place in India that the Viceroy might name, but he requested that the objections to his living at Delhi might be reconsidered.

[See No. 221]

Lord Kimberley replied (end March) that it would give him much satisfaction to make known to the Viceroy the assurances contained in the Maharaja's letter. With regard to his wish that the Viceroy should be requested to reconsider the decision as to the Maharaja's place of residence in India, Lord Kimberley added that this was a matter in which the Secretary of State for India in Council did not exercise interference with the discretion of the Government of India. A copy of the Maharaja's letter would, however, be transmitted to the Viceroy.

The desire of the Maharaja that his case should be adjudicated upon by the House of Lords was again expressed by His Highness in the follo-

wing letter addressed to Lord Kimberley on the 19th February 1886.

[See No. 226]

It was not, however, deemed expedient to reply to this communication.

Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, a cousin to the Maharaja, having informed His Highness that he feared that permission would not be accord-

Political Despatch in India, No 41
dated 25th March 1886.

ed to him by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to go to Bombay, the Maharaja asked Kimberley (11th March)

that the Sardar might be allowed to meet him on arrival in India as His Highness was particularly desirous to be rebaptized into the faith of his ancestors by some relative of his own. Lord Kimberley replied (16th March) that he would make known the wishes of the Maharaja to the Viceroy, and forwarded the application for such action as Lord Dufferin might deem expedient.

The Viceroy inquired again on the 18th March if the Maharajah had started for India, and, if not, what were his present intentions. The Secretary of State answered [Home, 355.] that the Maharaja intended leaving on the 31st March. This was succeeded by the following telegram from the Viceroy.

20th March, 1886.

"Dhulip Singh question was considered by Council during my absence, and I have now seen their opinion. We are willing to afford the

Concession proposed by
Government of India.

Maharaja such relief as can be obtained by maximum grant of £50,000. This sum, or a small sum which we think sufficient, could be first to payment of applied, any debts due to persons other than Government, second to decreasing of debt due to Government, so as to make reasonable addition to Maharaja's income. Money would be given on the understanding that Maharaja abandoned all claims to mines or other private estate, that he gives acquittance in full, and effectual undertaking never to return to India, and that no further payment will be made hereafter on any ground. Grant would preclude all future claim regarding five lakhs fund and provision for family."

The Political Committee (23rd March) were generally of opinion that the Secretary of State should not take the initiative in making the offer indicated in the Viceroy's telegram of the 20th March, but thought that if any proposal came from the Maharaja, coupled with the promises and conditions required by the Government of India, they would be prepared to sanction outlay necessary for the purpose.

Accordingly, by direction of the Secretary of State, Sir Owen Burne

Interview of Sir O. Burne with the Maharaja, 24th March 1886; Home 398.

Political Despatch to India, No. 26, dated the 31st March 1886.

called on the Maharaja on the 24th March, 1886, by appointment, and read to him the following note drawn by Lord Kimberley.

[See No. 219, Enclosure Note A.]

The Maharaja rejected the terms offered, as will be seen from the following report by Sir O. Burne of what passed at the interview.

[See No. 245 for Memo. of Sir O.T. Burne, March 24th 1886.]

The same day the Maharaja repeated his refusal of the offer made to him in the following letter which he addressed to Sir Owen Burne.

Maharaja rejects offers made to him

[See No. 246]

The rejection by Maharaja of the overtures made to him was communicated to the Viceroy in the following telegram of the 25th March :—

“After careful consideration in Council, a formal communication was made to him yesterday by the Political Secretary, warning him of the consequences to which he is liable in India in certain eventualities under Terms of 1849 and Regulation III of 1818, and informing him of the willingness of your Government of grating a sum of £50,000 for purposes and conditions named by you. He replied that he fully understood the above named powers of Government, and unhesitatingly refused the grant. He has made all arrangements to leave for Bombay, with his family on the 31st in the *Verona*.”

On the 30th March, the Viceroy inquired the number and composition of the Maharaja's party, and mentioned that he proposed to send them to Kudai Kanai (Kundanaand ? Nilghiri Hills) said to be one of the best hill stations in India, with an exceptionally good climate.

The address to the Sikhs cited in the margin having appeared in the *Evening Standard* of the 20th March, Sir O Burne, by desire of Lord Kimberley, forwarded it, on the 30th March, to the Maharaja in case His Highness desired to repudiate it if not genuine. The Maharaja replied (30th March) “The letter is perfectly genuine, and therefore I do not desire to repudiate it. We leave here about 10 this evening, and sleep at the Great Eastern Hotel in Liverpool Street, so as to be ready to quit England to-morrow morning.”

The Maharaja having embarked this day for India, the following telegram has been despatched to the Viceroy :—

“Dhulip Singh left today in Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Verona* for Bombay, accompanied by Maharani, three sons and three daughters,

one Sikh attendant, a native servant, an European nurse, and an *Ayah*. In recent communications with Political Secretary, he has used language of menacing character, referring to eventual troubles in India, war with Russia, and part he may take as head of Sikh nation. An address from him to Sikhs stated to have been sent to India, just published in newspapers here and since acknowledged to be genuine. It announces his intention to be rebaptized into Sikh faith, with view to take his place as Gooroo of Sikh nation. Maharaja lays stress on text of alleged prophecy announcing successive steps by which he is to be restored to power. He, no doubt, intends to circulate this in India. Affair, if neglected, might possibly give serious trouble, but I have no doubt you will take whatever measures you may deem necessary to prevent any dangerous feeling being excited amongst the Sikhs. Duleep Singh's communications should be carefully watched. He is now in a state of mind which seems to border on monomania."

E.N.

Political and Secret Department, India Office,
31st March, 1886.

278. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF
STATE, LONDON

NO. 69.

TELEGRAM DATED 16TH APRIL, 1886.

Foreign. Confidential, Dhulip Singh. We have instructed the Resident at Aden to inform Maharaja that the issue of his disloyal proclamation appears to render his return to India undesirable, but that he will be at liberty to go back to England in an English vessel should he so desire. We are now despatching to Aden (a) trustworthy Political Officer, who will be instructed to enter into communication with Dhulip Singh, in case he refuses to re-embark for England, with the view of ascertaining whether it is possible to obtain from him such securities for (his) future good conduct as may be necessary. It is needless for us to point out (the) great inconveniences which would arise were His Highness allowed to take up his abode in India with the avowed object of exciting (a) revolt in the Punjab, without (the) Government of India taking every precaution to render abortive so mischievous a design.

279. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN
DEPARTMENT, TO THE POLITICAL
RESIDENT AT ADEN

NO. 70. NO. 1193 I.

SIMLA,
16TH APRIL, 1886.

I have the honour to forward herewith warrants under Bengal Regu-

lation III of 1818 for the custody of Maharaja Dhulip Singh, his wife, and six children. These warrants are to be used under the circumstances explained to you in my telegram of this day's date.

[For warrants, See under No. 267.]

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bombay for information in continuation of the telegram from this office No. 1179 I, dated the 15th April, 1886.

280. FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,
PUNJAB, TO FOREIGN

NO. 79.

TELEGRAM DATED 16TH APRIL, 1886.

Your telegram of the 15th to Secretary to Govt. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to hear that Dhulip Singh is not to be allowed to come to India.

— — —

For information only, Dated the 16th April, 1886.

Please see Secretary's remarks of 15th April. A draft telegram to Resident, Aden, is submitted for approval.

The ages of the children are given in A. Political I February 1886, Nos. 101-40 (No. 126). The three sons are respectively about 20, 18, and 7 years of age, and three daughters 17, 15, and 10. The file has to go to Legislative Department.

16th April, 1886. C.E. Pyster

16th April, 1886. A.J.R.

An interesting disquisition respecting Regulation III of 1818 will be found in 6 B.L.R. 392-483.

With the Regulation please read Acts XXXIV of 1850 and III of 1858.

Possible questions which have occurred to me in reading the papers are (1) the effect of the warrant in case of the wife and children of Dhalip Singh if they are European British subjects, and (2) the legality of executing the warrants at Aden.

As to the first of these questions please see 6 B.L.R. 448. There Norman J. observed that "Regulation III of 1818 having been passed by a legislative authority which had no power to bind European British subjects; it seems to me that it must be taken, as applicable, and enacted with reference only to natives and other subjects to the jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts." But by 1850 the Legislature had higher powers under B and 4 Will IV C.85.S.43, and from Norman J's remarks respecting Act III of 1858 at 6 B.L.R. 450, he would apparently have held that the effect

of Act XXXIV of 1850 was to make Bengal Regulation III of 1818 apply to European British subjects. In this connection, please see Phear J's remarks at 6 B.L.R. 472 et. seq; see also Mr. LeGeyt's remarks respecting section I of Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at p.p. 33-34 Legislative Council Progs. 1858 and the Chief Justice's remarks p.p. 49-50.

It may, and possibly hereafter will, be agreed that Act XXXIV of 1850 did not more than enlarge the local extent of Regulation III of 1818 without affecting the classes to which the Regulation applied. This is a matter which will have to be considered. As I cannot detain the papers at present, I do not more than mention the doubt which has suggested itself to me with the remark that the Legislature, some eight and twenty years ago, and the High Court at Fort William twelve years later, appear to have been under the impression that no class of persons in British India was exempt from the operation of Bengal Regulation III of 1818, as extended by the Acts of 1850 and 1858.

It will, perhaps, be considered desirable to consult the Advocate-General as to the validity of the warrants under Regulation III of 1818

I do not think it is worthwhile to do this. It is necessary, for reasons of State, that Dhulip Singh and his party should be detained, and we must run the risk of the legality of our proceedings being questioned. So far as I can see, we have done our best to conform to the law.

C.P.I.

against the wife and children of Dhulip Singh in the event of their being European British subjects.

I note that in the warrant the Maharani's name appears as "Bamba". She may not be an European British subject, but I think I have heard that she is an English lady. As to Dhalip Singh, he, I presume, is not an European British subject. But I may add that a native of India (Babu Dwarkanath Banerjee, Junior Government Pleader, High Court, North Western Provinces) has just gone to England with the view (so I was told

I thought she was an Egyptian lady. C.P.I.

at Allahabad last week) to becoming European British subject by getting himself

naturalized in the United kingdom. Whether he will succeed may be doubtful. There is nothing in the papers I have seen to show that Dhalip Singh has undergone the process of neutralization in the United Kingdom.

As to the second of the questions mentioned in the earlier part of this note, it is beyond doubt that the warrants, if otherwise valid, can be

I feel no doubt about this point. C.P.I.

executed in Aden. In March 1850, six months before Act XXXIV of that year was

passed, the Governor-General in Council was legislating for Aden as part of the territories under the Government of the East India Company, and the whole of Act XXXIV of 1850 has been declared under section 3 of the Scheduled Districts Act to be in force in Aden.

There is one other matter. The Foreign Department has instructed the Resident that the warrants are only to be used if the Maharaja refused to submit without them. Seeing that the Maharaja is in any case to be detained at Aden, and we may be sure, detained against his will, the warrants should, I submit, be read to him and his party as soon as the warrants

The Maharaja should of course be informed of the reasons for which and the authority under which he is detained, but the Resident at Aden, and the Agent who may possibly go from Bombay, may be allowed to use a good deal of discretion as the mode of giving this information.

C.P.I.

reach Aden. It is right that the detenus should know by what authority they are placed under restraint, and while the suppression of the warrants could do good it might be used by the Maharaja's sympathisers in England to point the similarity between warrants

under Regulation III of 1818 and such things as *letter de cachet*.

17th April, 1886. S.H.J.

(c) At the meeting of the Council on Thursday last, I had to advise on the spur of the moment as to the steps which should be taken for detaining the Maharaja and his party at Aden. I believed that the orders issued were in conformity with law. But I should be obliged if Mr. Durand would keep me informed of what takes place under them, with reference to any legal difficulties which may arise or may be suggested.

17th April, 1886. C.P.I.

(d) Send the following telegram to the Resident at Aden.

My telegram 15th, Dhalip Singh. First—For word impossible read undesirable. Second—If Maharaja wishes to submit any representation to Viceroy or Secretary of State, he can do so."

Remember to keep Mr. Ilbert informed of what passes.

Telegraph to Madras, if we have not done so :—

"In consequence of recent proceedings of Dhulip Singh, it has now been decided to stop him at Aden. Accommodation not likely to be required, but this is still possible."

I have asked before what are the ages of the children ? We must not ridicule by serving warrants on babies.

17th April, 1886. H.M.D.

(e) (Telegram to Resident, Aden, No. 1209 I, dated the 17th April 1886.)

(f) (Telegram to Madras Government, No. 1214 I, dated the 17th April, 1886.)

(g) The ages of the children are given in A-Political I, February 1883, Nos. 101-140 (126). The three sons are aged respectively about 20, 18, and 7 years, and the three daughters 17, 15 and 10. This information was asked for before by Secretary, and a reply was given in the file which was submitted yesterday to Junior Under-Secretary and sent unofficially to Legislative Department.

17th April, 1886. C.E. Pyster

17th April, 1886. A.J.R.

(h) SECRETARY

The ages of the Maharaja's children are given above :

It might be well to withdraw warrants against the daughters. They are not likely to separate from their father and mother. The warrants for the sons are, I think, essential. The Maharaja might send one of them to the Punjab as his representative.

17th April, 1886. G.S.F.

(i) I would keep them all out, but would not use the warrants for the women except in case of necessity. Resident has been told not to show any warrants unnecessarily. So, perhaps, no further warning is required.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ilbert might like to see.

17th April, 1886. H.M.D.

281. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 17TH APRIL, 1886.

Your Excellency's and Foreign Department telegram received. Instructions will be carefully carried out. Will accommodate Maharaja in the Resident's quarters.

282. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO POLITICAL
RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM NO. 1209 I,
DATED 17TH APRIL, 1886.

My telegram 15th, Dhulip Singh. If the Maharaja wishes to submit any representation to Viceroy or Secretary of State, he can do so.

283. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO MADRAS, OOTACMUND

NO. 81.

TELEGRAM NO. 1214 I,
DATED 17TH APRIL, 1886.

In consequence of recent proceeding of Dhulip Singh, it has now been decided to stop him at Aden. Accommodation not likely to be required, but this is still possible.

284. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO BOMBAY, MAHABLESHWAR

NO. 82.

TELEGRAM DATED 17TH APRIL, 1886.

If Governor can spare Crawford, Viceroy would like to send him to Aden to arrange matters with Dhulip Singh unless latter returns to England. He should come here first to receive Viceroy's orders personally.

285. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE No. 15.

DATED THE 17TH APRIL, 1886.

10. Alluding to the approaching visit to India of Maharaja Dhulip Singh, Nandh Singh, an Akali Singh, of the Nabha State, spoke disparagingly of the British Government, and observed that His Highness has been treated cruelly.

The people of Hoshiarpur seems to be anxious for news of Dhulip Singh as to whether he is coming out to this country or has been stopped from doing so.

Consequent upon the receipt of a telegram from the Maharaja announcing his having sailed for Bombay, Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, is reported to have held an *Akhand Path* and offered *Karahparshad* to the value of Rs. 25 at the Tarn Taran Sikh Temple.

286. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO POLITICAL RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM NO. 1209 I,
DATED 17TH APRIL, 1886.

My telegram 15th. Dhulip Singh. First. For word impossible read undesirable. Second. If Maharaja wishes to submit any representation to Viceroy or Secretary of State, he can do so.

287. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ., TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

SIMLA, 17TH APRIL, 1886.

His Excellency thinks it would be well to know how far Dhulip Singh's proclamation or similar documents are being circulated in the Punjab.

288. VICEROY TO GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

17TH, APRIL, 1886.

(a) To Resident, Aden :—

Dhulip Singh. You will understand that it is not desirable to bring warrants into unnecessary prominence, particularly those for detention of Maharani and girls. If you can manage the matter without showing those at all so much the better. They are not likely to wish to leave Maharaja.

(Telegram to Resident, Aden, 1220 I, dated the 18th April 1886)

The letter from the Maharaja which was published in the *Pioneer* a few days ago, and the "communications" noted in the despatches, which reached the Government of India by last mail, do not appear to me to bear out fully the description of them given in the Secretary of State's telegram of March 31st. I am still of opinion that the Council orders of April 15th were justified by that telegram but the case against the Maharaja is less strong than the telegram led me to suppose.

20th April, 1886. C.P.I.

289. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ., TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

NO. 141.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA,
17TH APRIL, 1886.

Please do remember the verbal corrections which His Excellency wishes to make in the telegram from Foreign to Resident, Aden, of 15th April. Instead of "renders his return to India impossible," you are to substitute "appears to render his return to India undesirable."

In the telegram of the same date from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, His Highness desires the following words to be added: I have been obliged to delay addressing Your Lordship on this matter until my council could be assembled in Simla." This was in reality communicated to the Secretary of State in a private telegram. A printed copy with the addition is enclosed. In sending home the post copy to the Secretary of State's Private Secretary, I will call his attention to the addition.

290. THE *TRIBUNE*, Dated April 17, 1886,

Page 6 & 7, Col. 3 & 1.

Maharaja Duleep Singh's letter. [See No. 253]

The above letter, dated London the 25th March has been addressed as will be seen from the contents, by Maharaja Duleep Singh to his countrymen, and who can read it without shedding tears? The Sikhs fondly cherish the memory of the "Lion of the Punjab" and the heartless treatment that his son and heir has received at the hands of the Government has deeply wounded their feelings. The refusal of the Government to permit Duleep Singh to live in the Punjab or even to visit it, is casting unjust slur upon the loyalty of the brave Sikhs. It is true they have not entirely forgotten the glorious days of the Khalsa, it is true they still curse the cowardly traitors who sold the Khalsa to shame, but the once brave enemies have turned faithful subjects, and a second "Lion" even would now find it a difficult task to make them rise against the British Government.

"And If ever the time should come,
As come full well it may,
When all is not as smooth and fair
As all things seem today;
When foes are rising round you
fast, and friends are few and cold,
And a yard or two of trusty steel
is worth a Prince's gold."

The Sikhs would never desert their English masters, and a little consideration to the feelings of those who have fought in China, Africa, Burma, Afghanistan, and who reconquered India for the white people during the Sepoy Mutiny would never have been thrown away. Poor Duleep! your countrymen can weep only for you.

291. FROM BOMBAY TO FOREIGN, SIMLA

NO. 85.

TELEGRAM DATED, 18TH APRIL, 1886.

The Governor places Crawford at Viceroy's disposal. He will be instructed to proceed to Simla on receiving your summons.

292. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO ARTHUR CRAWFORD,
ESQ., C.S.I.

NO. 86.

TELEGRAM NO. 1216 I,
DATED 19TH APRIL, 1886.

Bombay Government have placed your services temporarily at Viceroy's disposal, and have, I understand, instructed you to come here on

receipt of summons. Please do so, telegraphing dates. Less said about the matter the better at present.

293. FROM G.S. FORBES, ESQ., TO W.M. YOUNG, ESQ.

(Demi-Official) Confidential

SIMLA, 19TH APRIL, 1886.

Durand desires me to inform you, for the information of Sir Charles Aitchison, that Maharaja Dhulip Singh wired from London on the 1st instant the single word "Started" to the following persons resident in the Punjab :—

Sardar Jamiat Ray, Mullah, Gurdaspur.

Prohit Harkishan Das, Shahalmi Durwaza, Lahore.

Hira Singh, Kote Pusrur (sic), Sialkot.

Sardar Thakur Singh, Amritsar.

It would be well to have the movements and communications of these persons watched.

294. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO W.M. YOUNG

(Demi Official) Confidential

SIMLA, 19TH APRIL, 1886

I telegraphed to you some days ago regarding the publication on Dhulip Singh of an address to the Sikhs.

The following are the words used by Lord Kimberley about this—"In recent communications with Political Secretary, he has used language of menacing character referring to eventual troubles in India, war with Russia, and part he may take as head of Sikh nation. An address from him to Sikhs, stated to have been sent to India, just published in newspapers here, and since acknowledged by Maharaja to be genuine, it announces his intention to be rebaptized into Sikh faith with a view to take his blessing as Guru of nation. Maharaja lays stress on text of alleged prophecy, announced successive steps by which he is to be restored to power. He no doubt intends to circulate this in India. Affair, if neglected, might possibly give serious trouble, but I have no doubt you will take whatever measures you may deem necessary to prevent any dangerous feeling being excited among Sikhs. Dhulip Singh's communications should be carefully watched, but he is in a new state of mind, which seems to border on monomania."

I don't know whether the letter published in the *Pioneer* of the 16th is the address referred to. This does not appear to announce the successive steps by which Dhulip Singh is to be restored to power.

I have already informed you that it is the intention of the Government of India to stop the party at Aden. This will, it is hoped, do something to remove the chance of local excitement; but at the same time the Viceroy trusts that the measures which you may have adopted to guard against any dangerous feeling being provoked among the Sikhs will not be relaxed.

His Excellency would be glad to know as early as possible whether Dhulip Singh's proclamations or any similar documents are being circulated in the Punjab.

295. FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE VICEROY

(Demi-Official)

19TH APRIL, 1886.

Our papers do not give any definite information on the point. It is presumed that she is an Egyptian lady. She was a scholar in the Mission

K.W. Secret, December 1883, Nos. 8-17
A-Political I, February 1883 Nos.
101-140 (126)

School in Egypt. Duleep Singh married her at Alexandria on the 12th June, 1864. Her maiden name was Bamba Muller.

Sir Lepel Griffen in his *Punjab Chiefs* states that Dhulip Singh married an Abyssinian lady.

C.E. PYSTER.

19th April, 1886.

Telegram from Resident at Aden (to Viceroy) dated the 17th April, 1886.

States that instructions contained in His Excellency's and this office telegram will be carefully carried out, and that Maharaja Dhulip Singh will be accommodated in the Resident's quarters.

20th April, 1886. G.S.F.

296. FROM ARTHUR CRAWFORD, ESQ., POONA, TO FOREIGN, SIMLA

NO. 101.

TELEGRAM DATED 20TH APRIL, 1886.

Unless you telegraph to stop me in Bombay I shall leave for Simla by Rajputana line tomorrow evening 7 P.M., and come right through going Bombay tonight. But address in Bombay is care of Burjoree Pochajee, confidential clerk, 14, Church Gate Street, Fort.

297. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO FOREIGN, SIMLA

NO. 102.

TELEGRAM DATED 21ST APRIL, 1886.

Verona delayed by head winds. Dhulip Singh and all party landed this morning. Are staying in Resident's house. More immediately.

298. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO FOREIGN, SECRETARY

NO. 103.

TELEGRAM DATED 21ST APRIL, 1886.

No. 43, Duleep Singh. Warrants not mentioned by me. His Highness refused to leave ship unless arrested, so in presence of Captain of ship I told him he must come with me, and touched him on shoulder. He complied at once and rest of party came voluntarily. As far as I can gather, Maharaja wishes to send two sons back to England, Maharani and girls to Cairo, and to go himself to Egypt. He does not wish to return to England. His Highness wishes to write and telegraph to his solicitor in London regarding his detention, also to Agent to stop despatch of further baggage, I will not permit letters or telegrams to be despatched or received pending orders which please expedite; also send early orders regarding permission being given for members of family to leave Aden, as at present Maharaja is not aware that they are also under detention, and may wish to start them at any time.

Telegram from Resident, Aden, dated the 21st April, 1886.

Reports the arrival of Maharaja Dhulip Singh and party. Promises a further communication. Await further information

21st April, 1886. H.M.D.

299. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO FOREIGN, SIMLA

NO. 107.

TELEGRAM DATED 22ND APRIL 1886,

No. 50. May Maharaja telegraph to Grindlay, his Agent in Bombay, regarding servants and baggage ?

300. FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 22ND APRIL, 1886.

I desire Your Excellency clearly to understand that whatever instructions you give, provided the word 'disloyal' is not employed with them, or I am requested not to return to India, will be loyally carried out by me. If it is desired to detain me here for any length of time, I request that I may be permitted to correspond with friends in England, and also

that my seventeen servants awaiting my arrival at Bombay be sent on here, the Government paying all their expenses.

301. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO HIS HIGHNESS THE
MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 22ND APRIL, 1886.

I desire to thank Your Highness for your telegram, and to assure you that it is my desire that Your Highness should be treated with every possible respect and consideration. I deeply regret the unhappy circumstances which have occasioned Your Highness's detention at Aden, especially as I had taken some pains to arrange for Your Highness's comfortable establishment in this country; but, if Your Highness will forgive the expression, the ill-advised documents which have been put into circulation by Your Highness have imposed upon the Government the necessity of asking Your Highness to abandon your idea of coming to India.

I, this morning, telegraphed to the Secretary of State the circumstances connected with Your Highness's detention at Aden, and as soon as I shall have received His Lordship's reply, I will communicate at greater length with Your Highness. I am very sensible of the courteous manner in which Your Highness expresses your willingness to comply with any suggestions which may be made to you from hence, and Your Highness may rest assured that no expression shall be used calculated to wound Your Highness's feelings.

302. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE,
LONDON

NO. 104.

TELEGRAM DATED 22ND APRIL, 1886.

Clear the line to Bombay. Following from Resident, Aden [See 298, No. 103] We have told Maharaja that he may send his wife and girls to Cairo, and we propose to tell him, if you agree, that his two sons may go to England and himself to Egypt on his giving a written promise that neither he nor any member of his family will attempt to come to India without permission of Government. We have permitted him to telegraph about his baggage and to his solicitor.

303. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN,
TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 23RD APRIL, 1886.

Most grateful for telegram. Salisbury correspondence published in London journals. No fault found by Government. Address to co-

religionists, assured by legal advisers, contains no expression of disloyalty. However, will always complain bitterly want of confidence. If any impression caused of disloyalty, entirely unintentional.

304. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM NO. 1286,
DATED 23RD APRIL, 1886.

No. 1286 I. Your telegram No. 50. Maharaja can telegraph to Grindlay regarding servants and baggage.

SECRETARY

A copy of Viceroy's telegram to the Maharaja has also been received in office, but no copy of Maharaja's telegram dated the 22nd April, to which it is reply.

24th April, 1886. G.S.F.

It will come in time.

24th April, 1886. H.M.D.

305. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE No. 16

DATED THE 24TH APRIL, 1886.

9. The question of whether Sikhs will be permitted to visit Dhulip Singh after his arrival in India is a good deal talked about. The Sikhs are in favour of his being allowed to re-embrace the Sikh religion if he desires to do so.

Jamiat Rai, Jhiwar, of Shakargarh, district Gurdaspur, came to Gurdaspur on the 14th April with the intention of proceeding to Bombay, whither, he said, he had been summoned by the Maharaja Dhulip Singh by telegraph. He gave out that, on Dhulip Singh's arrival at Delhi, he would interview all Sikh Sardars (evidently careless remarks). The Russian Government, he added, are friendly to the Maharaja and have a secret understanding with him. He expressed a hope that before long Dhulip Singh will be placed in power and position as a ruler.

306. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 110.

TELEGRAM DATED 25TH APRIL, 1886.

Dhulip Singh. May we carry out programme noted in my telegram of 22nd? It is desirable to settle matter as soon as possible.

307. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 111.

TELEGRAM DATED 26TH APRIL, 1886.

Yours 25th. Dhulip Singh. I see no objection.

The programme now to be carried out is that referred to in Viceroy's telegram to the Secretary of State of the 22nd April namely that the Maharaja's two sons may go to England and himself to Egypt, provided he gives a written promise that neither he nor any member of his family will attempt to come to India without permission of the Government.

Proceedings, No. 104.

The resident's telegram of the 21st refers only to two sons. Nothing is said as to the third, but probably the point has already been cleared up.

Proceedings No. 103.

27th April, 1886. G.S.F.

308. FROM SARDAR THAKUR SINGH, DELHI, TO SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT, SIMLA

NO. 113.

TELEGRAM DATED 27TH APRIL, 1886.

May I visit Maharaja Dhulip Singh Bombay? This telegram sent with reference my visit to you. Reply prepaid one rupee.

309. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO SARDAR THAKUR SINGH, DELHI

NO. 114.

TELEGRAM NO. 1455 I,
DATED 27TH APRIL, 1886

Your telegram 27th. Maharaja Dhulip Singh is not going to Bombay.

310. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA TO RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 112.

TELEGRAM DATED 27TH APRIL, 1886.

You may inform His Highness Dhulip Singh that both Her Majesty's Government in England and the India Government have great pleasure in

acquiescing in his suggestion that he should establish himself with his family at Cairo. His two sons returning, as he proposes, to England always on condition that he gives you his word of honour as a prince and as a gentleman, first, that neither he nor any member of his family will seek to visit India without the leave of the Government; and, secondly, that he will refrain in future from all political agitation. It would be advisable that a signed protocol should be drawn up embodying the foregoing conditions. I shall have great pleasure, in accordance with the private telegram addressed to me by His Highness, in sending his servants now at Bombay either to Aden or to Cairo at Government expense.

311. FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH,
G.S.C.I., TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

NO. 166.

ADEN, 27TH APRIL, 1886.

As I desire to remove the erroneous impression which appears to have been caused on Your Excellency's mind regarding the publication of the documents alluded to in Your Excellency's kind and considerate telegram of 22nd April in reply to mine of same date, I venture to address Your Excellency on the subject.

The document I submitted to Lord Salisbury setting forth my claims and his reply have been published both in the English and Indian journals, with the view of laying my case fully before the public, and with the intention of appealing both to my brother Princes and people of India for pecuniary aid on behalf of my unfortunate children shortly after reaching India, as the Government do not appear to care to grant me any adequate redress for the great injustice I consider I have suffered at the hands of the British nation, who, if the Blue Book speaks the truth, were my guardians and are even now my trustees, but for no other or disloyal reason.

The address to my co-religionists has been published from no disloyal motives whatever, but simply as my public renunciation of Christianity and to lay before my countrymen my bitter complaint against restrictions put upon my movements in India, and thus classing me with the disloyal. For, Your Excellency, it is incomprehensible to me, and appears extremely hard on me that, whereas the Maharaja Sindia and Holkar, as well as the Nizam and others, who all possess both great wealth and armies that might cause some anxiety to the Government, are permitted liberty of movement, poor I, who have but only some score of servants in all and a very limited income, am about to be entirely banished from setting foot in my native land, where I had hoped by strict economy (which is not possible to observe in England) to have laid by something

for the benefit of my unfortunate children, should the aforesaid appeal on their behalf had failed.

Your Excellency, the late Marquis of Dalhousie, immediately after the annexation, when many of the old Sikh Sardars and soldiers were still living, did not think it dangerous to the stability of the English rule to appoint Fatehgarh as a permanent residence for me, but now after the lapse of some 35 years, during which period the British Raj has been now firmly established in the Punjab, my mere setting foot in India is about to be prohibited because I have published some documents for reasons already explained, and am placed under arrest here under false and, to me, most hateful accusation of issuing a disloyal address.

Your Excellency, I dearly loved my English home, where I would fain have ended my life and which has broken my heart to leave.

312. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 127.

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH APRIL, 1886.

Your Lordship's telegram dated yesterday. Maharaja Dhulip Singh does not wish to go to Egypt, but, provided Government pay passage, will return with family to reside in Europe, and will visit England to consult legal advisers signing protocol. His Highness has given me in writing his parole as a Prince and a gentleman that in the meantime he will not attempt to reach India, and that he will refrain from all political agitation. Should he be unable to sign protocol required by Government, His Highness undertakes to surrender himself at Aden about next November, if required. As regards his family, the Maharaja does not feel justified in giving his parole, but His Highness will use his utmost endeavours to prevent disregard of wishes of Government.

313. FROM SARDAR THAKUR SINGH, DELHI, TO SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

NO. 126

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH APRIL, 1886.

Your telegram 27th. May I visit Maharaja Dhulip Singh in any part of India? Reply prepaid one rupee.

No answer.

28th April, 1886. H.M.D.

314. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ. TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

LAHORE,
28TH APRIL, 1886.

The Maharaja Dhulip Singh's address to the Sikhs which was given in the *Pioneer* has been repeated in the *Civil and Military Gazette* and in the *Tribune* in this Province. I have not seen it in any of the Vernacular papers yet, but no doubt it will be translated and commented on. We have not yet succeeded in finding any documents which announce the successive steps by which Dhulip Singh is to be restored to power. It is said, however, that some editors of native newspapers have received communications and we shall hope to get hold of them in time.

The prophecy to which allusion is made in Lord Kimberley's telegram is probably that contained in the 51st *Sakhee* of the Book published by Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur in 1873. At page 97, Dhulip Singh's name occurs. You have a copy of this, no doubt.

Upon receipt of your telegram announcing the determination of the Government of India to stop the Maharaja at Aden, a demi-official letter was addressed to the four Cis-Indus Commissioners asking them carefully to watch all communications, and at the same time the police were informed of the names of the different persons who have been in communication with the Maharaja, and were instructed to watch for further communications between them and the Maharaja.

The Lieutenant-Governor has no reason to think that the rumours of the Maharaja's coming or the frustration of his plan of visiting India will cause any serious excitement among the Sikhs of the Punjab. Such rumours are likely to be turned to account by a few ill-disposed persons, and the native Press, we make the most of them, but it is not likely that there will be any wide-spread feeling on the subject. You shall be immediately informed if we hear of any further issue of proclamations or of any communications between Duleep Singh and the persons with whom he is in correspondence.

315. FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL A.S.T. HOGG TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

RESIDENCY, ADEN,
28TH APRIL, 1886.

There is not much use in writing about the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, because affairs will have settled themselves I hope before you receive this,

but at present His Highness is not in the humour to sign any agreement without the advice of his lawyer. I write to say that I have kept notes of all that has occurred in case my evidence should be required hereafter.

His Highness has changed his mind about going to Egypt, and I expect will give his parole not to return to India or make any political agitation, if permitted to go to Europe. His object is, firstly, to see his lawyer; and, secondly, to place the Maharani and girls in Germany. I have shown His Highness the Viceroy's telegraph of yesterday and am awaiting his decision. The mail is just off so I send this to explain that I am doing my best to arrange matters, but that it is no easy matter. I have made the whole party as comfortable as possible in this climate.

Demi-official from Brigadier-General A.S.T. Hogg, Resident Aden (to Secretary) dated the 28th April, 1886.

States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh is not disposed to sign any agreement without the advice of a lawyer, and that he is doing his best to arrange matters.
No orders.

8th May 1886. G.S.F.

SECRETARY

We have not yet had copies of Maharaja's telegrams referred to in

*This has been received
11th May 1886. C.E.P.

His Excellency's telegram of 22nd* and 27th April. If we had these, we could print up file.

8th May 1886. G.S.F.

316. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH,
ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 29TH APRIL, 1886.

One object I had in view in going to England (India) was personally to lay my claims on the British nation before Your Excellency, as I had gathered hopes from different sources that whatever recommendations Your Excellency made to the Home Government would be acquiesced in, but now that I am prevented from proceeding there, what steps am I to take in the matter.

317. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 29TH APRIL, 1886

Your telegram of the 28th. Dhulip Singh. We consider the arrangements now suggested by His Highness perfectly satisfactory, and we fully

appreciate the honourable and gentlemanlike tone of His Highness's communications. The Government will pay His Highness's expenses both from England to Aden and back, together with those of whatever servants may have preceded him from Europe to Bombay. Please let me know His Highness's wishes on this latter point.

318. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 29TH APRIL, 1886.

Your telegram of today. Maharaja desires to thank Your Excellency for pecuniary assistance from Government. No servants preceded His Highness to Bombay. I will inform Your Excellency as soon as passage is arranged.

SECRETARY

Mr. Young's letter is satisfactory.

There is also a telegram from the Resident, Aden of the 29th April, which is for information.

30th April 1886. G.S.F.

Seen. I have told the Viceroy about Mr. Young's letter.

1st May 1886. H.M.D.

319. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 30TH APRIL, 1886.

In reply to Your Highness's telegram of the 29th, I beg to say that Your Highness's representation had been very carefully considered by the Government of India, and the communication which was made to you before leaving England embodied its view of the case. Should Your Highness on returning to England be inclined to address me privately as a friend, it would always be a pleasure to me to give you the best advice in my power.

In conclusion, allow me to express my deep personal regret at having been the cause of exposing Your Highness and Your Highness's family to inconvenience in the discharge of my public duties.

320. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

NO. 132.

TELEGRAM DATED 30TH APRIL, 1886.

Dhulip Singh. Following is substance of a telegram received from Resident at Aden :—

Begins. Dhulip Singh does not now wish to go to Egypt, but will

return to Europe and England. He has given me his word of honour in writing as a prince and a gentleman that he will not attempt to return to India at present, and that he will abstain from all political agitation. If, after consulting his lawyers, he finds himself unable to give (a) permanent undertaking to the above effect, he will restore (the) present status quo by placing himself at the disposal of the Resident at Aden. He further promises to enjoin his children to obey (the) wishes of the Government in the above respects. Ends.

We have accepted these terms, and have offered to pay (the) Maharaja's passage to Aden and back.

I suppose no instruction is to issue to Aden with reference to Viceroy's telegram to the Secretary of State of the 30th April until His Lordship replies.

Ist May 1886. G.S.F.

321. THE *TRIBUNE*, MAY I, 1886, Page 7, Col. 1 and 2

Maharaja's Duleep Singh's detention at Aden.

Since the above was in type, a telegram from Bombay points out that the Maharaja had reached Aden with his wife, three sons, and three daughters. He had first expected to be detained at Gibraltar, but nobody made any hinderance to his proceeding on his voyage there. But when he reached Aden, Brigadier General Hogg, the Resident, went on board the ship and informed the Maharaja that under the orders of the Government of India he could not be allowed to proceed further. The Maharaja protested against this highhanded proceeding and "invited the attention of the passengers to the fact that he was not willingly leaving the ship and declared that there would be a great State trial as the outcome of his detention". Now, the circumstances relating to his detention at Aden are painful in the extreme, and reflect much discredit upon the Government of Lord Dufferin. To treat the recent letters of Maharaja as a political manifesto is to put a bad and unjustifiable construction on the motives of the Maharaja and to raise a hurricane in a tea kettle.

322. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN,
TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST MAY, 1886.

Return heartfelt thanks. Will gladly address Your Excellency as a friend should occasion arise. On further reflection, determined on sending family to England at my own cost for education, I remain here prisoner

at Your Excellency's pleasure. Request that Government pay expenses of and send 17 servants from Bombay. Addressed letter last mail to Your Excellency.

323. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST MAY, 1886.

Since receiving Your Excellency's telegram last night, Dhulip Singh says he prefers to stay at Aden. Maharani and family leave for England on Thursday. I have reasoned much without effect. Maharaja says his expectations are shattered.

324. FROM SARDAR THAKUR SINGH, DELHI, TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 133.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST MAY, 1886.

Waiting your reply to my telegram 28th.

No orders.

1st May, 1886. H.M.D.

325. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE

DATED THE 1ST MAY, 1886.

11. Enquiries continue to be made in Hoshiarpur concerning the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, and people are anxious to know whether he will take the *pauhal* in state at Amritsar, Apchalnagar, or Anandpur. Many persons wish to go and pay their respects to His Highness. But the prospect of his being reappointed ruler of the Punjab is considered hopeless and any attempt to revive the old dynasty impossible, though several Kukas and old Sikhs believe that the Sat Guru will work wonders for them if they are true to their religion (Hoshiarpur 11 of 24th April 1886).

Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, has received a telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh from Cairo announcing his arrival there. He expects another message from Aden, and will then start for Bombay with other friends to meet Dhulip Singh. The Sardar came to Simla for two days to interview the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, and put up in Harding's Hotel. Harkishen Dās, *Prohit*, called on the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore before leaving for Bombay to meet the Maharaja and mentioned that Sardar Thakur Singh and Jamiat Rai of Shakargarh, district Gurdaspur, were also going. The Maharaja's letter to his countrymen, as published in the newspapers, is frequently discussed, and the impression seems to be that the Sikhs will acknowledge him as their Chief.

The *Nusrat-ul-Akbar*, dated the 14th April states that the Maharaja has been warned that if his visit to India is followed by any disturbance, he will be confined as a State prisoner (Delhi No. II of 24th April, 1886).

A rumour prevails in Karnal that the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Sikh Sardars of Lahore have petitioned the Government not to allow Dhulip Singh to enter the Punjab, as his presence will excite the Sikhs, who will join him in a rebellion (Karnal No. II of 24th April, 1886).

Sardar Thakur Singh, accompanied by his three sons, Gurbachan Singh, Assistant Commissioner, Bakhshish Singh, and Narinder Singh, several attendants, and Partab Singh, *Granthi*, arrived at Delhi a few days ago and put up in the Imperial Hotel, but afterwards removed to the Sikh temple close to the Kotwali. Two parties of 36 persons headed by Hera Singh of Sialkot and Jamiat Rai, also came to Delhi, interviewed Sardar Thakur Singh, and left for Bombay the next day. Thakur Singh intends to remain at Delhi for the present. The news of the detention of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh at Aden is known. It is said that considerable excitement in regard to his visit to India is manifested by the Sikh youths attending the Mission Schools at Delhi (Report from D.S.P. Delhi of 24th April, 1886).

326. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 136.

TELEGRAM DATED 2ND MAY, 1886.

Your telegram of 1st. Tell the Maharaja that I have been much surprised by the receipt of his last telegram, and that there is no question of constituting him a prisoner, in as much as the whole of Europe is open to him, but that if he chooses, he may remain at Aden, subject of course to certain conditions. You may add that, even in his own interests, it is better for him not to come to India, as it is evident that in his present frame of mind, he would probably commit himself by some imprudent act in a way to force the Government to take some very stringent measures in regard to him.

327. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 3RD MAY, 1886.

Your Lordship's telegram, dated 2nd May. I have had long talk with Maharaja who still declines to go to Europe on terms previously arranged. If His Highness remains in same frame of mind, I will send his family by mail on Thursday and await further orders. I will telegraph more tomorrow.

328. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN TO VECEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 5TH MAY, 1886.

Maharaja states his reason for not wishing to return to England is that he cannot face ridicule, but His Highness will agree to return to England and sign any protocol, provided Government promise a full judicial investigation of all his claims by law Lords of the House of Lords, with a view to granting him only a reasonably equitable redress within six months, and provided Government pay him immediately, on reaching London, the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling as compensation for the sacrifice of his liberty which, as a loyal subject, he is asked to make, in binding himself not to visit India without permission of Government. Maharaja has addressed Your Excellency on the subject by this post.

Telegram from Resident, Aden, dated the 5th May, 1886.

States the conditions on which Maharaja Dhulip Singh agree to return to England, and that he has addressed His Excellency on the subject.

SECRETARY

The Maharaja's terms are preposterous. But there is no need to comment on them. The Maharaja has communicated with the Viceroy direct.

6th May 1886. G.S.F.
6th May 1886. H.M.D.

329. FROM ARTHUR CRAWFORD, ESQ. TO H.M. DURAND,
ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

(Confidential)

NO. 138.

SIMLA,
5TH MAY, 1886.

I have the honour to return herewith the Warrants* for the detention of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh and family received demi-officially through the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

*Eight (8) in number.

330. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 6TH MAY, 1886.

Maharani (of Maharaja Dhulip Singh) and family sailed for England in mail steamer today. No Panjabis have arrived here.

331. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE No. 18.

DATED THE 8TH MAY, 1886.

9. The Kukas have given out that the reason why the Government has prohibited Maharaja Dhulip Singh from visiting the Punjab is that the spirit of Guru Ram Singh has entered into him (Ludhiana No. II of 24th April, 1886).

The News of the Maharaja's detention at Aden has spread through the Gujranwala district, and one Bago, formerly an attendant in His Highness's family, has written to Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, enquiring particulars. It was thought possible that Government would restore part of the Punjab to Dhulip Singh (Gujranwala No. II of 1st May, 1886).

Popular opinion in Hoshiarpur is that Government has acted most prudently in preventing the Maharaja from coming to the Punjab as his visit would have caused unnecessary excitement among the ignorant Sikhs, who would have spent money and been duped by the agents of Dhulip Singh, for no good purpose. Sardar Thakur Singh is believed to have induced the Maharaja to come out to India to satisfy his own ends. The Maharaja's cause is now known to be hopeless, and the intrigues of his supporters to have been frustrated. (Hoshiarpur No. II of 1st May, 1886).

The Sikhs of Firozpur at first appeared to take little interest in Dhulip Singh, and to be indifferent whether he remained in England or not, but there was great rejoicing amongst them when they heard that he intended to take the *pauhal* at Amritsar. No information has been received of communications having passed between them and the Maharaja, and the report of his detention at Aden is not generally known (Firozpur No. II of 17th April, 1886—24th April 1886 and 1st May, 1886).

On Man Singh returning from Burma, where he had served as camp-follower, stated in course of conversation that Maharaja Dhulip Singh had been detained at Aden in consequence of his having written a seditious letter to the Sikhs of the Punjab (Railway No. II of 1st May, 1886).

At the *Dharamsala* in Jhelam and other places the Sikhs have been talking about the Maharaja's expected arrival at Bombay, and seems to be delighted at the idea of his return. They state that they are quite willing to

receive him back into the Sikh faith, as his conversion to Christianity was effected when he was a child and not possessed of proper reasoning powers. Baba Khem Singh, C.I.E., of Kalkar, district Rawalpindi, and Baba Sujan Singh of Una, district Hoshiarpur, will, it is said, give the Maharaja the *pauhal*. The rumour is that Dhulip Singh has been sent for in order that he may use his influence in collecting an army of Sikhs, which will be placed under his command and sent against the Russians in the event of war. A report prevails in the Duman police jurisdiction that the Maharaja will take the *pauhal* at Amritsar, and proceed thence to Delhi, where he will reside permanently (Jhelum No. II of 24th April, 1886 and 1st May, 1886).

Dewan Buta Singh, proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Punjab* newspaper of Lahore, is said to be deeply incensed at the detention of Dhulip Singh at Aden (Lahore No. II of 1st May, 1886).

The brother-in-law of one Karm Singh Jhiwar, accompanied Sardar Thakur Singh to England in 1884. The Maharaja Dhulip Singh gave him two pairs of bangles valued at Rs. 2,000 and five suits of cloths. His Highness stated that he would have under his command 10 Sikh, 5 British, 5 Muhamadan and some Dogra Regiments, and that no *Rais* or *Raja* would be allowed to sit on a chair without his permission. He also informed Sardar Thakur Singh that the white sugar sold in bags was unfit for consumption by Hindus. Thakur Singh thereupon wrote to Sardar Man Singh, Superintendent of Golden Temple, Amritsar, telling him not to use this sugar for *Karahparshad*.

The Sikhs of Amritsar are grieved to learn that Dhulip Singh has been detained at Aden, and say Government has been unjust in not allowing him to return to India. It is stated that, in compliance with a telegram from the Maharaja, Buta Singh, goldsmith of Hira Mandi, Lahore city, and three others have left for Meerut to meet him (Amritsar No. II of 24th April, 1886 and 1st May, 1886).

A Sikh sepoy remarked at the Jalandar City Railway Station that the news of Dhalip Singh's return gave universal pleasure to the Sikhs, who were ready to join him in a body (Jalandar No. II of 24th April, 1886).

Ram Singh, a pensioned mounted constable of the Gurdaspur District Police, who is in service with Sardar Thakur Singh, stated that on the 7th April the Sardar received a letter from the Maharaja Dhulip Singh announcing his arrival at Aden and requesting him to entertain 10 or 12 old and trusted Sikh retainers of his family and to make them take the *pauhal* again in token of fidelity to the Maharaja and his cause. When this letter reached Thakur Singh, he was staying in the Jamadar's Bagh at Amritsar with several of his friends and adherents. The party held a secret

conference at which *Karahparshad* was distributed and every Sikh present was required to take the *pauhal* afresh. Thakur Singh subsequently left for Bombay with 12 servants. He told his friends to be hopeful, and be prepared for whatever might happen. In reply to enquiries he stated that the Government had reluctantly given him permission to meet Dhulip Singh at Bombay, but that if sanction had been refused, he would still have undertaken the journey even at the risk of being hanged afterwards. Ram Singh added that the members of the Sandhanwalia family still exercised very great influence with the people (Gurdaspur No. II of Ist May, 1886).

Several people in Shahpur have been making enquiries as to the Maharaja's coming (Shahpur No. II of Ist May, 1886).

Nothing seems to be known in Karnal of the manifesto issued by Dhulip Singh, and his movements excite comparatively little interest in the district (Karnal No. II of Ist May, 1886).

At Delhi the prevailing idea is that, if the Maharaja is allowed to come to India, security will be taken from the Sardars who go to Bombay to meet him. Sardar Thakur Singh, with his three sons, is still awaiting intelligence of his Highness, and is said to have despatched a telegram to him on the 29th April, enquiring whether he should proceed to Bombay or return home.

Passengers by the P. and O. *Verona* say that Dhulip Singh was very loquacious, and that he expected to be detained. His eldest son Victor openly said he objected to his father's proceedings, and spoke of him as "my idiotic parent" (Delhi No. II of Ist May, 1886).

332. THE TRIBUNE Dated May 8, 1886, Page 6, Col. 3

Maharaja Duleep Singh ordered back to England.

Poor Duleep Singh! "Sad relic of departed worth". He has been after all ordered back to England, if the statement of the *Pioneer* to this effect is true. The same journal has said that if some satisfactory arrangement is arrived at between the Government of India and the Maharaja, the latter will be allowed to resume his voyage east of Aden. So, it seems that no satisfactory arrangement has been arrived at, and the Maharaja must drag the rest of his existence in England, where his inadequate [income] does not allow him to live as becomes his great position and high rank. It needs no prophet to tell us, that the return of Maharaja will put him to considerable loss of money. Before starting for India he had disposed of his estates and other things which, if he buys them again, will cost him infinitely more than what their sale brought to him. It behoves the British Government, we submit, which never tires of trumpeting to the world its sense of generosity and benevolence, to allow some appreciable increase

in the pension of the Maharaja, if it does not see its way to give him back his personal private estates. Besides, it is incumbent upon it to make ample provision for his family after his death. The Maharaja does not aspire to the throne of Punjab, of which he was dispossessed for no fault of his own. On the contrary, his demands are moderate in the extreme. The Government need not be told that it is not good and generous to add insult to injury. The poverty of the Maharaja is notorious. To avoid a scandal it is better that the Government should attend to his wants now. We shall be glad to hear that relief has been afforded to the Maharaja from the hardships occasioned to him by the cold neglect and extreme indifference, with which his demands, for justice and fair play, have been hitherto regarded by English statesmen, liberal as well as conservative.

333. FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP
SINGH, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 8TH MAY, 1886.

My first cousin, who was adopted by my mother as her son, and another have arrived here without my knowledge. I request permission to see them, and also that they may be permitted to stay with me.

334. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY

TELEGRAM DATED 8TH MAY, 1886.

States that Maharaja's telegram explains the arrival of Thakur Singh and another, and that he has not permitted them to communicate pending orders.

HIS EXCELLENCY

This man Thakur Singh is, I understand, the person who visited Dhulip Singh in England, and who has lately been employed in disseminating copies of Major Evan Bell's work, and otherwise preparing the Punjab for Dhulip Singh's arrival. If he is allowed to see Dhulip Singh and then return to India, all check upon the Maharaja's communications will be removed.

Dhulip Singh and Thakur Singh will make capital out of a refusal. Nevertheless I should answer that I was very sorry to put any restrictions upon Dhulip Singh's intercourse with his friends, but that so long as he remained at Aden, I could not sanction his being visited by persons from India,

An alternative course might be to allow one visit in the presence of the Resident, with a distinct warning there must be nothing of the sort again.

On the whole I should prefer a simple refusal, which would show Dhulip Singh once for all that the Government of India is not to be forced.

8th May, 1886. H.M.D.

335. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 151.

TELEGRAM DATED 8TH MAY, 1886.

His Highness [Duleep Singh] can see the two persons who have arrived from India in the presence of an English officer who understands the language. You had better be present also. Nothing of an objectionable nature ought to be allowed to pass, and the Punjabis should be recommended to return as soon as possible.

336. FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 10TH MAY, 1886.

I request that Messrs. Lawrence and Talbot, 13 Old Square, Lincolns Inn, and Kitley of Bombay, be sent to me, Government paying all their expenses; also some Indian servants as mine are leaving.

337. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 10TH MAY, 1886.

Dhalip Singh has asked for two English gentlemen to be sent to him at the Government expense. Express to His Highness my regret that it is quite impossible to comply with his request in this particular. He also wants some Indian servants. He does not say how many. He has none with him, and cannot he get what he wants at Aden? How many does he require, and of what sort?

338. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 11TH MAY, 1886.

No. 86. Your Excellency's telegram received. I will reply tomorrow.

339. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH,
G.C.S.I. TO THE EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.

NO. 166.

RESIDENCY, ADEN,
11TH MAY, 1886.

I very much regret that through inadvertence the accompanying two

copies of important letters were not forwarded with the letter I had the honour to address Your Excellency last mail.

(See No. 114 and 144)

340. FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA TO HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SNGH, CARE OF RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 167.

SIMLA,
11TH MAY, 1886.

I was very glad to receive Your Highness's letter of the 27th of April, and to see that Your Highness recognizes my earnest desire to show you all possible consideration.

It has been with very great regret that I have been unable to acquiesce in Your Highness's visit to India, for the reasons already communicated to you in a previous telegram. I am quite certain that some day Your Highness will yourself be glad that the Government of India should have opposed its veto to your project of appealing to the Chiefs and people of India for pecuniary aid. The only consequences of such a step would have been to compromise Your Highness's dignity, and perhaps to involve yourself and others in rash and inconsiderate proceedings which might require very serious notice on the part of the executive. It would have been better had Your Highness accepted the offer of £ 50,000 made some time ago by the Government of India with a view of extricating you from your actual embarrassments.

Before concluding this letter, I must demur to Your Highness's referring to yourself as a prisoner. Your Highness is perfectly aware that, as you are at liberty to go to Europe and live where you please, such a term is quite inapplicable to Your Highness's present situation.

341. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN,
TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 12TH MAY, 1886.

I desire to take advantage of my cousin's presence here to be re-initiated into Sikhism. Kindly telegraph Resident, saying I may go through the ceremony in his presence.

342. FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA, TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, LAHORE

NO. 156.

TELEGRAM DATED 14TH MAY, 1886.

Dhulip Singh has been allowed to see in presence of Resident one Thakur Singh described as his cousin, and another person from India. He

now wishes to take advantage of their arrival to be baptised into Sikh faith Resident being present. Viceroy would be obliged if you would favour him with your opinion. What would be effect of consent or refusal in Punjab ?

343. FROM LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, LAHORE, TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 157.

TELEGRAM DATED 14TH MAY, 1886.

Your telegram of date. Dhulip Singh. Refusal would be misunderstood and might cause irritation as interference with freedom of religious convictions, it would also magnify his importance. So long as he does not return to India or Punjab, consent will do little if any harm. A few persons might make capital out of conversion, but most of intelligent and loyal Sikhs understand situation and are comparatively indifferent. Intended baptism long rumoured. I would not advise that Resident be present.

344. *THE TRIBUNE*, Dated May 15, 1886, Page 2, Col. 3

Maharaja Dhulip Singh

A Calcutta paper has the following about Maharaja Dhulip Singh :

"Poor Maharaja Dhulip Singh, he will be compelled to return to England from Aden, where he is being detained. The question that naturally arises in an unsophisticated mind is—of what crime is the Maharaja guilty, to be robbed of his liberty in this manner. Has he done any wrong or injury to his fellow men ? Has he invaded upon the rights of his neighbours ? Has he anyhow violated the laws of his Government ? No. The only crime that lies at his door, is that he wished against the wishes of the powers that be, to come back to the land of his birth, and that instead of returning and settling down in his country as a private man, he was foolish enough to publicly declare his intention of returning to the religion of his fathers. For this fault, he has been made a prisoner and has been robbed of that liberty without which human life becomes a veritable burden. Whilst not professing much respect for the Maharaja, we are not constrained to remark that the hardship imposed upon him is unworthy of a strong and free government. It is one more proof that no nation can righteously govern another. To have dominion over a foreign race, is demoralising both to the rulers and the ruled. A country that has been won by the sword must be maintained by repeated acts of injustice. A conquering race must trample upon the just aspirations of the subject race, must stifle the voice of independence, must deprive the people of their just rights, must cripple the leg of self-reliance unless they are prepared to concede all, and retire from the scene. Foreign dominion is a like a tale

begun with a lie, where at every subsequent stage a fresh lie is needed to keep the old one. It is such acts more than anything else that tend to lower the prestige of the English Government in the eyes of the people.

345. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 15TH MAY, 1886.

Initiation of Dhulip Singh

You can allow the ceremony to be performed, but it is not desirable that you yourself should be present, or that any of our officials should have the look of countenancing the proceedings. On the other hand, if you can manage it, it would be well to prevent any private communication between the Maharaja and the Punjab gentlemen. I dare say your tact and skill will enable you to arrange the business in a desirable manner. I have myself witnessed it.

346. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

LAHORE,
15TH MAY, 1886.

The following is all I have to add to my confidential letter of the 28th April.

Telegram announcing the departure of Maharaja Dhulip Singh from England were sent to Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia; *Parohit* Harkishen Das; Buta Singh of the *Aftab-i-Punjab* Newspaper; Jamiat Rai alias Jit Mal of Shahgarib and Hera Singh, Pasrur.

The following started for Bombay to meet the Maharaja :

- (1) Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia;
- (2) Sardar Gurbachan Singh, his son, one of the statutory Civilians in the Punjab;
- (3) Sardar Narinder Singh, another son of Sardar Thakur Singh;
- (4) Sardar Bakshish Singh. This I think cannot be the son of Sardar Thakur Singh with whom he is not on good terms. It may be Kour Bakshish Singh of Lahore;
- (5) Partab Singh, translator of Major Evan Bell's Book.
- (6) *Parohit* Harkishen Das;
- (7) Harnam Singh, *Granthi*;
- (8) Hira Singh;
- (9) Jamiat Rai;

with a certain number of followers whose names are not given. The three last in the list are said to have gone on to Bombay. Thakur Singh's party

halted at Delhi on hearing of the Maharaja's detention at Aden. They are probably waiting there for the further development of events. You may have seen a report of Thakur Singh's having committed suicide by poison on his way down to Bombay. This has not been confirmed, and the Sardar is known to be still at Delhi. The rumour arose from the accidental death of another Thakur Singh from a fall from his horse in Port Blair.

The letter of the Maharaja Dhulip Singh bearing date the 25th March to which reference has been made in previous letters, has been reproduced in most of the vernacular newspapers. Printed copies of the letter were received direct from England by the editor of the *Koh-i-noor*, I mentioned in my last letter, is word for word the same as the one published in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. No other address to the Sikhs by Dhulip Singh has been published in the papers, nor has any such been reported to be in circulation. There is a rumour which emanated from a quondam Police Officer at Multan that a seditious notice is being circulated in native regiments, but no confirmation has been obtained to this, and the authority for the rumour is not trustworthy.

The editors of vernacular newspapers generally express disapproval of Dhulip Singh's detention at Aden and represent him as badly used, but the articles are not extravagant and in no case is the Maharaja's claim to sovereignty of the Punjab supported.

In connection with the Kukas' belief that Ram Singh's spirit has entered into Dhulip Singh, it is worthy of note that four Kukas started for Bombay to meet Dhulip Singh.

Demi-official from W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary to Punjab Government (to Secretary) dated the 15th May 1886.

Communicates information regarding the movements of certain Punjabis in connection with the intended return of Dhulip Singh to India.

JUNIOR UNDER-SECRETARY

I cannot make about Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia. The police reports showed he went to Delhi before going to Bombay. The story of his death was a hoax. He wrote to the newspapers and contradicted it.

The Punjab must, I think be mistaken about his being still at Delhi. If not, then he is represented by an Inspector at Aden.

17th May, 1886. G.S.F.

Please telegraph to Punjab :—

"Your demi-official 15th. If Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia is still at Delhi, who is the Thakur Singh described as Dhulip Singh's cousin now at Aden ?

17th May, 1886. H.M.D.

(Telegram to Punjab Government No. 1612 I, dated the 17th May, 1886.)

SECRETARY

I put up a precis which may go to Sir Charles Aitchison with a demi-official.

We have spare copies of papers that may be sent in original. Unfortunately we have no spare file of recent telegrams. I have therefore made a precis of them.

14th May, 1886. G.S.F.

Thanks. Please issue confidentially if you are sure of telegram of Proceedings No. 112.	27th April was not more conditional. Probably I am thinking of the answer to the Maharaja's later proposal about going to Europe.
--	---

15th May, 1886. H.M.D.

(Demi-official to W.M. Young, Esq., dated 18th May, 1886.)

347. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE NO. 19

DATED 15TH MAY, 1886.

12. It is rumoured at Lahore that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh has been recalled to London. Members of the Arya Samaj express their regret at the news, and consider that the Government has treated him badly (News-letter C.C. Lahore, of 7th May, 1886). The Sikhs at Simla are very much incensed at the treatment Dhulip Singh has received. Other Punjabis also say he has been unjustly dealt with.

18. Mirza Faredun, son of the Ex-king of Oudh, with a following of 32 persons, lately came to Delhi for the purpose of obtaining medical advice and treatment, and returned on the 3rd May. People say that the real motive of his visit was to seek a private interview with the Maharaja Dhulip Singh and that he went away on learning the decision of Government to detain His Highness at Aden. While at Delhi he very seldom appeared in public (Delhi No. II of 1st May 1886 and 8th May 1886).

348. FROM VICEROY TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

MEMORANDUM

15TH MAY, 1886.

In reference to the present proceedings we are taking against the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, it should be noted in the memorandum you are drawing up that our original intention had been to suggest a place in the

south of India for His Highness's residence; that he had agreed to it, and that it was not until after he had actually left England that we knew of his proclamation and of the menacing language he had used in London. It is important to note these points, otherwise we should be blamed for not having warned Dhulip Singh before he started that he would be stopped at Aden, as well as for inconsistency in making arrangements for his location in the south of India.

349. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO PUNJAB, LAHORE

NO. 159. TELEGRAM NO. 1612 I, DATED 17TH MAY, 1886.

Your demi-official 15th. If Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia is still at Delhi, who is the Thakur Singh described as Dhulip Singh's cousin now at Aden ?

350. FROM PUNJAB, LAHORE, TO FOREIGN, SIMLA

NO. 162. TELEGRAM DATED, 18TH MAY, 1886.

No. 205. Your 1612 I. Thakur Singh, son of Jawahir Singh of Wagah, Lahore, is son of the daughter of Rani Jindan, whose imprisonment he shared and who treated him as a son. Probably this man is the reputed cousin of Dhulip Singh now at Aden.

351. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., LAHORE (Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
18TH MAY, 1886.

The enclosed office precis with accompanying papers will acquaint you with the present position of Dhulip Singh's case. You are aware of the earlier history of his claims.

The Viceroy would be much obliged by an expression of Sir Charles Aitchison's views as to the line which ought to be pursued in dealing with His Highness in future.

His Excellency is inclined to think that it would now be inexpedient to permit the Maharaja to visit India under any circumstances.

What would Sir Charles say to a proposal to send His Highness to Burma in case he remains obstinate in his determination not to return to Europe ?

Any information which you would give me regarding the effect produced in the Punjab by the recent proceedings of Dhulip Singh and his detention at Aden would be valuable.

MEMORANDUM

In informing the Government of India that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh had engaged passages for himself and family by the P. & O. Steamer

Telegram to Secretary of State, dated 12th Oct. 1885. Telegram to Secretary of State, dated 14th Oct. 1885. From Assistant Secretary, Political and Secret Deptt. No. 312, dated 16th October, 1885.

Verona leaving England on the 16th December 1885, the Secretary of State intimated that His Highness had been informed that, on arrival in India, he would have to conform to the Viceroy's orders respecting his place of residence. On receipt of this intimation Dhulip Singh inquired whether force would be used to control his movements, and he

was told by Lord R. Churchill "that it will rest with the Viceroy of India to adopt such measures as he may think necessary in order to secure compliance with any instructions which His Excellency may give in respect

From Secretary, Political and Secret Deptt. No. 326, dated 30th October, 1885.

to your Highness's movements when in India. In the meantime the question of Maharaja's return to India was considered here and the Secretary of State was asked to inform His Highness that "if

he comes to India he will be required to live at some place in the Madras

Telegram to Secretary of State dated 27th of November, 1885.

Presidency and that he will not be permitted to visit the Punjab." These views were communicated to the Maharaja and the result was that he addressed to the

Secretary of State two letters couched in very objectionable terms, dated, 2nd November and 2nd December 1885.

Two passages which occur in them run thus:—

From Secretary, Political and Secret Department, No. 336 dated 6th November 1886.

From Secretary, Political and Secret Department, No. 337, dated 4th December, 1885

On the 16th January, 1886, the Government of India desired the Secretary of State to warn the Maharaja that any attempt to disregard their expressed wishes would, under Article 5 of Treaty of Lahore, absolve them

from existing obligations regarding his pension. At the same time the Government stated they were prepared, provided the Maharaja abandoned his intention to leave England, to examine his affairs with the view of ameliorating his position.

On the 2nd February, the Secretary of State telegraphed that he had not given the warning desired as he thought it useless, having ascertained that no reasonable concession would be accepted. The Secretary of State,

however, considered it might be useful to know maximum limit of pecuniary concession Government of India would recommend; the Maharaja's claims being (1) a Court of Inquiry; (2) the restoration of private estates; (3) five lakh found with arrears; and (4) better provision for his family at his death.

"Shortly after this the Maharaja seems to have repented somewhat and wrote on 10th February to Lord Kimberley:—"I beg to apologise for and to withdraw any expression of disrespect ever employed intentionally or otherwise by me towards Her Majesty's Indian Government." His Highness also (9th February, 1886) agreed to reside at such place as the Government of India may select. He, however, kept deferring the date of his departure.

From Secretary, Political and Secret Department, No. 43, dated the 5th March, 1886.

His Highness also (9th February, 1886) agreed to reside at such place as the Government of India may select. He, however,

The Government of India replied to the Secretary of State's inquiry of the 2nd February in March expressing their willingness to afford the

From Secretary, Political and Secret Department, No. 43, dated 12th Feb. 1885.

Maharaja such relief as can be obtained by a maximum grant of 50,000, the grant to be applied (1) to payment of private debts, and (2) to decrease of debt to Government so as to make reasonable

addition to Maharaja's income; and to be allowed on condition that he abandoned all claims and promised never to return to India. The offer of the Government of India was rejected "with vehemence" by Dhulip Singh at a personal interview with Sir O.T. Burne on the 24th March, 1886. When

Telegram to Secretary of State dated 20th March, 1886.

after referring to the risk the Government ran if they should imprison him in India, and alluding to the Sikh prophecies in his favour, he again expressed

his determination to leave immediately for India and re-embrace the Sikh religion.

From Secretary of State, No. 26. Political dated 31st March, 1886.
Telegram from Secretary of State, dated 31st March, 1886.

His Highness left with his family a week after, and about the time of his departure issued a proclamation addressed to the Sikhs. This act, coupled with the menacing language used by His Highness at his last interview with Sir O.T.

Burne, with regard to troubles in India and war with Russia, induced the Government of India to issue warrants for the detention of His Highness and his family at Aden. At this place His Highness has accordingly been detained—the warrants have not been used. On his arrival the reasons for his detention were explained to His Highness.

The Maharaja at first proposed to establish himself with his family at Cairo, his two elder sons returning to England. The Government assented to this course on condition (1) that he gave his word of honour that neither he nor any member of his family would seek to visit India without the leave of Government; and (2) that he refrained in future from all political agitation; these terms being embodied in a protocol to be signed by his Highness.

The Maharaja on the 28th gave the Resident his parole in writing to the above effect, but changed his mind about Egypt. He desired to return and reside in Europe, visiting England to consult his lawyers before signing the protocol. He undertook, should he be unable to sign this, to surrender himself at Aden next November, if Government required him.

On the 1st May, the Maharaja again altered his plans, and intimated his wish to stay at Aden, sending, however, his family back to England.

In informing the Viceroy of this resolution he said—"I remain here prisoner at Your Excellency's pleasure." Subsequently His Highness ascribed his resolve not to visit England to fear of ridicule, but he was prepared to return and sign any protocol "provided Government promise a full judicial investigation of all his claim by the Law Lords of the House of Lords, with a view of granting him only a abreasonly equitable redresss within six months, and provided Government

Telegram to Resident, Aden, dated	15th April, 1886.	pay him immediately on reaching
To " No. 1193 I, "	16th " "	London the sum
Telegram from " Aden "	21st " "	of 50,000 sterling as
" " " " "	" " "	compensation for
" " Dhulip Singh "	22nd " "	the sacrifice of his
" To " " "	" " "	liberty, which, as a
" from " " "	23rd " "	loyal subject, he is
" to Resident Aden "	27th " "	asked to make in
" from " " "	28th " "	binding himself not
" to " " "	29th " "	to visit India
" from " " "	" " "	without permission
" from Dhulip Singh "	" " "	of Government."
" to " " "	30th " "	
" from " " "	2nd May "	The Maharani
" to Resident, Aden "	3rd " "	and family sailed
" from " " "	5th " "	for England on the
" from " " "	6th " "	6th May.

On the 8th May, Thakur Singh and another Punjabi arrived in Aden on a visit to the Maharaja. The Maharaja made a special request through the Secretary of State, before leaving England, that the Thakur Singh be permitted to meet him on his arrival in India (From Lord Kimberley, dated 25th March). His Highness has been permitted to see them in presence of an English Officer who is to take care that nothing objectionable passes. On the 12th, the Maharaja requested permission to avail himself of the Thakur Singh's presence to be reinitiated into Sikhism.

The following orders were issued after communication with Sir Charles Aitchison. [See No. 345, page 306.]

352. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 163

TELEGRAM DATED 18TH MAY, 1886.

No. 95. When Maharaja becomes Sikh, he will require Hindu cook; ceremony therefore postponed. If permitted, I could provide two Sikhs now here, one Maharaja's oldest servant who accompanied Thakur Singh from India, and one another. If not permitted, ceremony cannot take place. I am writing to Your Excellency full particulars regarding servants and establishment which will be necessary if Maharaja remains here.

States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh will require a Hindu cook when he becomes a Sikh. Propose to provide two Sikhs now at Aden as servants for the Maharaja. Added that he is forwarding particulars by letter.

SECRETARY

1. The Punjab telegram shows who the Thakur Singh at Aden is.
2. The Aden telegram announces the postponement of the Sikh ceremony because of want of Sikh cook. The Resident proposes to engage for the Maharaja two Sikhs who are now at Aden. We need raise no objection as to a permanent establishment for the Maharaja, we may see how things turn out, and await also the Resident's promised report.
3. The India Office Memorandum and Precis is for reference and information

20th May, 1886. G.S.F.

We had better now reply to Thakur Singh's telegram about Dhulip Singh that the latter is not coming to India.

19th May, 1886. H.M.D.

353. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 164.

TELEGRAM DATED 20TH MAY, 1886.

We see no reason why Maharaja should not have any Hindu cook whom you can unobjectionably supply.

354. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ. TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

SIMLA, 20TH MAY, 1886.

I forward you herewith copy of Dhulip Singh's letter to His Excellency and the reply. His Excellency desires that they should be sent home with the other correspondence.

355. FROM FOREIGN, SIMLA, TO SARDAR THAKUR
SINGH SINDHANWALIA, DELHI

NO. 165.

TELEGRAM NO. 1675 I, DATED 21ST MAY, 1886

No. 1675 I. Your telegram 28th April. Maharaja Dhulip Singh is not coming to India.

356. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ. TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

LAHORE, 21ST MAY, 1886.

The papers forwarded with your demi-official of the 18th May regarding the Maharaja Dhulip Singh's case have been laid before the Lieutenant-Governor, who desires me to convey the following opinion regarding the matters specified in your letter.

Considering the disloyal intentions revealed in the papers you have sent which the Maharaja takes not the least pains to conceal, Sir Charles Aitchison feels that he cannot too strongly express his opinion that Dhalip Singh ought not, under any circumstances, to be permitted to visit India.

In regard to the suggestion to send the Maharaja to Burma in case he remains obstinate in his determination not to return to Europe, Sir Charles Aitchison is almost equally averse to such a measure. Judging from the experience gained in the case of Kuka leader, Ram Singh, it would be almost impossible to prevent inter-communication between the more adventurous and unsettled Sikhs of the province and the Maharaja if he were to be located in Burma. It would be too near and communication

too easy, and Dhalip Singh and his affairs would be too much in evidence. Hither to the Maharaja has not succeeded in doing any great harm, but it is impossible to say what might be the effect if his case were perpetually before the public, and if it were necessary for the Government to be continually thwarting him in apparently small matters.

If there is no difficulty in keeping Dhalip Singh at Aden, and if he refuses to return to England, Sir Charles Aitchison thinks he might be allowed to remain where he is. If the Maharaja could be induced to return to England, this would no doubt be the best solution of the difficulty. At the same time the Lieutenant-Governor thinks it is quite natural that the Maharaja should be ashamed to return to England after what has occurred, and Sir Charles Aitchison would be disposed to allow him to live anywhere west of the meridian of Suez on the same terms as if he were in England.

If the Maharaja wants more liberal terms than those he formerly enjoyed in England, the conditions of His Excellency's telegram No. 958 I of the 20th March, 1886, may, Sir Charles Aitchison thinks, with advantage be enforced; but the Lieutenant-Governor would not impose additional restrictions or conditions unless his allowances are increased and his position improved.

You will have got my letter of the 15th instant, giving you all the information which we have obtained up to date regarding the movements of those who appear to be interested in the Maharaja. The Native press is bestowing much less notice upon him, and the detention of the Maharaja at Aden has produced less effect than might have been anticipated. So long as there is a considerable distance between India and the Maharaja, there is not much fear of any keen interest being manifested in his proceedings, nor in his treatment by the British Government; but his presence anywhere near the Punjab could not but produce a disquieting influence, the tendency of which would be to increase according to the length of time that his affairs occupy public attention.

357. EXTRACT FROM POLITICAL ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE

22ND MAY, 1886

7. A short time ago Thakur Singh *Kahar* of Jugatpur received a telegram from the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, and at once sent Nihal Singh *Kahar* to Bombay. He himself started for that place a few days later in company with Jamiat Rai to whom the Maharaja had also telegraphed. Isar Singh and Amar Singh *Kahars* of Maima Kaharan, left for Bombay a few days after Nihal Singh.

Ghulam Ahmed of Jalandar a railway passenger, stated that many Hindus from Patiala and Nabha were going to Bombay to meet Dhulip Singh (Amritsar No. II of 8th May, 1886).

People of Gurdaspur cannot understand why the Maharaja has been prevented from returning to India. *Pandits* predict that he will assuredly come to Delhi, and be fully compensated by Government for the inconvenience he has suffered (Gurdaspur No. II of 15th May, 1886).

A report prevails at Shaina that a number of the leading Punjabis intend to petition Government to permit Dhulip Singh to visit the province (Ludhiana No. II of 15th May, 1886).

No communications appear to have passed between the Maharaja and any person in the Ferozpur district. The news of His Highness's detention at Aden is now becoming generally known (Ferozpur No. II of 8th May, 1886).

The people of Rohtak have heard that Dhulip Singh is detained, but seem to take very little interest in his movements (Rohtak No. II of 15th May, 1886).

Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia and his three sons are still at Delhi and have removed to the house recently vacated by Mirza Faredun. They receive English letters by post.

A servant of the Sardar, named Dewa Singh, has gone back to Amritsar on some urgent business.

Rattan Singh and Khushal Singh from Amritsar have passed through Delhi for Bombay.

A Sadhu fakir, named Rattan Singh, came from Karnal and visited Sardar Thakur Singh at Delhi.

A rumour in Delhi city states that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh is greatly annoyed at the action of the Government of India in detaining him at Aden, and that the European powers are expected to interest themselves in his behalf, and to persuade the British Government to sanction his visit to India and allow him perfect liberty (Delhi No. II of 8th May, 1886).

8. Piara Sahib left Delhi on his return to Benaras on the 5th May. It is rumoured that he wished to meet the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, and was disappointed on hearing of his detention at Aden (Delhi No. II of 8th May, 1886).

358. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ. TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

LAHORE, 24TH MAY, 1886.

In Tuesday's issue of the *Civil and Military Gazette* allusion was made to the expulsion from the Sikh community by the Khalsa Diwan (The

Sikh National Association, which includes all the local Singh Sabhas) of Bawa Nihal Singh, on account of the publication by him of a book called the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*, containing certain passages to which the association have taken exception.

I am directed to send you the enclosed copy (with a translation) of the notice which is now in circulation under the signature of Bhai Gurmukh Singh of Lahore, the Chief Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan, and also a memorandum by the Officer-in-charge of Special Branch of the Central Police Office, containing the passage in the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*, held to be objectionable.

Bawa Nihal Singh is a Thanadar in the *Kalsia* State, and both he and his brother Sarmukh Singh were at one time confessedly members of the Kuka sect. Both these men belong to the Sandhanwalia party, of which Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia is the Chief.

The *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*, as you will see from the memorandum, refers to Ram Singh, the late Kuka leader, as Guru Ram Singh. It also speaks of the restoration to Dhulip Singh of the throne of Lahore as a grant from the Empress of India.

The issue of the present notice excluding Bawa Nihal Singh from the Singh Sabhas is noteworthy, in as much as the objections taken to the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* are professedly on account of its disloyalty to the Government. Some doubt, however, exists as to whether Bhai Gurmukh Singh, the Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan, has not circulated it on his own authority, since it is known that dissensions have lately arisen in the society.

ENCLOSURE A

Translation of a notice circulated by the Khalsa Diwan.

By the grace of the One True Guru

"URGENT NOTICE printed with the permission of the Khalsa Diwan.

"Greetings of the Khalsa.

"last year a book entitled *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* was printed and published. It had several expressions against the Government, and statements calculated to bring the Khalsa faith into disrepute. The following notice was circulated regarding this book during the month of *Katik* last (October 1885):—

"PUBLIC NOTICE.

"It is hereby notified that Bawa Nihal Singh of Sri Hargobindpur has written a book in Urdu called *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*. This book is printed at

the *Aftab-i-Hind* Press at Jalandar under the supervision of Bawa Surmukh Singh. The last two pages contain reviews of the book by several gentlemen amongst whom are Sardar Harnam Singh, *Rais* and President of the Singh Sabha, Kharar; Sahib Singh, Secretary of the Singh Sabha, Fatehgarh; Jodh Singh, Secretary of the Singh Sabha, Nawashahr. But on enquiry being made from them, they stated they were cognizant of that part of the book alone which contained an account of the Sikh Gurus, and that the author was responsible for the historical portion from the time of Banda up to the present period, and for the genealogical trees inserted in the book.

"The public are hereby informed that one of the gentlemen referred to above have given any opinion on the historical sketch (of the Sikh conquests after the death of Guru Gobind Singh) and on the genealogical trees, and they are not, in consequences, responsible for them. Bawa Nihal Singh will now be asked why he published the reviews of the afore-said gentlemen as applying to the entire work (when the said reviews only referred to a portion of the book).

"Lahore,

"The 23rd October 1885.

(Sd) Gurmukh Singh,

Chief Secy., Khalsa Diwan

"As stated in the notice, the author was called on for explanation, but no satisfactory answer was received from him. In February 1886, a special notice was published about the Khalsa Diwan, and the following is an extract from it :

"To the Secretary of Sri Guru Singh Sabha from Gurmukh Singh.

"Greetings"

I am engaged in one business only, because it has been in hand before the Ist Khalsa Diwan meeting was held. It relates to the work named *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*. I attach importance to the fact that the author should be excluded from the Singh Sabha, for he has not replied to any of the questions put to him.

"The following is the list of business to be placed before the special meeting :—

- | | | |
|---|--------|--------|
| 1. ... | 2. ... | 3. ... |
| 4. Author of the <i>Khurshid-i-Khalsa</i> | | |
| 5. ... | 6. ... | 7. ... |

"Lahore,

"The 8th February, 1886.

(Sd) Gurmukh Singh,

Member of the Khalsa Diwan."

ENCLOSURE B

"Since the publication of the above notice, the representatives of Singh Sabha met at Lahore on the 14th February last. They were unanimously of opinion that the author should be given another opportunity

to acquit himself of the blame. Accordingly, the author was warned through his brother that the Sabha had hitherto treated the matter leniently, but that it would not be feasible to treat it similarly for the future. Even after this, he took no steps to exonerate himself, nor did he send any reply. On the other hand, they (the author and his brother) joined in opposition to the Sabha in several matters. At last on the 31st of *Chet* (11th April 1886) the Khalsa Diwan, or the representatives of the Singh Sabha, met at Lahore. This book was then declared to be 'unauthorized' on behalf of 15 Sabhas; and after expressing complete dissatisfaction with the author, he was declared to have been excluded from the Singh Sabhas. It was also decided that any body, whether a Sikh individually, or Sabha collectively, who might hereafter express disapproval of this proceedings of the Lahore Khalsa Diwan would be dealt with in the same manner as the author of the book in question had been treated.

"Lahore,
"The April 1886.

(Sd) Gurmukh Singh,
Chief Secretary,
Khalsa, Diwan."

ENCLOSURE C

Memorandum on the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* by the Officer-in Charge of the Special Branch of the Central Police Office, dated Lahore, the 25th Nov., 1885.

"I have gone through this book very carefully. It is written by Bawa Nihal Singh of Sri Hargobindpur in the service of the Kalsia State, where he is employed as Thanadar of Satal, and has been lately printed at the *Aftab-i-Hind* Press at Jalandar under the supervision of author's brother, named Bawa Surmukh Singh, a resident of Jalandar.

"The book begins with genealogical trees of five Sikh Gurus, namely, from the fifth to the tenth Sikh Guru.

"Pages 89 to 136 contain a meagre account of the Sikh conquests after the death of Gobind Singh up to deportation of Maharaja Dhulip Singh and of his mother Jindan.

"The concluding pages 137 to 146 are taken up with a list of errata.

"On page 4 of the genealogical trees, the author gives the names of the four sons of the tenth Guru, and of the different sects of the Sikhs. Amongst the latter, he mentions the Kukas, and styles their leader as Guru Ram Singh. This is objectionable from the Sikh point of view, as, according the Sikh religion, no spiritual leader can be recognised as Guru subsequent to the death of Guru Gobind Singh.

"On page 136 the book concludes with a very abjectionable passage, of which the following is a literal translation :—

"The British Government held Rani Chand Kaur (Rani Jindan)

guilty for being concerned in the conspiracy to kill the English residents at Lahore by administering poison in their food, and, in consequence, deported Maharaja Dhulip Singh and his mother with the concurrence of the councillors.

"Kashmir was then made over to Gulab Singh for a consideration of 50 lakhs of rupees.

"Verse. Croesus died although he possessed 40 coffers. Nausherawan is not dead (survives in the memory of the people), as he had left a good name behind him.

"The Hon'ble Bakshi Bhagat Ram, who was just what his names implies, dissented from the suicidal views of the council, and declined to

*Bhagat Ram means a devotee of Rama

sign deed of Maharaja Dhulip Singh's deportation, urging that he occupied a position too low to affix his seal to the document, being a mere insignificant agent of Misr Beli Ram, in charge of the Maharaja's *Toshakhana*.

"Sir John Lawrence, in retaliation, harassed him with charges of defalcations in accounts and deprived him of his jagirs. For this, he acquired high dignity and titles in the court of that Being (God).

"The people are now in hopes that by the royal and imperial favours of the Empress of India, the throne of Lahore will be restored to Maharaja Dhulip Singh. The relatives of Bakshi Bhagat Ram are expecting to receive favours at the hands of the Maharaja. Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, who has, by his perfect belief in the Sikh faith and by his excellent undertaking, exonerated himself from the disgrace attached to his family is expecting to be made a Wazir.

"At the end, reviews of the work in question by the following personss are published :—

"Baba Somer Singh of Patna;

"Ram Sahai, Sub-Judge, Jalandar;

"Kartar Singh of Kartarpur;

"Jodh Singh, Secretary of the Singh Sabha at Nawashahr in the Jalandhar district;

"Sardar Harnam Singh, Honorary Magistrate and President of the Singh Sabha, Kharar;

"Sahib Singh, Secretary of the Singh Sabha, Fatehgarh;

"Ram Singh, Head Master of the Phillour School;

"Barkat Ali, Proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Hind* Press, Jalandhar.

"All these men approve of the work, and consider that it would be useful to the Khalsa community."

Demi-official from W.M. Young, Esq., Secretary, Punjab Government dated, the 24th May, 1886.

Expulsion from the Sikh community by the Khalsa Diwan of Bawa Nihal Singh.

SECRETARY

The action reported, if it is the genuine doing of the Khalsa Diwan, it is a gratifying testimony to the loyalty of the leaders of the Sikh community.

28th May 1886. G.S.F.

His Excellency may like to see.

29th May 1886. H.M.D.

I think it is well that in sending our further proceedings in regard to Dhulip Singh, the fact should be noted that his claim to the throne has been discussed in this book.

3rd June 1886. H.M.D.

359. FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL A.S.T. HOGG TO H.M.
DURAND E.S.Q., C.S.I.

ADEN, 25TH MAY, 1886.

After much delay the Maharaja was remade a Sikh this morning, and I am sending off by the *Mecca* tomorrow His Highness's cousin, Thakur Singh, and a man by name Attar Singh, whom I detained here to assist at the ceremony. I was not present nor did I in any way countenance the same, but I took steps to ensure there being no objectionable conversation with the five Sikhs who were present. The Maharaja hopes that I will explain that His Highness has in no way infringed his parole. He has had no communication with the Sikhs (except at the ceremony) save in my presence, but he says that of course the Sikhs returning to India may talk about him and this he cannot help. Last night, I had a large dinner Party in honour of Her Majesty's birthday, and Dhulip Singh put on his diamonds and the Order of G.C.S.I. The weather is now very hot and he says that he felt very queer in the head. I think at times that he is very queer. I wrote last mail to the Viceroy and said that I hoped I might soon be relieved of the charge as I have much to do just now, and want to go round the Somali coast.

360. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 171.

TELEGRAM DATED 25TH MAY, 1886.

No. 101. After much delay ceremony [of Sikh baptism] for Maharaja [Dhulip Singh] performed this morning. Thakur Singh and another Sikh leave tomorrow morning for Bombay. No change in Maharaja plans.

361. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON TO
VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 173.

TELEGRAM DATED 26TH MAY, 1886.

Secret. Dhulip Singh. Desirable to send us despatch at once for publication, if necessary, relative to your action at Aden.

362. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE,
LONDON

NO. 174.

TELEGRAM DATED 27TH MAY, 1886.

Your telegram 20th. Dhulip Singh. Papers will be sent by this mail.

363. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 178.

TELEGRAM DATED 27TH MAY, 1886.

Owing to excessive heat Maharaja unwell. Doctors Jackson and Hay report weak action of heart, and advise early change to cooler climate, but declines to go to Europe on parole. His Highness is much better since morning.

A. SECRETARY

I have written a demi-official to Mr. MacWorth Young asking him to have the Thakur's movements watched.

With regard to the Maharaja's illness I understand a telegram has gone from office of Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

28th May, 1886. G.S.F.

(Demi-official to W.M. Young, Esq., dated the 28th May, 1886).

All right, but Thakur Singh is not a Thakur. This is his name.

29th May, 1886. H.M.D.

MR. DURAND

His Excellency wants your opinion on the following memorandum sent by the Resident, Aden.

29th May, 1886. D.M.W.

B. MEMORANDUM

The Maharaja Dhulip Singh being about to become again a Sikh, asks for the following establishment.

1. Sikh *Grunthee* or Scripture Reader.
1. Attendant with copy of the *Grunth*.
2. Cooks, if not Punjabis, then high caste Hindus.

2. Water-carriers (Hindus).
4. Personal attendants, may be of any caste, but should be highly respectable.
2. Bearers or valets.
3. *Dhobie* (Washerman),
 1. *Durzee* (tailor).
 1. *Mehtur* (sweeper).
8. *Burkundazes* (Musketeers).

His Highness further requests that he may be provided with a house all to himself. If the Maharaja becomes a Sikh, and is to remain at Aden, I consider that he will require :—

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 2. Cooks | } | To be obtained from Bombay. |
| 2. Personal attendants | | |
| 1. Valet | } | |
| 2. Water-Carriers (Hindu) | | |
| 1. <i>Dhobie</i> | } | To be provided locally. |
| 1. <i>Durzee</i> | | |
| 1. <i>Mehtur</i> | | |

Government will decide whether the *Grunthee* and the attendant are necessary or not.

I hope also that the Maharaja may have a separate house, as it is somewhat inconvenient to keep him at the Residency. There is no great choice of houses at Aden either in the Crater position or at Steamer Point, but arrangements will be made for suitable quarters if necessary.

I would suggest that some officer be appointed to take charge of His Highness as I find such charge interferes with my work considerably.

Aden

The 19th May 1886.

(Sd). A.S.T. Hogg,
Political Resident

364. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ., TO THE
RESIDENT, ADEN
(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
27TH MAY, 1886.

The accompanying letter to the Maharaja Dhulip Singh is simply a formal acknowledgement of a letter he addressed to the Viceroy.

365. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ. TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

SIMLA,
27TH MAY, 1886.

I am directed by His Excellency the Viceroy to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness's letter of the 11th instant with enclosures.

366. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ. TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA,
27TH MAY, 1886.

With regard to the Aden Resident's telegram No. 101 dated 25th May, 1886, His Excellency desires that the Punjab Government should be requested to keep an eye on Thakur Singh.

367. FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA DHULIP SINGH TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH MAY, 1886.

With thanks I acknowledge Your Excellency's letter of 11th instant. I humbly beg to differ with Your Excellency's view as expressed in last paragraph of it. The sum of £ 50,000 offered me was in full for all my claims on the British Government, therefore, I could not accept it. As a naturalized Englishman I demand public trial in order to prove my innocence of having issued address alleged to be disloyal and for imprisonment here. I request that the servants I asked for may be sent without delay, as I am much inconvenienced without them, having re-embraced Sikhism.

368. FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, TO EARL OF DUFFERIN, K.P.

NO. 196.

RESIDENCY, ADEN,
28TH MAY, 1886.

I return my heartfelt thanks for the friendly manner in which Your Excellency has been pleased to address me in your letter of the 11th instant.

I assure Your Excellency that I highly appreciate your cordiality and only regret that I am not permitted to approach you in person which I

should extremely like to do having heard both from Lord Bangon and my kind friend the Duke of Grafton of Your Excellency's just, honourable and kind nature.

Your Excellency, I regret that I cannot acquiesce in the view you take of my present position which, in my humble opinion, can only be defined by a competent tribunal. Therefore, I demand both as a domiciled Englishman and a loyal British subject to be publicly tried for any disloyal act I am accused of having committed towards my most Gracious Sovereign's Government, and to be published, if found guilty, or set at liberty if otherwise.

369. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH MAY, 1886.

Maharaja much better today. Servants already provided will suffice until proposal, dated 18th, is sanctioned.

370. FROM G.S. FORBES, ESQ., TO W. MACWORTH
YOUNG, ESQ.

SIMLA,
28TH MAY, 1886.

The Aden Resident reports that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh was readmitted into Sikhism on the 25th by Thakur Singh and another Punjab and that these two were to leave for Bombay on the 26th.

I am directed to request that, with His Honour's permission, instructions may be issued for keeping a watch upon the movements of Thakur Singh.

371. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ.
TO H.M. DURAND ESQ. C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA,
28TH MAY, 1886.

His Excellency approves of your amendments, but thinks that the telegram should be "extended" in the sense of putting in such words as "the" &c., which were omitted for economy's sake.

His Excellency has directed me to strike out the word "disloyal" in the first telegram.

372. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO COLONEL SIR
O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

(Demi-Official)

28TH MAY, 1886.

The enclosures to our despatch No. 87 of today (Dhulip Singh) were somewhat altered from their original shape in order to avoid the publication of some possible inconvenient passages. I send a complete copy for your information by the Viceroy's desire.

373. FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

A

No. 175. Secret No. 87 (Internal)

SIMLA, 28TH MAY, 1886.

We have honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, a copy of certain papers regarding the recent proceedings of Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

2. Your Lordship's telegram of the 31st of March informed us, first, that the Maharaja had sailed for India with the family; that before leaving England His Highness had issued an objectionable proclamation addressed to Sikhs; and, thirdly that in recent communication with the India Office, he had used language of menacing character regarding the probability of future troubles in India, and the part he was destined to take in them as head of the Sikh nation.

3. From the outset we have always been of opinion that His Highness's return to this country was to be deprecated for many reasons, and, as Your Lordship is aware, not very long ago we made the Maharaja a very liberal offer in consideration of his alleged pecuniary embarrassments, but, until the receipt of the above mentioned telegram we had no intention of placing a veto on His Highness's projects. Indeed we had taken some pains to provide a proper residence for his reception. After careful consideration, however, of the facts brought to our notice by Your Lordship, we came to the conclusion that it would be very undesirable that he should be permitted to continue journey. It was evident from the general tenor of his conduct and language that his intention was to embark after his arrival on a very imprudent and dangerous course of action. Although we have no reason to imagine that anything His Highness could do or say would lead to any serious disturbances in the Punjab, yet it was evident, that he was bent on placing himself in a false position unbecoming to his dignity, and which might eventually have necessitated serious

interference on the part of the Indian executive. Moved by this consideration and taking into account His Highness's antecedents, the interests of his children, and the degree to which many well-meaning persons in this country might be compromised by the Maharaja's imprudence, we issued orders to the Resident at Aden to stop his further progress at that place.

4. On the 21st April the Peninsular and Oriental Company's Steamer *Verona* by which His Highness had taken his passage, arrived at Aden; and Brigadier-General Hogg, the resident, went on board and requested His Highness to land. After a formal protest, His Highness complied, and since that time he has been the guest of General Hogg at the Residency. Finding that he could not go on to India the Maharaja enquired whether he could establish himself at Cairo, his two elder sons returning to England. We assented to this course on condition that neither His Highness nor any member of his family would seek to visit India without the permission of Government, and that he would refrain in future from all political agitation. The Maharaja then expressed a desire to return to Europe for the purpose of consulting his legal advisers before formally assenting to the suggestions we had made. This arrangement appeared unobjectionable, and we agreed to pay His Highness's expenses to Aden and back. A few days afterwards, however, he again changed his mind and announced his resolve to remain at Aden, sending his family to England. The Maharani and family sailed for London on the 6th May.

5. Maharaja Dhulip Singh has now been visited by one Thakur Singh, described as his cousin, and another native of the Punjab who have re-initiated him into the Sikh faith. Thakur Singh and his companion intend to return to India immediately. His Highness himself persists in remaining at Aden. We trust however that he will before long perceive the uselessness and impropriety of his present attitude, and that he will take advantage of our permission to leave Aden for Europe or Cairo on the very reasonable terms we have suggested.

6. We may add that having consulted Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in reference to the foregoing matter, His Honour has informed us that he entirely coincides in the course we have adopted.

B

Abstract of the Contents of a Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary for India, No. 87 (Secret/Internal), dated the 28th May 1886.

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| 1. To Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 87 (Secret/Internal), dated the 28th May 1886. | Forwards copy of the undermentioned papers :— |
|--|---|

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. | Abstract of Contents. |
| 3. Telegram to the Resident, Aden. | States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh and family are passengers by the Peninsular and Oriental Steamer Verona from London, and requests him to land and detain them under surveillance at Aden until further orders. |
| 4. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
15th April 1886. | Communicates instructions as to the treatment Maharaja Dhulip Singh should receive. |
| 5. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
17th April 1886, No. 1209. I. | Makes certain amendments to this Office telegram of the 15th April. |
| 6. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
19th April 1886, 1220 I. | States that it is not desirable that the warrants for the detention of the Maharani Dhulip Singh and daughters should be brought unnecessarily into prominence. |
| 7. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
17th April 1886. | States that the instructions conveyed in the above telegrams will be carefully carried out, and that the Maharaja will be accommodated in the Residence. |
| 8. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
21st April 1886. | Reports the arrival of Maharaja Dhulip Singh and party, and states that they are staying in the Residency. |
| 9. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
21st April 1886, | Gives particulars regarding Maharaja Dhulip Singh's arrival and states that His Highness desires to send his two sons back to England, the Maharani and daughters to Cairo, and to go himself to Egypt. |
| 10. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
22nd April 1886. | Requests that the word "disloyal" may not be used in any instructions issued to him, and that he may be permitted to correspond with friends in England. |

11. Telegram to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
22nd April 1886.

Acknowledges the above, and states that it is desired to treat His Highness with all possible respect and consideration. Promises to communicate further on receipt of instructions from the Secretary of State.
12. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
22nd April 1886.

Enquires if Maharaja Dhulip Singh can telegraph to Messrs Grindlay and Co., His Highness's Agents in Bombay, regarding his servants and baggage.
13. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
23rd April 1886. No. 1286 I.

In reply to the foregoing, states that the Maharaja can telegraph to his Agents.
14. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
23rd April 1886.

With reference to telegram of 22nd April, states that his address contains no expression of disloyalty, and that he will always complain bitterly of want of confidence shown by Government.
15. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
23rd April 1886.

Agrees to Maharaja Dhulip Singh establishing himself at Cairo with his family and his two sons returning to England on certain conditions.
16. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
28th April 1886.

In reply to the above, states that Maharaja Dhulip Singh does not now wish to go to Egypt, but, provided Government will pay his passage, will return with his family to reside in Europe, visiting England to consult his lawyers.
17. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
29th April 1886.

With reference to the foregoing, states that the arrangements proposed by His Highness are perfectly satisfactory, and that Government will pay the Maharaja's expenses both from England to Aden and back, together with those of his servants.

18. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
29th April 1886. In reply to telegram of the 29th states that Maharaja Dhulip Singh thanks His Excellency for offer of pecuniary assistance.
19. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
29th April 1886. States that one object he had in coming to India was to lay his claim personally before His Excellency, but now that he is prevented from visiting India, enquires what steps he is to take in the matter.
20. Telegram to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
30th April 1886. In reply to the above, states that His Highness's representations have been considered by the Government of India, and that the communication which was made to him before he left England embodies its view of the case.
21. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
1st May 1886. States that since receipt of the foregoing telegram Maharaja Dhulip Singh says he prefers to stay at Aden, and that his expectations are shattered. Adds that the Maharajah and family will leave for England.
22. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
1st May 1886. With reference to telegram of 21st April, states that he will address His Excellency as a friend and that he has determined on sending his family to England remaining himself at Aden as a prisoner.
23. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
2nd May 1886. In reply to telegram of the 1st, requests that the Maharaja may be informed that his last telegram has caused much surprise, and that he is not a prisoner as the whole of Europe is open to him.
24. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
3rd May 1886. With reference to the telegram of the 2nd May, states that Maharaja Dhulip Singh still declines to return

- to Europe on terms previously arranged.
25. Telegram from the Resident,
Aden.
3rd May 1886.
 26. Telegram from the Resident,
Aden.
5th May 1886.
 27. Telegram from Maharaja
Dhulip Singh.
8th May 1886.
 28. Telegram from the Resident,
Aden.
8th May 1886.
 29. Telegram to the Resident,
Aden
8th May 1886.
 30. Telegram from Maharaja
Dhulip Singh.
10th May 1886.
 31. Telegram to the Resident,
Aden.
10th May 1886.
 32. Telegram from the Resident,
Aden.
11th May 1886.
 33. Telegram from Maharaja
Dhulip Singh.
12th May 1886.
- States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh's family have sailed for England.
- Reports the arrival of his cousin and another, and requests that they may be permitted to stay with him.
- States that the Maharaja's telegram explains the arrival of Thakur Singh and not permitted any communication pending orders.
- States that His Highness can see two persons who have arrived from India in the presence of English Officer who understands the language.
- Requests that Messrs. Lawrence and Talbot of Lincolns Inn and Kittey of Bombay may be sent to him, Government paying all expenses; also some Indian servants.
- States that it is impossible to comply with His Highness's request as regards the two gentlemen he desires to see, and enquires how many servants he requires and of what sort.
- Acknowledges the above, promises to reply hereafter.
- States that he desires to take advantage of his cousin's presence to be reinitiated into Sikhism, and requests that permission may be accorded to his going through the ceremony in the Resident's presence.

34. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
15th May 1886. States that the ceremony of initiation can be performed, but it is not desirable that he or any officials should be present.
35. Telegram from the Resident, Aden.
18th May 1886. Reports that the Maharaja will now require a Hindu cook, and that therefore the ceremony has been postponed, and states that if permitted he could provide two Sikhs.
36. Telegram to the Resident, Aden.
20th May 1886. States that there is no objection to the Maharaja having a Hindu cook whom he can unobjectionably supply.
37. From Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
27th April 1886. Explains the reasons for the publication of the documents referred to in His Excellency's telegram of the 22nd April.
38. To Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
11th May 1886. Acknowledges receipt of the above and states that it has been a matter of regret that it has been found undesirable to acquiesce in His Highness's visit to India. Adds that His Highness is not right in referring to himself as a prisoner, as he is at liberty to go to Europe and live where he pleases.

(Sd.) W.J. Cunningham,
Offg. Under Secretary to the Government
of India.

374. FROM FREDERICK ROBERTS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
INDIA TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF
CAMBRIDGE, K.G.*
(Private)

SIMLA, 29TH MAY, 1886.

Sir,

I am much obliged for Your Royal Highness's letter of 29th April.
Dhulip Singh has become a Sikh and seems inclined to remain at Aden.

* From the Collection of Lady Roberts—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

It is a great pity that he was allowed to come east of Suez; however I am glad to say that the Government ought here to be fully alive to the danger of his returning to the Punjab, and the moment he lands on the Indian soil, he will be required to live in some out of the way place, and be carefully watched.

With my respectful duty,

I am, Sir, Your Royal Highness's
most obedient, humble servant,
(sd.) Fred. Roberts.

375. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 29TH MAY, 1886.

Maharaja suffered much from excessive heat last night. But rain fell towards morning, and he is now much better. His Highness considers last paragraph of Your Excellency's letter 11th May permits him to visit and reside in Europe unconditionally. I questioned this, and Maharaja wished point referred to Your Excellency. Perhaps Your Excellency may authorize me to let His Highness go to Europe unconditionally in case of serious illness

376. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

TELEGRAM DATED 30TH MAY, 1886.

Your Telegram No. 109 of 29th. You may let the Maharaja go to Europe unconditionally, but give him to understand in as gentle terms as you can that if he comes to India, we shall be forced to take very decided steps, and that, though in consideration of his health we permit his departure, I trust to his good feeling and loyalty not to run counter to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government by returning.

377. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 183.

TELEGRAM DATED 30TH MAY, 1886.

Maharaja wishes to telegraph to the Queen of England asking for public trial. Shall I allow ?

I have spoken to the Viceroy about this. No orders.

6th June, 1886. H.M.D.

378. FROM W. MACKWORTH YOUNG, ESQ. TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
31ST MAY, 1886.

In reply to your note of yesterday about the Maharaja Dhulip Singh's wish to have a Sikh *Grunthi* and an attendant with copy of the *Granth*, I am to say that, subject to one condition, Sir Charles Aitchison regards the matter as a private one, and would recommend that the Maharaja should be allowed to employ whom he likes. The condition is that the men should be distinctly given to understand that they will share the Maharaja's fortunes, and will not be able to go backwards without permission of Government.

Hold over till it is known whether Dhulip Singh is going back to England.

1st June 1886. H.M.D.

379. FROM W. MACKWORTH YOUNG, ESQ. TO G.S.
FORBES ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
31ST MAY, 1886.

A careful watch will be kept upon the movements of Thakur Singh, who went to Aden, and was to leave for Bombay on the 26th.

As mentioned before, we were not quite sure who this Thakur Singh is, it cannot well be Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia. I have just heard about him again from Delhi that he left for Allahabad about a week ago.

380. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN, TO
VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 184.

TELEGRAM DATED 31ST MAY, 1886.

General Hogg has handed me purport of Your Excellency's telegram of yesterday. Before determining my plans, I particularly request that Your Excellency will inform me whether or not Your Excellency will promise that Judicial Court, composed of Law Lords of the House of Lords, will be appointed to investigate my claim to private property. Kindly reply.

SECRETARY

A reply has gone to Maharaja's telegram of 31st from Private Secretary to the Governor-General's Office.

1st June, 1886. G.S.F.

HIS EXCELLENCY

I think there is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by such an investigation as is proposed in this telegram, and I would not agree to it. The result would be to keep the case very much before the public and to open up a number of political questions which are better left alone. I would reply that I had no power to make the required promise, and that I did not think such an investigation could be of any advantage.

1st June, 1886. H.M.D.

Seen by His Excellency.

2nd June, 1886. H.M.D.

381. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO MAHARAJA DULEEP
SINGH, ADEN

NO. 185.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST JUNE, 1886.

Your Highness's telegram of 31st May. (The) Government of India has no power to make any promise of the kind.

382. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, ADEN, TO VICE-
ROY, SIMLA

NO. 188.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST JUNE, 1886.

I return to Europe. From 1st of July next I resign stipend paid to me under Treaty of Annexation, thus laying aside that iniquitous document. Perhaps (Government) may care to continue payment of 500 pounds sterling per annum to each of the widows of my late Superintendent, Login, and Comptroller Oliphant respectively.

Telegram from Maharaja Duleep Singh, dated the 1st June, 1886.

States that he intends returning to Europe resigning the stipend paid to him under the terms of 1849. Adds that Government may perhaps continue to pay the pensions enjoyed by the widows of his late Superintendent and Comptroller, viz., Messrs. Login and Oliphant.

SECRETARY

I. With a regard to the telegram of the 15th May, a correction in which is now forwarded, we must inform the Secretary of state to alter the print which forms enclosure No. 33 to the despatch of 28th May :—

“In Viceroy’s telegram of 15th May, forming enclosure No. 33 to Secret despatch No. 87, dated the 28th May, please alter in all copies word ‘manage’ into ‘arrange’”

Sir Owen Burne will see and alter full copies sent to him demi-officially.

II. On the Maharaja’s telegram of the 1st June, no present orders are required.

Nothing need be done, until we see how events turn out, regarding the pensions paid by His Highness to Lady Login and Mrs. Oliphant.

3rd June. G.C.F.

We can ask Sir Owen Burne demi-officially by this mail to alter the word Demi-official below.

As to the stipend and the pensions paid from it we need do nothing. Dhulip Singh will come to his senses before long on this point.

4th June, 1886. H.M.D.

383. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO RESIDENT, ADEN

NO. 186.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST JUNE, 1886.

If (the) medical officers inform you in writing that (a) further stay on the part of the Maharaja at Aden will endanger his life, you may consider yourself as under orders from (the) Government of India to require him to proceed on board (the) first P. & O. vessel bound for Suez. You must remember that we have no legal power to take this step, but under the circumstances I consider it will be justifiable.

384. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

NO. 187.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST JUNE, 1886.

Maharaja better today, intends leaving for Europe next week.

385. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA,
1ST JUNE, 1886.

In the enclosed telegram, second line from the bottom, there was the

expression "to manage the business," His Excellency has altered it to "arrange the business." Please therefore destroy the two copies in your possession and substitute the enclosed.

386. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF
STATE, LONDON

NO. 189.

TELEGRAM DATED 2ND JUNE, 1886.

Dhulip Singh has announced his intention of returning to Europe. He adds that he proposes to resign his stipend from the 1st of July next.

387. FROM RESIDENT, ADEN, TO VICEROY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 3RD JUNE, 1886.

Maharaja left by French Mail Steamer today for Marseilles. His Highness is much better, but felt excessively heat last night. He goes to Paris.

388. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO COLONEL SIR
OWEN BURNE, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
4TH JUNE, 1886.

Lord Dufferin wishes the words "to manage the business" in enclosure No. 33 of our despatch No. 87 about Dhulip Singh altered to "to arrange the business." Will You please make the necessary change in the copies we have sent you ?

I suppose Dhulip Singh's bolt is shut now, but he seems resolved to give trouble if he can.

389. FROM COLONEL T.O. UNDERWOOD TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

CLUB, MADRAS,
4TH JUNE, 1886.

I know that Sir Frederick Roberts interested himself in trying to get King Thebaw entrusted to me. I write therefore now to you as I hear (from the paper) that Dhulip Singh is to come to Madras. I shall be happy to look after him and do my other duties besides. I can polo, hunt and shoot, &c., if required and if he wants it. I only ask that my name may be taken into consideration.

390. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON

TELEGRAM DATED 4TH JUNE, 1886.

Dhulip Singh sailed from Aden yesterday for Europe.

391. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTEL- LIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE

NO. 21.

DATED 5TH JUNE, 1886

14. People in Firozpur appear to have given up all interest in Maharaja Dhulip Singh, and he is not now thought much of in that district (Firozpur No. II of 15th May 1886).

In Hoshiarpur the general opinion is that the Maharaja made a false step in coming out to India, and that he was wisely detained at Aden. It is hinted that His Highness undertook the journey at the suggestion of Russia, and did not act voluntarily in the matter, as he had nothing to gain and everything to lose by coming (Hoshiarpur No. II of 15th May 1886).

Another report states that the people of the district evince a good deal of curiosity regarding the Maharaja's future intentions. They say that they will visit His Highness and present him with *nazars* as they are bound to do out of respect for Ranjit Singh (Hoshiarpur, No. II of 22nd May 1886).

Hira Singh *Kalal*, and Harkishan Dass *Parohit*, both of whom went to Bombay to meet Dhulip Singh, have returned to Pasrur and Lahore respectively (Demi-official letters from D.S.P. Lahore and Sialkot of 21st May 1886 and 25th May 1886).

The three sons of Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia and most of their attendants left Delhi for Amritsar on the 19th May. The Sardar himself has gone to Allahabad (Delhi No. II of 22nd May, 1886).

Regarding the detention of Maharaja Dhulip Singh at Aden, people in Delhi say it is a sign of weakness on the part of Government which fears the consequences of his return to India. The Sikhs complain that the Government by detaining the Maharaja is giving them poor return for the loyal services rendered by them during the mutiny (Delhi No. II of 22nd May 1886).

Information has been received that the Maharaja of Kashmir is about to send a present to Maharaja Dhulip Singh consisting of 5 ponies, 21 shawls, 11 carpets, several silver articles, and 101 gold-mohurs. He originally intended to send the present by the hand of his brother Mian

Ram Singh, who it was arranged should give it to Dhulip Singh on his arrival at Bombay, and if questioned should state that he was taking it to Gaya as an offering to the manes of his father, the late Maharaja. It has now, however, been decided to entrust the present to some reliable messenger for delivery to Dhulip Singh in England (Jhelum No. II of 22nd May, 1886).

It is reported that a short time ago a letter was received from Bombay from Thakur Singh, *Kahar* of Jagatpur, stating that he and Jamiat Rai were still at Bombay, and that at the latter's suggestion, he had put off returning for the present in hopes that Dhulip Singh would arrive.

Nihal Singh, Isar Singh, and Amir Singh, *Kahars* of Mahima Kaharan have not yet returned from Bombay, nor have any letters been received from them. A report is current at Amritsar that Maharaja Dhulip Singh has been sent back to England (Amritsar No. II of 22nd May, 1886).

392. FROM POLITICAL, BOMBAY, TO FOREIGN, SIMLA

NO. 195.

TELEGRAM DATED 10TH JUNE, 1886.

Following from Resident, Aden : Thakur Singh left on Wednesday for Bombay in *Surat*. Two other Sikhs left on Monday in *Lalpura*, via Karachi. Ends.

393. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

SIMLA,

11TH JUNE, 1886.

I enclose a copy of the letter marginally noted, regarding the publication of a book called the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* by one Baba Nihal Singh

Demi-official from W. M. Young, Esq., Secretary to the Punjab Government, dated the 24th May, 1886, and enclosures

and his expulsion from the Sikh community by the Khalsa Diwan. The book discusses amongst other matters the claim of Maharaja Dhulip Singh to the throne of Lahore.

394. FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

NO. 96.

(SECRET/INTERNAL)

SIMLA,

11TH JUNE, 1886.

In continuation of our Despatch No. 87, Secret/Internal, dated the 28th May 1886, we have the honour to forward, for the information of

Her Majesty's Government, a copy of the papers noted in the accompanying Abstract of Contents regarding the Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

2. Your Lordship will observe that the Maharaja suffered much from the excessive heat at Aden, and that, in consideration of the state of his health, we permitted his unconditional departure for Europe. His Highness accordingly left on the 3rd June for Europe.

A.

Abstract of the Contents of a Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 96 (Secret/Internal), dated the 11th June 1886.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. To Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 96, (Secret/Internal), dated the 11th June, 1886. | Forwards a copy of the undermentioned papers :— |
| 2. | Abstract of Contents. |
| 3. From Maharaja Dhulip Singh. 11th May, 1886. | Forwards copies of two important letters. |
| 4. Telegram from the Resident, Aden. 27th May, 1886. | States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh is unwell owing to the excessive heat and the doctors advise a change, but that His Highness declines to go to Europe on parole. Adds that His Highness is better since morning. |
| 5. Telegram from the Resident, Aden. 28th May, 1886. | States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh is better, and that the servants provided will suffice for the present. |
| 6. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh. 28th May, 1886. | In reply to Viceroy's letter of 11th instant, gives his reasons for not accepting the sum of 50,000 offered him, and demands a public trial to prove his innocence with regard to the address issued by him and alleged to be disloyal. |
| 7. Telegram from Resident, Aden. 29th May, 1886. | States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh suffered much from excessive heat but is better since rain fell and |

- that His Highness considers that under the Viceroy's letter of the 11th May, he can visit and reside in Europe unconditionally. Refers to point for orders.
8. Telegram to Resident, Aden.
30th May, 1886. In reply to the above, states that the Maharaja can go to Europe unconditionally, but that he should not return to India.
 9. Telegram from Resident, Aden.
30th May, 1886. States that Maharaja wishes to telegraph to the Queen asking for a public trial, and enquires whether permission may be accorded.
 10. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
31st May, 1886. States that before determining on his plans, requests to be informed whether a Judicial Court composed of the Law Lords of the House of Lords will be appointed to investigate his claim to private property.
 11. Telegram to Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
1st June, 1886. In reply to the foregoing states that the Government of India has no power to make any promise of the kind.
 12. Telegram to Resident, Aden.
1st June, 1886. States that if the medical officers are of opinion that a further stay on the part of the Maharaja at Aden will endanger his life, His Highness should be required to proceed on board the first P. & O. vassel bound for Suez.
 13. Telegram from Resident, Aden.
1st June, 1886. States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh is better and intends leaving for Europe next week.
 14. Telegram from Maharaja Dhulip Singh.
1st June, 1886. States that he intends returning to Europe resigning from the Ist of July the stipend paid to him under the Terms of 1849. Adds that Government may perhaps continue

to pay the pensions enjoyed by the widows of his late Superintendent and Comptroller.

15. Telegram from Resident,
Aden.
3rd June, 1886.

States that Maharaja Dhulip Singh has left by French Mail Steamer, for Marseilles, and that His Highness is much better and intends going to Paris

(Sd.) W.J. Cunningham,
Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

395. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE

NO. 22

DATED 12TH JUNE, 1886.

6. The following story is told in Shahpur regarding the circumstances which led the Maharaja Dhulip Singh to leave England. Dhulip Singh became deeply involved by giving presents to royalty, and applied to Parliament to pay his debts. On being refused he thought of returning to India as living was cheaper there than in England; but before doing so he wrote to Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia and others and asked their advice. Sardar Thakur Singh, who was himself greatly in debt and was being troubled by his creditors, fell in entirely with the Maharaja's views, went to England with his son, and informed the Maharaja that if he came out, he was certain the old Sikh Sardar and others well-wishers of the Sikh Government would give him money to relieve him from his pecuniary embarrassments, and that he could then return to England if he wished. This advice was self-interested as Thakur Singh hoped that he would be appointed receiver of the Sikh contributions, and would thus be able to clear himself of his own debts (Shahpur No. II of 22nd May 1886).

A rumour in Lahore states that Dhulip Singh is ill and had proceeded to Egypt on a visit to his wife's family; that he will on no account return to London, and that a legal agent with the Government of India is urging his claim to be permitted to return to India (Lahore No. II of 29th May 1886).

The Maharaja's banker or agent at Bombay is said to have paid the railway expenses of Hira Singh *Kalal* and his party to Bombay and back. On being dismissed Hira Singh received Rs. 5,000 for himself and at the rate of Rs. 20 a month for each of the orderlies he had engaged (Sialkot No. II of 25th May 1886.).

The *Shamsher Akhbar*, Madras, in its issue of the 24th May, contains a long article on Dhulip Singh. It states that he has been harshly

treated and confined on a desert island near Aden, and that his detention is a mad act on the part of Lord Dufferin.

It is said that the Maharaja strongly objects to return to England, as he has sold all his property there (Delhi No. II of 5th June 1886).

396. FROM G.S. FORBES, ESQ., TO W.M. YOUNG, ESQ.

SIMLA,

14TH JUNE, 1886.

In continuation of my demi-official letter of the 28th May last, I enclose copy of a telegram from the Government of Bombay reporting the departure of Thakur Singh and other two Sikhs from Aden.

397. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE,

NO. 23

DAEED 19TH JUNE, 1886.

7. People in Hoshiarpur consider that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh has acted wisely in returning to England. They say he was duped into coming out by the persuasions of Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, who held out hopes to him which could not be fulfilled (Hoshiarpur No. II of 5th June 1886).

At a meeting of about 2,000 Sikhs held in the house of Chaudhries Lehna Singh and Jiwan Singh of Ambala city, on the 2nd June, it was given out that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh would soon arrive at Lahore (Ambala No. II of 5th June 1886).

398. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, PUNJAB POLICE

NO. 23.

DATED 19TH JUNE, 1886.

8. The following information has been obtained regarding the antecedents of Thakur Singh Kahar of Jagatpur, Police Station Kathunangal. His father, Ratan Singh, was a personal attendant of the late Maharaja

Antecedents of Thakur Singh
Kahar of Jagatpur, Amritsar.

Ranjit Singh, with whom he had great influence and who allowed him to make five representations to him every day. Ratan Singh was granted a jagir worth

Rs. 60,000 a year by the Maharaja and another worth Rs. 40,000 a year by the Chief Sardars, of Ranjit Singh's Court, and in addition to this income received large sums of money from other sources. He was twice

married. By his first wife he had three sons, Jamiat Singh, Hakikat Singh and Fateh Singh who established themselves in village Mahima Kaharan (sic), Police Station Kathunangal; and by his second wife, who was a favourite, he had also three sons, Thakur Singh, Bhagwan Singh and Gurdit Singh, who resided with their father and mother in Jagatpur. On the death of Ratan Singh, who was killed at the same time as the Maharaja Sher Singh, the greater portion of his property fell to the three children of his second marriage, and this produced a rupture between them and their three step-brothers. Subsequently one of the latter, Jamiat Singh, took service with the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, who, on his representation, ordered the confiscation of all the property held by Thakur Singh and his brothers. When Dhulip Singh left for England, Jamiat Singh accompanied him as far as Calcutta and died there, and Dhulip Singh made his children a monthly allowance of Rs. 10, which he paid for nearly 20 years. After the annexation of the Punjab, the British Government conferred on the three brothers, Thakur Singh, Bhagwan Singh and Gurdit Singh, a jagir worth Rs. 2,500 a year. Gurdit Singh is dead, but has left a son, Hira Singh. The joint income of all three now amounts to some Rs. 4,000 a year. Thakur Singh and Bhagwan Singh have been living beyond their means and owe about Rs. 10,000. The former in his younger days served Dhulip Singh for four or five years. He is not a man of any influence (Amritsar No. II of 29th May 1886).

399. *The Tribune*, Dated June 26, 1886, page 8, col. 2.

Maharaja Dhulip Singh is on his way back to England.

Maharaja Dhulip Singh is now on his way back to England and it is not known whether or not he has been given an addition in his pension, which may remove his present pecuniary embarrassment. The *Calcutta Daily News* has, however, lately given out that he has been propitiated, by the grant of an additional allowance of 3 lakhs of rupees, which is to be paid to him out of the funds of the Punjab Government. We cannot say whether the statement of our contemporary is correct or not.

400. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO THE *TIMES OF INDIA*, THE *TRIBUNE*

DATED JULY 3, 1886, COLUMN 1 & 2.

Although I am a naturalised Englishman, yet I was arrested at Aden without a warrant, on having been issued since I re-embraced Sikhism while staying at Aden. Before quitting England, the Indian Government,

in great trepidation offered me £50,000 in full discharge of all claims upon it, provid I promised never to return to India, but declined this offer as a I would not accept £ 50,000 to give a receipt in full. My health having broken down through residence at Aden, I am now travelling on my way back to Europe in order to drink the German waters. Although the India Government succeeded in preventing me from reaching Bombay lately, yet they are not able to close all the roads that there are to India; for when I return I can either land at Goa or Pondicherry, or if I fancy an overland route, then I can enter the Punjab through Russia. In that event, I suppose the whole of the British Army would be sent out, as well as the assistance of our ally, the Ameer, invoked to resist the coming of single individual, viz, myself. What a wonderful spectacle ! The tax-payer of India no doubt will be glad that I have resigned the miserable stipend paid to me under that iniquitous treaty of the annexation, which was extorted from me by my guardian when I was a minor, thus setting aside the illegal document entirely. As soon as I am restored to health, I hope to appeal for pecuniary aid to the oriental liberality of both my brother princes as well as the people of India. Should, however, the Government place its veto upon their generous impulse, then I shall have no alternative but to transfer my allegiance to some other European power, who I dare say will provide for my maintenance. I find it very difficult to collect my thoughts at present owing to bad weather.

401. THE *TRIBUNE* Dated July 3, 1886, Page 1, Col. 3

Detention of Maharaja Dhulip Singh at Aden.

The following conversation took place in the House of Commons regarding the detention of Maharaja Dhulip Singh at Aden.

In the House of Commons on May 24, Mr. Hanbury asked the Under Secretary for India whether it was the fact that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh had been arrested at Aden; whether before leaving England he had been informed that he would not be allowed to proceed to India; and whether any special reasons existed other than those of general policy of this treatment of Maharaja ? Mr. E.S. Howard. Yes, Sir, it is a fact that the Maharaja Dhulip Singh has been arrested at Aden. Arrangements have been made for his residence at a place in Southern India designated by the Viceroy; but the issue by the Maharaja of an inflammatory address to the Sikh nation, added to certain other declarations by him of a somewhat menacing character, rendering it necessary in the opinion of the

Government of India to put in force the special powers possessed by the Governor-General in Council, as soon as the Maharaja came within their jurisdiction at Aden. The address to the Sikhs having been issued by the Maharaja only just before his departure, the decision of the Viceroy was not known to the Secretary of State, till some time after the Maharaja had left England. The Maharaja had, however, been specially warned of the powers under which the Government of India can, for purpose of the State, place individuals under personal restraint.

Mr. Hanbury gave notice of his intention to take an early opportunity of calling the attention of the House to the general treatment of the Maharaja.

402. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

NO. 25.

DATED 3RD JULY, 1886.

10. Ram Singh, *Jotshi*, who went to Bombay to meet the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, has returned to Lahore (Lahore No. II of 19th June 1886).

Thakur Singh of Waga, by whom the Maharaja Dhulip Singh was on the 25th readmitted into Sikhism, has returned to his village in the Lahore district. The five Sikhs who took part in the ceremony were Thakur Singh, Rur Singh jat of Kohali, Police Station Lopoki, Amritsar, who has for some time been in Dhulip Singh's service, Jawand Singh of Barke, Lahore district, and two other Sikhs from a transport ship which happened to touch at Aden.

Thakur Singh is son of Jowahir Singh of Waga, by a daughter of the sister of Rani Jindan. He shared the Rani's imprisonment, but on her escape, was returned to his mother.

Jawand Singh was formerly a constable in the Lahore Police; he is of dissolute habits, and before proceeding to Aden raised money on what land he possessed.

Thakur Singh has since his return to Waga given out that Dhulip Singh told him he had received a revelation from the Guru that he was destined to rule at Lahore (D.S.P., Lahore, No. 6 of 28th June, 1886, and demi-official letter of 17th May, 1886).

403. FROM COLONEL SIR O.T. BURNE, K.C.S.I., SECRETARY,
POLITICAL & SECRET DEPARTMENT,
TO THE SECRETARY, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

NO. 16. NO. 351.

LONDON,
24TH DECEMBER, 1886.

I forward herewith, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, copy of correspondence as marginally noted relative to Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Letter from Dalip Singh to Mr. Watson, dated 7th December, 1886.

Letter from Mr. Watson to Dalip Singh, dated 9th December, 1886.

Letter from Mr. Watson to H.M. the Queen, dated 9th December, 1886.

Letter from Mr. Watson to H.M. the Queen's Private Secy, 16th December, 1886.

A

404. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH CARE OF MESSRS
MALLET FARRER & Co., 37 RUE D'ANJOU ST. HONORE,
PARIS, TO MR. ROBERT WATSON

NO. 17.

7TH DECEMBER, 1886.

I thank you very much for your letter which shows me that there are still some right minded Englishmen in England.

It is most kind of Mr. Hanbury to think of bringing my case before Parliament, but I am persuaded that he would be disappointed with the result were he to do so. For he is not likely to succeed where the sovereign herself failed. Lord Salisbury has already refused to grant a Court of Arbitration composed of Law Lords of the House of Peers, and he is not likely to permit a discussion of my claims in the House of Commons. It is very easy always for the Government of the day to cause the House to be counted out whenever a member desires to force a discussion of a disagreeable topic and my tale would reveal to the British public that Russia is not the only unjust, unscrupulous, and immoral nation in the world. England appears at this moment to be much interested about the liberties of Bulgaria, because Russia is meddling with their freedom, yet

* Foreign Deptt. Secret, 1 September, 1887. No. 16.

Great Britain herself hesitated not to depose me, her ward, from the throne. She had guaranteed me by the Treaty of Bhyrowal in 1846 and deprived the aspiring Sikh nation—whose eighty millions of people of their own nationality when it suited her own purpose. Yes ! ‘people that live in glass houses should not throw stones at others !’ Yes ! India groans under the Christian injustice of England, but out of loyalty to the Empress I remained willingly blind to the misery of my countrymen until I suffered the degradation of an arrest at Aden last spring when my loyalty ended. I, a naturalised Englishman and (before God I declare) a most loyal subject England apprehended, without a warrant, and prevented from exercising my liberty as such to reside in my part of the British Empire. A public trial not even having been granted me to refute the charge of disloyalty brought against me by the administration of India, because I happened to supply a common form of salutation current among the sikhs, viz, *Wah Guru jee di Fatah* as a victory to the teachers, in a proclamation which I issued to my countrymen before quitting England on religious matters is a treatment that no man of honour would for a moment submit to, far less, I, the proud son of the Lion of the Punjab.

No. Watson ! I have done with the British Government for ever and by the help of the God of my fathers, I will for once at least overthrow the tyrannical, immoral and unscrupulous administration of India.

Let Russia give me only 10,000 men to appear with on the North West frontier of India, and the thing is done. For there are some 45,000 of the Punjabis, my former subjects, in the British army at this moment, who would come over to me at once, and when other British troops would be sent to oppose me then the whole of the Punjab would rise in their rear. Also all Native princes would make common cause with me, for they have suffered injustice like myself from our present rulers.

In endeavouring to bring this about, I do not seek any advantage to myself. I shall do it purely out of revenge for the wrongs I have suffered at the hands of my guardians, the British Government, who pretended to regulate their acts by the tenets of Christianity. Vile Hypocrites !

I enclose copies of two proclamations which will shortly be issued. Hitherto no proclamation has been issued either by my knowledge or sanction in the Punjab.

Good bye Watson ! May God bless you.

(Sd.) Dalip Singh,

The Lawful sovereign of the Sikh Nation
under the Treaty of Bhyrowal with Great Britain, 1846.

B

405. FROM ROBERT D. WATSON TO HIS HIGHNESS THE
MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

NO. 18.

LOFTUS R.S.O., YORKS,
9TH DECEMBER, 1886.

Your Highness,

Your letter and enclosures duly to hand and have filled my heart with dismay. Would to God that I could see my way clear to avert the calamity which I see coming you ! For I am confident, my prince and dear old Master, that nothing but disaster and ruin await you if Your Highness will persist in the course you have laid out; rest assured that Russia will only aid you in so far as it would favour the future purpose. Then let me beseech me, my dear Old Master, by the mercies of Almighty God, whether the God on Whom I trust, or the God of your fathers, to hesitate before precipitating such a catastrophe; and Englishman that I am, I should hate to see the accounts of triumphs of my own countrymen over you. No ! My prince, I refuse to believe but that some way is yet open for a reconciliation between my beloved Sovereign and your Highness. It is the fact of my knowledge of Your Highness's loyalty to the Empress of India that has been the greatest puzzle to me throughout all this business, and by the help of God I will rest not a day or night to avert your utter ruin. My deep love and attachment to you is equal to my own life and may the Father of lights be my guide and may I be the humble instrument, in his hands to assist you in your difficulties is the prayer of

Your humble & Faithful servant,
(Sd.) Robert D. Watson.

C.

406. FROM ROBERT D. WATSON TO THE QUEEN'S MOST
EXCELLENT MAJESTY

NO. 19.

LOFTUS ALTBURN, (BY THE SEA YORKS)
9TH DECEMBER, 1886.

I desire most humbly to approach Your Majesty on behalf of dear Old Master, the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, and to implore Your Majesty to use every effort to avert a catastrophe which I am satisfied will be disastrous and bring ruin to him, and bring no credit to our own country.

My first duty as a loyal subject is to Your Majesty, and secondly to do my utmost to try and avert the utter ruin of one to whom I am deeply attached. With this object I enclose the copy of a letter I have just received

from the prince, bearing date 7th, and I beg most humbly to implore Your Majesty to bring pressure to bear on Your Ministry to at once do justice and avert a calamity.

I have only to add that I should wish this communication to be held strictly private, the intended proclamation I should only be willing to place in the hands of Your Majesty's Private Secretary, and not in the hands of any of your ministers and unless Your Majesty asserts your authority as the head of this realm I can see nothing but danger ahead.

I also enclose a reply I have sent to my Dear Old Master.

I am,
Most Gracious Sovereign,
Your True and Loyal Subject,
Sd. Robert D. Watson.

P.S.

Madam,

I only see two courses open. One to force as head of the nation, Your Government to do an act of common justice, or secondly to command the Prince to Your Majesty's court at Windsor, and to exercise that influence over him which I know Your Majesty to possess.

407 FROM ROBERT D. WATSON TO THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

NO. 20.

LOFTUS R.S.O. YORKS,
16TH DECEMBER, 1886.

Sir,

A few days ago I forwarded for Her Majesty's inspection, the copy of a letter I received from Prince Dalip Singh, for a man in my humble position that may have been a bold thing to do. But I feel the gravity of the situation. It is evident the whatever the claims were that he put forth, up to the time of his arrest last spring at Aden, he was loyal to this country, and I hold that the Government of the Queen in making that arrest have committed a huge blunder and the sooner they make up their minds to rectify it the better. They have turned the Prince from a friend into a deadly foe—if he had committed a crime against the state, surely there is some tribunal before which he could have been brought, tried and condemned. In one of the proclamations I then alluded to, occur these words. "Had the Court of Arbitration for which he asked awarded him but one pice he would have been satisfied." In my humble judgment it would be better—ininitely better for this country to have paid the major portion of the Prince's claim than to risk the possibility of second Indian mutiny, and that is what it will result in, and sooner or later this country will know on whose shoulders to attach the blame.

I, therefore, trust that Her Majesty will not hesitate to exercise her influence with the Prince which I know her to possess on the one hand, and with her own Government, which she ought to possess on the other, to avert so dire a calamity, but what is done must be done quickly, or the Queen's jubilee year instead of one of peace will be one of bloodshed.

(Sd.) Robert D. Watson

408. FROM ROBERT D. WATSON ESQ. TO SIR HENRY
PONSONBY

NO. 24,

LOFTUS R.S.O. YORKS,
30TH DEC., 1886.

I received by last night's post a further communication from the Maharaja Dalip Singh and for Her Majesty's information, I deem it my duty to forward a copy of the greater portion of it to you; please observe my object in this matter is to prevent a desolating Indian insurrection on the one hand, and the Prince himself from utter ruin and folly on the other. I would especially draw your attention to the latter portion of this communication, it appears to me to be couched in less bitter terms than those I have previously had from him, and I am clearly of the opinion that time has fully arrived when Her Majesty ought to exercise her great influence on behalf of peace. I may further add that this letter has confirmed my suspicion, that the prince's aim, object, and aspirations have been to raise his position, similar to those of Holkar and Scindia as a ruler under the Indian Government and honestly I do not see why he should not receive a fair consideration.

P.S. I also hold a third intended proclamation.

COPY

For I will not return to my allegiance on any other conditions than the payment of three million sterling to me by the British Government, let them make what other proposals they please. You entirely mistake my present position. For treaty of annexion has long been repudiated by me, and I now claim my kingdom from my Christian guardian, the British nation, who piously swindled me out of it, and which was guaranteed to me by the Treaty of Bhyrowal by England in 1846. Last spring before my address I should have been quite content with the award of a court of arbitration composed of the Law Lords of the House of Peers, though a single penny had been assessed by them as compensation for the loss of my kingdom, my jewels, etc., and my private estates and salt mines producing £450,000 per annum in the Punjab but not now.

Believe me, Watson, I have it in my power either to save or destroy the British empire of India and I will either have £3,000,000 or my re-

venge. Let the British Government ask (some) 45,000 Punjabi soldiers employed in the Anglo-Indian army whether they will or will not fight against me if sent to oppose my advance with forces of Russia and convince themselves of the truth of my assertion that my loyalty would replace me on the throne of the Punjab and make use of my unique position for strengthening their empire.

For I will guarantee that Russia or any other power in the world would never trouble them in India. They would thus have some 8,000,000 of the most brave people of India heart and soul as one with them, instead of not possessing the loyalty of a single Indian. But they have been dead to their own interest in suspecting me of disloyalty and not reposing implicit confidence in me.

27th December, 1886.

(Sd.) Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Sikh nation.

P.S.

I might just as well tell you as this letter is not likely to be published in the newspapers that since I wrote you, I am assured that pecuniary aid up to one million pounds sterling (£ 1,000,000) and therefore, I am not likely to accept any proposal that the British Government are likely to make. As I only at present require £10,000, this sum will be placed in my hands within six weeks by which time the political events in Europe will have developed themselves more decidedly. The British Government if they do not like to try the experiment of replacing me on the throne then let them only restore my estates, in the Punjab, giving me at the same time a peerage as well as an honorary seat both in the Council of India in London and the Council in Calcutta and publish abroad that I am appointed to enquire into and amend the petty grievances of the natives of India, which believe me, are like thousands of little fires ready to be blown into a great conflagration at any moment by the merest accident, and I shall be more than content to serve England loyally and undertake to establish Her Empire on the sure foundation of justice without which it will never stand. No one (though I say it of myself) knows so well as I do both the English and the Indians by the peculiar circumstances of my life.

409. FROM R.D. WATSON, ESQ., TO SIR H. PONSONBY

NO. 25

LOFTUS R.S.O. YCRKS,
1st JAN., 1887.

As I am anxious that you should be in possession of every information calculated to guide your actions, I beg to say that I had a short note from Prince Dalip Singh by the last evening's post, where in he informs me that he is now in want of money and that God has raised him

other true friends, meaning I suppose that he is now in possession of £10,000 but I have faith that peace may yet be preserved.

410. STATEMENT OF GANDA SINGH

NO. 9.

JANUARY 8, 1887.

Statement of Ganda Singh S/o Nihal Chand, Dharamkot, Khandwa Police Station Dera Baba Nanak, District Gurdaspur.

From eight or nine years he has been in the late Thakur Singh's service. First he was a *Khidmatgar*, when Gurbachan Singh joined the Government service, he went with him. Prior to his joining Gurbachan Singh, he served for a year in the Punjab Railway Police. When Gurbachan Singh proceeded on leave, he left him at Amritsar. He gave him a *Murasila* to the address of the Deputy Commissioner requesting him to divide his land and to make it over to him. Deputy Commissioner told him that without the sanction of Government, land could not be divided.

A month after their departure they wrote him that they have gone over to French territory and that he should present their carriage and horses to Bawa Sujan Singh.

In September last, in compliance with their request, he went down to Pondicherry. He stayed for about 2 months. During his stay they received a letter from Dalip Singh in which he informed them that they should rest assured he will come soon.

Letter sent to Maharaja were signed by all three brothers. In *Jeth* last Budh Singh asked him for money which he wanted to pay to a man whom he was going to send to Punch. During his stay, two Bengalis from Chandernagar arrived there, used to hold councils with Thakur Singh's sons. One of them was a member of the Council. Jiwan Singh from Jhelum district has joined from Punjab and has assumed the name of Karam Singh. He was in Gurbachan Singh's confidence. Pohlo Mal during his stay at Pondicherry used to hold secret councils with Gurbachan Singh and his brothers.

He took with him Rs. 27 and was given Rs. 23 by Gurbachan Singh for his return journey.

The above statement was made to me by Ganda Singh on the 8th January 1887.

Aziz-u-din.

Gurbachan Singh asked him to go to Dadri and ask his grand mother to send them money, but he did not stop on his way back to Dadri.

Aziz-u-din.

No. 10. is the statement of Nihal Singh, son of Musada Singh Arora

of Chatiwind at present residing of Raja Sansi, in which states that he was a physician and got Rs. 200/- from Pohlo Mal through Budh Singh. He showed the receipt too. Nothing of any importance stated.

411. STATEMENT OF ISAR SINGH AND HARI SINGH SERVANTS OF GURBACHAN SINGH

JANUARY 11, 1887.

Just before the arrival of Ganda Singh, Gurbachan Singh asked his younger brother, Gurdit Singh, to go and live in a separate house. He used to cry every day and did not know what to do. On Pohlo Mal and Ganda Singh's arrival, they were reconciled and persuaded to live together.

In November last, Teja Singh and Suchet Singh of Hyderabad arrived at Pondicherry and after holding secret councils with Thakur Singh's sons for about six days and after receiving a piece of cloth and Rs. 7 each, returned to their homes. Gurbachan Singh told them that they were from Bharatgarh, but they found out they were from Hyderabad.

Two Bengalis were staying near the house of the Burmese Prince. They were on friendly terms with Gurbachan Singh. They used to tell them that the object of their visit was to erect an oil factory in Pondicherry.

About two months ago, Arur Singh's things were sent by the French mail steamer to Europe. Ganda Singh had shipped them. With these things a package was sent to the Maharaja by Gurbachan Singh and his brothers.

Ganda Singh and Jiwan Singh alias Karan Singh were in Gurbachan Singh's confidence and he kept nothing hidden from them. They were told that Pohlo Mal took Rs. 600/- with him for Gurbachan Singh.

Since his return to Punjab, Ganda Singh has been constantly writing to them under an assumed Muhammedan name. In one of the letters, he wrote to them that he was under police surveillance and was sorry why he returned to Punjab, but very soon by selling his wife's ornaments, etc., will return to Pondicherry.

Letters between Thakur Singh's son and Dalip Singh pass through the French mail bag. Gurbachan Singh told them that he and his brothers would come to the Punjab via Kabul with the Maharaja. Nearly all of Gurbachan Singh's wife's jewellery has been sold. It is worth about Rs. 1500/-

The above statement was made to me by Ishar Singh and Hari Singh on the 11th January at Amritsar.

Sd. Aziz-u-din.

412. FROM R.D. WATSON, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE
VISCOUNT CROSS

NO. 31.

LOFTUS R.S.O. YORKS.

12TH JANUARY, 1887.

My only apology for troubling Your Lordship must be to draw your attention to some correspondence which I have had with Sir Henry Ponsonby with reference to the Maharaja Dalip Singh, and which I understand has been forwarded to India Office for your consideration. I do not wish to blame for allowing the prince to lead the useless life he has hitherto done instead of making use of him for state purposes, and I am most anxious that Your Lordship should be the one to do your utmost to do reasonable justice to him, he is worthy of your best consideration.

I should be the last individual to use any threat but I may say that I am humble member of the party now in power and I am convinced that the Hon'ble Grey C. Dawney would confirm my statement, that I more than any other person have worked for the party and made it what it is today at this end of the Cleveland Division and unless I find the present Government disposed to adopt a more reasonable policy towards the Maharaja, I shall feel myself compelled to withdraw from taking any active part in the organisation. The prince is dear to me in many ways and his honour is my own, and I am afraid my conscience would compel me to take that step, not that I should forsake my party—nothing would induce me to do that, but I could not work as I have done, believing in my own mind that the present leaders were indisposed to do justice to one whom I esteem very highly.

I think the reports in today's newspapers confirm all that I have placed before Sir H. Ponsonby. I recognise that His Lordship's trust is very difficult one, but I am not without hope that the prince if approached, will be in his demands reasonable.

413. SUPPLEMENTRY STATEMENT OF BUDH SINGH

NO. 12.

JANUARY 15, 1887.

Hira Singh, Bhagat Singh and Narang Singh (the high priests of the Golden temple at Amritsar) always used to tell him that the *Sakhis* were true and that Maharaja Dalip Singh is the incarnation of the deity, and is bound to reign over the country, that when the Maharaja will come they will then exhort every Sikh as to the truth of the *Sakhis* and to the arrival of the Maharaja and that they should remain in readiness for him. When Kesar Singh brought the proclamation, he showed it to them. They told

him that it should be posted through Partap Singh who write copies, etc., and he will post it and because it has come to his address.

In July last Hem Singh received a letter from Thakur Singh asking him to go and see Jamiat Rai and ask him as to why he has not written any letter. On this Hem Singh went to his village but could not find him there. He was not there. He met him in Amritsar. Three days after Hem Singh stated all this to him. On this he asked him (Hem Singh) to introduce him to him (Jamiat Rai). Jamiat Rai came to see him. On the first day he said nothing. The second day he asked him that whether he gets letters from Thakur Singh. He said yes. On this he said he has also written to him that he should also write letters to him. A month after this, he came to his place and told him that he has received a letter from the Sardar asking him to make arrangements to raise funds for the Maharaja. He asked him as to how he will arrange it. He said that his daughter's father-in-law Kanhya Lal is Raja Moti Singh's Jamadar. He will arrange through him. The second day he again came to him and told him that an Afghan Sardar who is a prisoner says that he will advance any amount of money to Maharaja Dalip Singh and will also arrange for his help in Afghanistan if he will get a letter from Dalip Singh. He refuses to accept Thakur Singh's letter. He also told him that he has got the original horoscope of the Maharaja in which the astrologer has forewritten that he is bound to reign over the country.

He knows Udeh Singh. He is a Bedi. Formerly he used to be in the service of Maharaja of Kashmir and at present he is in the service of Maharaja of Farijkot. He knows nothing about him.

On Thakur Singh's writing, Pohlo Mal gave him Rs. 200/- out of which he gave Rs. 50/- to Kishan Singh for road expenses. He lent Rs. 300/- at Patna. Through fear he had only Rs. 100/- written in his first statement.

Bhagoo came of his own accord to him and Partab Singh was with him. He started for Punchh in his presence. From there a letter was received from him by Partab Singh in which he said he had no expenses.

He knows it for a fact that all the Granthis and the Sikhs are with the Maharaja Dalip Singh, and whenever he will come they will join with him.

When Jamiat Rai came to him and stated all this, there was a Sikh with him who lives in Amritsar and whom he can point out.

The above was recorded by me at Amritsar on the 15th January, 1883, in vernacular and was read over to Bawa Singh who signed the original statement.

Aziz-u-din.

414. STATEMENT OF POHLO MAL

NO. 13.

I was two years *Mukhtar-i-kar* in the service of late Thakur Singh and since August 1883 when the estates were placed under the management of the Court of Wards, I was appointed agent or manager under the Tehsildar of Ajnala on Rs. 40 P.M.

I know Budh Singh. In May or June last, Nihal Singh brought me a letter from Sardar Thakur Singh ordering me to give over to Budh Singh for residence a portion of the upper part of *Haveli* in Amritsar which the Sardar used to occupy but which was lying empty. The lower part of the *Haveli* was rented by tenants under the court of wards. Budh Singh was then at Amritsar but I did not see him. At the time I showed the letter to Shobha Ram, clerk of the Court of Wards and gave an evasive answer to Nihal Singh. Previous to this I had submitted an estimate for repairing this upper part of the *Haveli* so that it might be rented as there appeared no prospect of the Sardar's early return. In a month or six weeks after the first letter came a second letter by post from Sardar Thakur Singh asking me why I had not given up the *Haveli* to Budh Singh. On receipt of this I found out Budh Singh who was in a *bunga* of the Golden temple and told him what Sardar Thakur Singh had said. I saw him then for the first time, shortly after this he entered into possession.

I was not in the habit of going to the *Haveli* often to see Budh Singh. In all I did not go to *Haveli* more than three or four times and then on general business connected with the property. I saw Budh Singh on those occasions and he told me that he was a captain in the Nepal army and had come to arrange a marriage for his daughter, but I had no special conversation with him at any time. I never had time to go and spend with him, being always on business. I had no quarrel with Budh Singh at any time, but there was a little unpleasantness about an old woman, a tenant in the upper storey whom he wanted to turn out. I had to send word to him to leave her alone. On another occasion he asked me for a loan of Rs. 100. I replied that I could not do this and reported the matter to Sardar Thakur Singh who replied that there was no need to give him any loan. He was offended with me about this and wrote to the Sardar about me and also spoke to other people. After that I never saw him again or spoke to him. Budh Singh never called me when letters came from the Sardar nor did I communicate to him the contents of any letters received by me which were all on business. I never provided funds for a *bhog* in the Golden temple or Taran Taran. To the latter place I have never been and know nothing about it. The *bhog* is an important ceremony and cannot be performed without orders from the Manager of the Golden Temple.

Sardar Man Singh should be asked whether any such ceremony was ever performed. I do remember that during the fatal illness at Pondicherry (not the second and fatal illness), he ordered me to offer *Karah parshad*, a very common ceremony performed daily by Sikhs. At this an address or blessing is invoked. I arranged this through Agya Singh, a sweetmeat seller who always used to present offerings for the Sardar.

I know Kesar Singh. He is a servant of Sardar Thakur Singh and lives at his village Dhariwal. He used to come to see his brother Hem Singh who is in the service of Sardar Gurbachan Singh as *Mukhtar Kar* in conjunction with Ganda Singh. I had frequently disputes with these two men because under orders of Sardar Gurbachan Singh they used to try and realize income from his share of the estate which should have been paid into the Court of Wards. I declined to let them do this and complained to the Tehsildar and Deputy Commissioner who summoned and warned Ganda Singh not to interfere. Both Ganda Singh and Sardar Gurbachan Singh complained against me to the Deputy Commissioner and their letters will be on record. When Kesar Singh went to Pondicherry with his three companions, I did not provide them money for their expenses. Ganda Singh gave them money from the proceeds of the sale of Sardar Gurbachan Singh's property at Shahpur and other places. I had nothing to do with their going nor were they ordered to go by me, so why should I have given them money (Kesar Singh says, in the confession that the money was given by Ganda Singh and Pohlo Mal). Sardar Thakur Singh had written to me to send him money about that time. To save commission and charges I handed over to Jawala Singh Rs. 57 to take to the Sardar in person and for this sum I have a receipt.

A long time after this Kesar Singh came to me and asked me for Rs. 7/8 to pay his expenses to Dadri.

I know Partab Singh Granthi. When Sardar Thakur Singh came to Amritsar, which was very seldom, I was summoned to see him on business and then used to see Partab Singh with the Sardar. I just know him as a speak-to and *salam*-to but never had any sort of intercourse with him beyond. I went once to him for a book that the Sardar wanted but never at any other time. He is a Sikh and I am a Hindu.

I never used to receive letters from Sardar Thakur Singh for distribution from Pondicherry. Deputy Inspector Hossein Bakhsh used always to put up in a little verandah attached to my office whenever he came to Raja Sansi. Inspector Mozaffar Ali or Hossein came to the village to enquire about a dacoity or a highway robbery case; they remained in this open place next to my office for 2½ or three months. As letters came to me from Pondicherry by post in a perfectly open manner, I used to show

them to these officers. Hossein Bakhsh used always to see all the letters and when I replied used to send his *salam* to the Sardar. When Jawala Singh was arrested at Raja Sansi, a registered letter from Sardar came to me and Deputy Inspector Abadulla and Hossein Bakhsh read it. It was as usual a business letter. The Zaildar who was an enemy of mine told them of this letter but they found nothing against me on it. Abadulla and Hossein Bakhsh read all my letters on this occasion.

I used to go to Amritsar, that is to say the civil lines, the Deputy Commissioner's *Kutchery*, twice a week or often if there was a case on. I had always to go twice a week to the Court of Wards Office. I went in the morning and returned in the evening to Raja Sansi. Once or twice, I stayed with a relative of mine in the city. But I hardly ever went to the city which is two miles beyond *Kutchery* from Raja Sansi having no business there except very seldom. I am a servant of the Court of Wards not of Sardar Thakur Singh or any one else. When I went to see Thakur Singh once at Jhelum or some place two years ago, the Deputy Commissioner fined me and told me not to obey any orders by him as I was servant of the Government.

If I knew anything of Thakur Singh having become *baaghi*, why should I have worked to improve his estates? The Deputy Commissioner may be asked if I have not done my best to improve the property in every way. Would I have done this if I had thought that he was not coming back soon. I did not know that the Sardar had become rebellious to the Government and had gone for good. When I heard of his going to Pondicherry from Dadri, I reported the matter at once to the Deputy Commissioner. Soon after that the Sardar wrote me a letter from Pondicherry telling me that it was on account of his debts he had taken refuge there. This letter I sent in original to the Deputy Commissioner.

I know nothing whatever of any secret doings of Thakur Singh or of any of his servants. If I have been implicated in anything it has been by my enemies. The Deputy Commissioner knew that I had made many enemies by doing my best for the Sardar's property. Bakshish Singh is an enemy of mine, for this reason also Kesar Singh, Hem Singh and many others. The disputes with them are known to the Deputy Commissioner or Mr. Warburton who are fully aware of the circumstances of the case. I am willing to give Rs. 1000/- security in case anything can be proved against me.

5th March.

Sd. P.D. Henderson,
Colonel.

415. FROM R.D. WATSON, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT
HON'BLE VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B.

NO. 32.

LOFTUS R.S.O. YORKS,
20TH JAN., 1887.

I took the liberty to address a private communication to you respecting the present unfortunate position of the Maharaja Dalip Singh. I should be glad to know whether you have had under your consideration some correspondence which I had with Sir H. Ponsonby, K.C.B., and if in Your Lordship's opinion a reconciliation is possible. In the above correspondence, the Prince's views and aspirations were pretty clearly defined.

II

In No. 33 Viscount Cross replies to Watson that no useful purpose will be served in entering into correspondence with him on the subject.

416. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO SIR ROBERT
MONTGOMERY

NO. 36.

PARIS,
28TH JANUARY, 1887.

Kind and good Sir Robert, might I beg of you to cause a receipt to be sent to my solicitors, Messrs. Farrer & Co., for the 'Star of India' which they forwarded at my request to the India Office some time ago, and which I am anxious to possess before my departure (which may now take place any day) from Paris.

Doubtless you will be surprised to hear that I have received promise of pecuniary aid up to £1,000,000, on certain conditions, and, from India, of assurance of loyalty of the entire Punjab and allegiance of some 45,000 Punjabis in the British army. Lord Dufferin has gained nothing, you see, by arresting me at Aden. After all, what he did not wish should happen (viz, that my countrymen be not in a position to show me sympathy) has happened. The trodden-down worm at last has been enabled through the mercy of God to lift up his bowed down heart and head in order to avenge the injustice and the insults (as the only reward for his loyalty) showered down upon him for the last 36 years.

I enclose also three proclamations, two of which will be published here in a few days, the 3rd a little later on. None are genuine that do not bear my signatures.

May the Almighty bless both you and your kind hearted good lady. Once more farewell.

Your most grateful,
Sd. Dalip Singh

Both Sovereign and Guru of the Sikh Nation.

A

NO. I

DATED PARIS, THE 15TH JULY, 1886.

By the grace of Sri Sat Guru Ji we Maharaja Dalip Singh, the lawful sovereign of the Sikh nation, under the Treaty of Bhyrowal entered into without coercion between ourselves and our Darbar on the one part and Great Britain on the other, do from hereby in consequence of the insults and indignities repeatedly offered to us—of which the recent imprisonment inflicted on us at Aden is a proof as well as an account of no fulfilment with us of the stipulations of the Treaty of annexation of the Punjab by the Indian administration, set aside and annul that iniquitous and illegal document, the so called "Terms granted", which was extorted from us in 1849 by our wicked Guardian, the Christian British nation, when we were an infant of only 11 years of age, and by the above first mentioned covenant, under the protection of England.

Wah Guru Jee dee Fateh.

Sd. Dalip Singh,
Maharaja of Sikhs
under Treaty of
Bhyrowal 1846.

B

NO. 2,

PARIS, 1886.

Brother Princes and Nobles and the people of beloved Hindustan.

By the grace of Almighty God, the Creator of the Universe, the most merciful and gracious, and of Sri Govind Singh ji.

We Maharaja Dalip Singh, the lawful sovereign of the Sikh Nation, have set aside and annulled that treaty of annexation of the Punjab, to the disgrace of Great Britain, be it said, was extorted from us and our Darbar, when we were of tender age, and ward of Christian England under the treaty of Bhyrowal 1846 (in order to lay his wicked hands on our dominions) by the late Unscrupulous Marquis of Dalhousie.

But the moral (ii) British nation is no respecter of "Solemn covenants" and treaties when its own interests are at variance with the interests of the weaker contracting parties thereto; as most of you as well as ourselves know by experience.

No doubt, your mighty rulers will call upon you to refute the above assertion, but dare they deny that it is not in their hearts what that leading journal in England "*The Times*" not very long since (in spite of the proclamation issued when it suited the purposes of Great Britain in the name of the Empress of India immediately after the suppression of the

mutiny of 1857, to the effect that the internal administration of your respective dominions would not be interfered with by Her Majesty's representatives in Hindustan) advocated, viz., the abolition of your armies, the maintenance of which is dearer to you than life itself. But fortunately for your friends, just about that time a storm commenced to gather on the north-west frontier of India, in the presence of which your mighty rulers did not feel themselves sufficiently strong to carry out such high-handed measures and you escaped therefore the fate intended for you.

However, let us hope now that evil day may never dawn upon you, for the poor old British lion is becoming so treppid indeed as to show the "white feather" at the mere buzzing of a gnat, but that, however, is not to be wondered at, because that Sikh is the son of the renowned lion of the Punjab as well as the lawful sovereign of the Sikh nation, and like his people, who by their valour saved the British empire in Hindustan in 1857 from utter annihilation, at least, fears no odds that might be opposed to him.

The poet spoke truly when he said, "It is conscience that makes cowards."

Yes, the Government of India are conscious of the wickedness practised by them towards us, the ward of the righteous British nation, and tremble lest we should come and avenge the wrong inflicted upon us by our guardian. For in great trepidation, they offered us £50,000 in full satisfaction of our just claims provided we signed a protocol never to return to Hindustan without their permission.

But their Christian immorality knows no bound, for rather than render justice, the Government have preferred to commit another and still greater wrong so as to try to cover the first by refusing us a court composed of Law Lords of the House of Peers to enquire into and to arbitrate these (admitted by Lord Salisbury to be so) "controverted matters on the miserable plea that they had not the power to appoint such a tribunal. The Government of Great Britain powerless to grant a court of arbitration!!!! Ah! what mockery! what falsehood!!!! On our part, however, we should have cheerfully accepted the verdict of such a court as final had it awarded us but a single pice in damages.

We, therefore, appeal to your oriental generosity, Brother princes and Nobles and the people of Hindustan, as we vastly prefer to suffer the greatest degradation, humiliation and shame of *Bheekh Mangna* or begging our bread from you beloved countrymen, to being under any pecuniary obligation to such a most iniquitously unjust, tyrannical and foreign Government, who, though professing code of high morality, piously swindled us out of our kingdom, and defrauded us of all our private property, both of which the British nation as our guardian under

the Treaty of Bhyrowal 1846 had taken upon itself to protect during our minority, and is bound in honour either to restore the whole or give equitable compensation for the same, but Jesus Christ, by whose tenets these Christians profess to regulate their morals, had not said in vain that we do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles ; therefore, not even in England is justice to be had.

In the glorious days of yore, it used to be the pride of your ancestors to defend the weak who sought their protection as we seek yours this day against the strong, though they might lose all they possessed in doing so. Therefore, if that spirit of noble chivalry is not quite dead among you, then aid a brother Prince and countryman in adversity.

The Government of India out of spite may indeed put its veto upon the generous impulse of your hearts, but if you all unite, it will be powerless to harm you as you cannot all be deposed or sent to the *Kala Pance* for not paying any heed to the arbitrary behest of such a timorous administration as it has now become. For see, that notwithstanding all its boasted vast resources how it dreads the return to India of a Sikh who unlike you does not even possess a single soldier.

Therefore, be not cowards but be brave and worthy of your great forefathers.

Sd. Dalip Singh,
The Lawful Sovereign of the Sikh Nation

C

Proclamation No. 3

Courage ! Courage ! Courage !

We your own flesh and blood, tell you, lift up your bowed down heads and drooping hearts "for your redemption draweth near" and by the help of the Almighty, Aryavarta shall once more be free and the rising 'Young India' shall enjoy both liberty and self-government.

Yes, beloved countrymen, an avenger of our common great wrongs is indeed about to appear, and the just God of the Universe will shortly cause your wicked rulers to be crushed under his feet. But you must have a little more patience yet, so as to allow us to work out your salvation most effectually.

The iniquitously unjust and unscrupulous administration of India have succeeded at last by their arbitrary acts in driving us away from our (we declare before God) most loyal allegiance to the Empress of Hindustan, but by the aid of Providence they shall rue the day on which they dared to insult us by causing our arrest at Aden. For although we were natu-

ralised Englishmen, yet we were placed under arrest without a warrant having been previously obtained for our apprehension.

The British Government dared not have treated a born Englishman as thus, but because we were not such, we were neither allowed a public trial nor were sufficient pecuniary means placed at our disposal (though we requested both) so as to enable us to procure legal advice in order to refute effectually the foul and revolting charge of disloyalty preferred against us towards our then Most Gracious Sovereign.

Behold then, countrymen, that there exists one law for the Englishmen and another for the hated Indian, though he might even be a Christian as we were previous to our arrest at Aden notwithstanding all the avowals to the country of the pious British Government.

If we, who were once heart and soul as one with England, and who would cheerfully have spilt our last drop of blood in the service of the Empress of Hindustan as an inadequate return for all her personal boundless graciousness towards us have denied justice and even a hearing before a competent court of arbitration and branded disloyal when on the contrary we were most loyal. Then, what chance have you, brother Princes of India, for preventing the immoral administration of India—whenever it should suit their purpose—from ignoring the rights they have hypocritically guaranteed to you by so called solemn treaties with England.

Therefore, believe our word when we tell you that you sit on your thrones only until a convenient opportunity presents itself to your so called just rulers for your deposition. For look at what has lately taken place in Burma. In spite of the declarations of the Queen's proclamation of 1858 to the contrary, does it appear to you that the days of annexation have come to end as yet?

Therefore, friends, if you have not yet entirely degenerated into cowards and become effiminates, nor turned into mere puppets in the hands of your deadly enemies, then rise up and make common cause with us and share with us also in the glory of liberating our mother country. But although we thus invite you to take part in this grand both work and duty, do not for a moment suppose that we shall seek any aid from you, for God has otherwise made us strong who were once so feeble.

Sri Khalsa ji, you by your far renowned great valour saved the British Empire in India in 1857 and you did well then to act so for we ourselves at that time were most loyal to England. Besides owing to our absence from India at that period, you had no leader appointed by Sri Sat Guru Ji of your own nation to instruct you as to the part that you should have taken in the warfare that was then going on, but now in the coming struggle sovereign both by the will of Sri Sat Guru Ji as well as in the virtue of the

treaty of Bhyrowal 1846 with Great Britain (under which Christian England assumed our guardianship, though by a most pious act shortly after they swindled us out of our kingdom) to prepare for our advance into the Punjab,

We command also such as of our loyal subjects as may then be serving in the British army, and who may be left behind, to attack the British forces sent against us in their rear and those who may be in the troops opposing us to come over to our side. But let our enemies and disloyal subject beware for we intend to annihilate them utterly.

Sri Khalsaji, we exhort you to study the *Sakheean* and learn therein your glorious destiny as predicted by Daswan Padshah Sri Guru Govind Singh Ji.

Wah Guru ji ki Fateh.

(February, 1887)

Sd. Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Sikh nation.

417. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY,
CALCUTTA

NO. 21.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST FEBRUARY, 1887.

Secret. Dalip Singh writes to Montgomery 28th January, stating promise of pecuniary aid up to a million sterling and assurances of loyalty from entire Punjab. He encloses three very seditious proclamations one of which denounces his wicked guardian, the British nation, one appeals to Princes of India for funds and one is addressed to Khalsa warning latter to prepare for his advent and commanding them as their guru to attack in rear British force sent against him. Copies go to you next mail. He states two first proclamations will be published at once in France and that he leaves Paris shortly. His destination is probably Russia. We have asked Lyons to keep watch over proceedings. As Lahore Press report mendicants going about Punjab foretelling restoration Khalsa power, you may like to impress on Aitchison necessity of vigilance.

418. FROM G C. FORBES, ESQ., UNDER SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPART-
MENT, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE PUNJAB
(Confidential)

NO. 26. NO. 5711.

FORT WILLIAM,
8TH FEBRUARY, 1887.

In Continuation of this office telegram No. 429 I dated the 2nd February 1887, I am directed to forward copies of the correspondence noted

in the margin with reference to the proceedings of Maharaja Dalip Singh (in the margin is from Colonel Sir O. Burne, No. 351, dated 24th Dec., 1886, with enclosures. From Colonel Sir O. Burne No. 2 dated the 7th January, 1887, with enclosures.)

The Governor-General in Council requests that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will take measures to ascertain by means of special and private inquiries the feelings with which the native army and the native states in the Punjab regard His Highness's aspirations.

It is important to learn whether the Maharaja is in receipt of pecuniary assistance from India. All possible information upon the subject should be carefully collected and a vigilant watch kept upon the proceedings of all persons known to be favourable to his cause.

419. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

NO. 27. NO. 94.

LAHORE,
8TH FEBRUARY, 1887.

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram dated 3rd instant regarding a communication made by Maharaja Dalip Singh to Sir Robert Montgomery, G.C. B.

The Lieutenant-Governor will exercise vigilance in this matter. Meanwhile I am desired to draw your attention to an issue of a paper styled to *Beaver* dated Chandernagor Wednesday, January 19th 1887, containing some correspondence between the Maharaja Dalip Singh and an anonymous person under initials "E.C." at the address of Messrs. Mallet Farrers and Company 37, Rue d'Anjou St. Honore, Paris. I am at the same time to forward for information, dated the 25th November, 1886, from Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Secretary to the Khalsa Diwan and Assistant Professor of Oriental College, Lahore, enclosing a copy of a letter purporting to be from the Maharaja Dalip Singh addressed to the Khalsa community, the copy of which was received by the above mentioned Gurmukh Singh.

In my letter No. 113 dated 8th February, 1887, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, the Lieutenant-Governor has recommended the dismissal from the service of Sardar Gurbachan Singh, statutory civilian, son of Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia and it has been shown in that letter that Sardar Thakur Singh, during his stay in England and since has been in communication with the Maharaja Dalip Singh. The Lieutenant-Governor has reason for believing that Sardar

Thakur Singh has been an active agent in promulgating the complaints of Maharaja Dalip Singh relative to his treatment by the British Government, and Sir Charles Aitchison is of the opinion that should Sardar Thakur Singh return to British India, he should be placed in confinement under the provisions of regulation III of 1818. Sardar Thakur Singh is at present time believed to be residing at Pondicherry.

A

NO. 28.

Copy of a communication from Bhai Gurmukh Singh Secretary to the Khalsa Dewan and Assistant Professor of the Oriental College, Lahore, to the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, dated the 25th November, 1886.

I beg to enclose herewith a suspicious letter which I received yesterday at Lahore, through a relative of mine who brought it from our village Chandhar to which place it was posted.

The letter is a forged one, I think, but seems to have been written by a disloyal person who is a partisan of Dalip Singh.

I am unable to find out the writer and sender of the letter, and am not less astonished to see that it was posted to the village where I do not live much. However, I learn one thing from the tenor of its contents that the adherents of Dalip Singh are making such communications in his name to spoil the ignorant villagers.

I regret to see that while we are making attempts to take advantages afforded to us by the blessed rule of Her Majesty to turn out our brethern, learned, polished and civilised, an opportunity has been taken by some devils to do such mischievous, unlawful and sinful actions.

Kukas are persons who most probably write such letters in such a tone, but there undoubtedly are few malcontents who hope for Dalip Singh and do not shirk work to produce secret excitement in his favour.

Although I feel sure that such communications are very insignificant and cannot be considered to make effect or produce some consequence, yet it seems necessary that efforts be made to put a stop to such nonsense.

I send the letter with its envelope for the information of His Honour and most earnestly solicit that His Honour who is loved most of all his predecessors by the people of this country, may give some attention towards these matters, if they are worth consideration in His Honour's opinion.

B

Translation of the letter and its envelope.

One Om Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh

Vaheguru Singh Ji ki Fateh to the whole Khalsa Community.

Verse

The Khalsa will reign—none will be independent of them.

All (who oppose) shall submit through disgrace. Only those shall be saved [who] take protection.

Month *Kartik*, 7th of the dark half moon, *sumvat* (Bikramajit) 1943.

Signature Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Tell to all the Sikhs and remain firm in your faith, that is all.

On the reverse is

Kartik, 1st of the light half moon, Gurmukh Singh Chandhor, district Gujranwala.

On the envelope is :

To B. Gurmukh Singh, village Chandhar, district Gujranwala, from Mul Singh, Distt. Ambala.

II

No. 15* to 19 are short letters intimating that Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia is at Pondicherry.

420. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY
TO THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT TO THE FOREIGN
SECRETARY, NO. 94.

NO. 20.

LAHORE,

8TH FEBRUARY, 1887.

3. In my letter No. 113 dated the 8th February, 1887, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, the Lieutenant-Governor has recommended the dismissal from the service of Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Statutory Civilian, son of Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, and it has been shown in that letter that Sardar Thakur Singh has been an active agent in promulgating the complaints of Maharaja Dalip Singh relative to his treatment by the British Government and Sir Charles Aitchison is of opinion that, should Sardar Thakur Singh return to British India, he should be placed in confinement under the Provisions of Regulation III of 1818. Sardar Thakur Singh is at the present time believed to be residing at Pondicherry.

* Foreign Deptt. Secret I, August 1887, No. 15-51.

II

Nos. 21 to 25 concern the affairs of Gurbachan Singh Sindhanwalia, a statutory civilian in the Punjab, notes about which have been taken from the Home Department Records.

III

Nos. 25 to 51 are letters intimating about Thakur Singh's stay at Pondicherry, are very small letters, all in about 2 pages.

421. FROM FREDERICK ROBERTS TO LORD DUFFERIN

CALCUTTA,
12TH FEBRUARY, 1887.

My dear Lord Dufferin,

Curiously enough by this morning's post I received a communication from General Dillon on the subject of Your Excellency's note of today. I send the letter with its enclosures. I do not believe that there is any general dissatisfaction in the Punjab, but I have always thought that the return or even the threatened return of Dulip Singh to India would raise hopes of a revival of power amongst certain sections of the Sikhs, and that his presence with a Russian force in Afghanistan might cause trouble with our Sikh soldiers. During my visit to the Punjab in March and April, I shall see several old Sikhs of my acquaintance, some of whom would, I think tell me if there were any excitement on account of Dalip Singh.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd. Frederick Roberts.

422. FROM SIR J.P. PANNCEFOTE, UNDER SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO THE UNDER
SECRETARY OF STATE, INDIA OFFICE**

FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON,
10TH MARCH, 1887.

I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to transmit to you herewith, to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, report-

* From the Collection of Lady Roberts—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

** Foreign Deptt, Secret I, September 1887, No. 40-57.

ing a conversation with Mons. de Giers on the subject of movements of the Maharaja Dalip Singh.

I am to add that Sir R. Morier has instructed to thank Mons. Giers on behalf of Her Majesty's Government for his frank and friendly reply to His Excellency's enquiries.

423. FROM SIR R.B.D. MORIER, HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
AMBASSADOR AT ST. PETERSBURG, TO THE MARQUIS
OF SALISBURY, K.G., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. 40.

ST. PETERSBURG,
24TH FEBRUARY, 1887.

With reference to Your Lordship's telegram 23, I have the honour to state that I had today an opportunity of referring in conversation with M. de Giers to the case of Maharaja Dalip Singh. I said that a rumour had reached me that he was proposing to come to St. Petersburg and I, therefore, thought it right to tell his excellency that he was in a state of open rebellion to the Empress of India. Mr. de Giers observed that it has certainly been a year ago the Maharaja's intention to visit Russia but that he had heard nothing lately of any such plans, nor did he think it likely that he would carry out his intentions. He then told me that a year ago M. de Stall had a letter from Dalip Singh proposing this visit. The Russian Ambassador immediately reported on the subject to St. Petersburg, giving a very unfavourable account of the intended tourist and was instructed to do everything to prevent his carrying out this project—*de l'econduire* was His excellency's expression. Some little time later the Maharaja called on M. Kotzeline, the Russian Charge d'affaires at Paris, and again urged his strong desire to visit St. Petersburg with the same want of success as on the previous occasion. In fact, observed M. de Giers laughing—*'C'es un Mous dont non (ne) purron (Pas?) faire la connaissance a moins quenous ne soyous eu guerre.'*

Even in that case, I observed, I could hardly recommend him to Your Excellency, because by twice changing his religion and other outrageous acts he has so discredited himself as to have lost all value and importance in his own country.

Before leaving, I said, I may then inform Her Majesty's Government that Dalip Singh was duly *a'conduit* when he made his advances at London and Paris. After reflecting a moment His Excellency replied that this would perhaps be too strong a term, because after all there was nothing in his letters which would have justified such a drastic treatment. He made no proposal which could be taken up, and only expressed his extreme

desire to study the beauties of St. Petersburg and pass his respects to the Russian Government and he was told in quite unmistakable language that his visit was not desired. I mentioned this afternoon to M. de Stall the conversation I had with M. de Giers, and he told me that on receiving the Maharaja's letter, he had at once called on Lord Kimberley, then at the India Office, and had enquired what manner of man his correspondent was. Lord Kimberley's account tallied with mine and this was the one he had sent to St. Petersburg.

I may mention that M. de Giers referred casually in the course of conversation to the numerous letters which he was in the habit of receiving and not answering from Fenians in America.

II

No. 41 contains information about the meeting Dalip Singh had with Kotkoff at Moscow.

424. FROM H.L. HARRISON TO F.B. PEACOCK, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 43.

POLICE OFFICE, CALCUTTA,
11TH APRIL, 1887.

There is man called Benarasi Babu, a Kuka Sikh now in Calcutta living in Sikh quarters and daily preaching sedition. He was the guru of Dalip Singh, and lived with him for a short time in England.

The drift of his discourses is that Dalip Singh has joined the Russians, that he is now at Herat, that he is going to invade India via Kashmir shortly and that all Sikhs ought to hold themselves in readiness to join him and restore the Kingdom of Ranjit Singh.

He was before, in 1885 and 1886, and was always kept under observation. Last year he returned to the Punjab and was arrested for collecting arms and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. He got out on the Jubilee and is now jubilating in Calcutta.

I doubt if it is worth doing anything to him—he most likely does as little mischief here as anywhere. He keeps up a correspondence with Dalip Singh and is supposed to make collections for him, which go to pay the latter hotel's bills at Paris, no doubt.

I do not propose doing anything except keep an eye on his movements, unless Government thinks to otherwise.

II

No. 44. H.M. Durand enquires about the action to be taken in regard to Benarasi Babu from J B. Lyall.

III

No. 45 to 50. Give information about Benarasi Babu's plans for leaving for Pondicherry.

425. FROM D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, K.C.I.E. TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ. C.S.I.

(Demi Official)

DEHRA
15TH APRIL, 1887.

Herewith copy of a letter regarding the activity of a man described as Maharaja Dalip Singh's Guru, which has been forwarded to me by Bayley. His Excellency wishes to have your opinion as to whether this man should not be arrested.

426. FROM SIR R.B.D. MORIER, HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT ST. PETERSBURG, TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. 48. NO. 154 (SECRET)

ST. PETERSBURG,
4TH MAY, 1887

On the receipt of Your Lordship's telegram No. 75, instructing me to call the attention of the Russian Government to the presence of the Maharaja Dalip Singh at Moscow, I addressed a private note to M. de Giërs, in which I reproduced the exact terms employed by Your Lordship.

I saw His Excellency shortly after he received this note and found him more than ever annoyed and perplexed at the anomalous position in which this extraordinary, I might almost say grotesque, incident had placed him. He had entirely failed to ascertain by whose assistance Dalip Singh has crossed the frontier. I said I had heard that the culprit was General Bogdanovich, and I asked whether he would have sufficient authority to enable a friend patronised by him to enter Russia without a passport. He said he might, strange to say, he had succeeded in getting himself attached to the ministry of the interior as some sort of Inspector and as such he would be known to the police, both on the frontier and elsewhere. But the curious thing was that under any circumstances the thing would have had to be reported, which it certainly had not been to

St. Petersburg. General Crjeffski had only heard of it from himself (M. de Giers) two days before his resignation of the post of the Chief of the Genderamerie, and had been beside himself, at this breach of regulation and its result.

I saw M. de Giers again today and asked him what answer I was to return to your Lordship's telegram. He had seen the Emperor and would, therefore, I said be in a position to give me a reply. From what His Excellency said I gathered that there would have been no difficulty in obtaining the Emperor's authority for what I am convinced, though he did not explicitly say so, M. de Giers himself was anxious to do, viz., to invite Dalip Singh to leave Russia. H.M. appears to have been very angry at his police not having been aware of what had happened and observed that it was odd that the British Ambassador should have a better police than he himself in his own capital, an occasion which M. de Giers improved by remarking that a Nihilist might easily come in by similar means. Where I am strongly inclined to believe, M. de Giers met with opposition was from the Ministers of the Interior, not that I believe that Count Tolstoi is for one moment aiding and abetting M. Katkoff in his intrigue with Dalip Singh because he is an obstinate sort of man who never loses sight of the great grievance he considers Russia has against England, the harbouring of Nihilist refugees such as Rartman. It was clear that in his conversation with M. de Giers he had harped on the absence of reciprocity between the two countries in the exchange of dangerous individuals. Be this as it may, the upshot of my conversation with His Excellency was that he declared that the expulsion of the Maharaja from Russia would create great scandal, but that he could assure me he would be watched, and that the necessary precautions would be taken to render him harmless. He was however extremely anxious that I should not represent him as having entered into any engagement with H.M.'s Government to guarantee the innocuousness of Dalip Singh, for he said, "With the experience we have had, who can tell what might chance to happen." I said that I fully realised the difficulties of his position, that I had received no instructions from Her Majesty's Government to ask for Dalip's expulsion but had only been told to point out the impression which would certainly be produced by his travelling in the direction of Central Asia through Russian territory. I felt sure that His Excellency would do all in his power to secure the innocuousness of the Maharaja. No one could do more. In connection with this subject I may add that Mr. Cocke has received a further letter from Mr. Weber, enclosing a note written to him in Dalip Singh's own handwriting. I have the honour to transmit a copy of it herewith.

(Enclosure)

427. FROM A. WEBER, ESQ., VICE-CONSUL, MOSCOW, TO
C.T. COOKE, ESQ., ACTING CONSUL, ST. PETERSBURG

VICE-CONSULATE, MOSCOW,
2ND MAY, 1887.

I confirmation of my report of 11-23rd April, I herewith beg to enclose a letter from the Maharaja, sent to me by Sardar Aroor Singh, in explanation of which I have to say that, as I never pretended to appear as a Rep. of G.B. or endowed with any whatsoever for negotiations of any kind, the Maharaja's object in writing to me on that subject must have been to let Her Majesty's Government know that he is not so entirely opposed to what he terms "reconciliation" as his letter expresses. All the information that I received with regard to that affair I have got by private ways and means. I, therefore, beg you to kindly return the enclosed letter after you have done with it.

A

"The Maharaja Dalip Singh presents his compliments and desires to explain to Mr. Weber that it was no intention of acting in an uncivil manner towards him that the Maharaja refused to receive a visit from him, but because he understood that Mr. Weber as a Representative of G. B. wished to propose to him to open negotiation with that power.

Hotel Dusaux, Moscow,
The 28th April, 1887.

428. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO THE EMPEROR
OF RUSSIA*

MAY 10, 1887.

"Before proceeding to lay before the Imperial Government the humble prayer both of the Princes and People of India for deliverance from their oppression, I think it necessary to state here that for myself I seek no gain whatsoever, for I am a patriot and only seek to deliver some 250,000,000 of my countrymen from the cruel yoke of the British Rule and to benefit the deliverer at the same time and will serve the Imperial Government (should it think proper to employ me) without any remuneration whatsoever.

Through my cousin Sirdar Thakur Singh (a man well known both in the Punjab and mostly all over India) I have been deputed by

* From a photostat copy preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. Also see *The Punjab Past and Present*, vol. I, part II, pp. 352-55.

most of the powerful Princes of India to come to Russia and to pray the Imperial Government to take their cause in hand. These Princes possess altogether some 300,000 soldiers in their service and are prepared to revolt should the Imperial Government think proper to make an advance upon the British provided that I, their representative, be permitted to accompany the Imperial Army so as to assure them of the generous and gracious intentions entertained towards them by the Emperor, for the English have taken good care to fill the minds of the people of India (who are extremely ignorant) with false reports as to the oppressive nature of the Russian Rule, though the British Government itself has broken solemn engagements whenever it suited its own purposes to do so—having broken two treaties with myself alone.

Among the many advantages that would accrue to the Imperial Government by invasion of India are the following :

The Princes of India, when freed and if allowed to manage their affairs in their own way, would join together and pay a large tribute annually into the Russian Treasury. Although I am authorised to name only £3,000,000 per annum yet in my opinion after the settling down of the country they would easily pay between £8,000,000 and £10,000,000. The British raise an annual revenue from the country of some £50,000,000 and £60,000,000 sterling, out of which an army of 100,000 Europeans and Officers and English civilians (who receive very high salaries) absorb at least £25,000,000.

The rest is employed in the administration of the country and in the payment of interest upon capital advanced by England for the construction of railroad and upon the Public debt of India and pensions to retired officials in England. Also the import and export trade between England and India amounting to some £50,000,000 per annum each way would be secured to Russia. India is indeed a gold mine to England and most of her wealth has been and is derived from that source. I have been much struck already during my very short stay in Russia with the low value of things in this country from want (in my opinion) of suitable markets for their disposal. But could the same commodities be taken to India I feel persuaded that from 100 to 300 per cent over the prices they fetch here would be realized for them out there. The markets of Central Asia are not to be compared with that of India.

I guarantee an easy conquest of India. For besides the promised assistance of the Princes of India with their armies, it is in my power to raise the entire Punjab in revolt and cause the inhabitants to attack in their rear, the British forces sent to oppose Imperial Army.

My loyal subjects would also destroy all railway, telegraphic, and other communication and blow up bridges and cut off all supplies while the

Princes revolting would harass the British troops left behind as a reserve. England is only strong at sea but she has no army. She has only some 100,000 Europeans and about the same number of native soldiers in her service in India. Out of the latter some 45,000 men are Punjabees and who are the best soldiers that England possesses in India. All these are loyal to me and will come over at once to the side of Russia (provided that I be permitted to accompany the Imperial Army of invasion) should they be sent to confront the Russian troops, or they will attack the opposing British forces in their rear, should these Sikhs be left behind.

Under these circumstances no British army could hold its own, however powerful it might be (which it is not), being attacked both in front and behind.

It may not, perhaps, be out of place with due modesty to state here why I have some power over my countrymen and can render such invaluable services to the Imperial Government in the way described above. In the first place I am the acknowledged head and sovereign of some 20,000,000 (of which about 8,000,000 are Sikhs) people of entire Punjab, a country inhabited by the most warlike races of India and are all loyal to me. Secondly the last teacher of the Sikhs prophesied somewhere about 1725 regarding myself and has mentioned me by name in his Prophecy. He has besides other matters predicted also that a man bearing my name would after becoming deposed [dispossessed] of all he had inherited and after residing alone in a foreign country for a long time, return and with aid of a European power free the Sikhs from the cruel bondage that they would be then suffering under for their sins.

Therefore, a great deal can be made out of the Prophecy if properly worked, as the predicted time of its fulfilment is near at hand and the people of the country are extremely ignorant as already stated.

At this moment the whole of India is with me and as soon as the People of Hindoostan are assured of my arrival in Russia their joy will know no bounds at their coming deliverance. With all humility I would endeavour to dissuade the Imperial Government from regarding complications in the South East Europe for the present, because many powers are united to oppose the realization of its wishes in that quarter but to turn its entire attention upon the conquest of India and upon crushing England. For by wrenching India out of the hands of England, the Imperial Government will acquire a source of *Great Wealth*, whereas I greatly doubt that so much will be gained by taking Constantinople.

Further more, if, I may be permitted, I would venture to state that, should the invasion of India be entertained in the Imperial councils, an army not less than 200,000 men and 2000 cannons be provided for that purpose. Not that this force is at all necessary for the conquest of India

but to impress wavering Princes and people of that country of the greatness of the resources of Russia and thus half the battle would be gained.

In having thus freely expressed my views, I pray that I may not be considered disrespectful towards the Imperial Government but as a loyal subject of the Emperor (which I already consider myself to be, though I have not received the right of naturalization), I feel it my duty to say what I have to say without reserve.

The Imperial Government, whether it thinks proper to invade India or not or to employ me or not, can please itself in the matter for it is no concern of mine.

I have been deputed simply to make an appeal on behalf of 250,000,000 of countrymen for deliverance from the cruel yoke of the British Rule and having done so my duty is ended and, if graciously permitted by the Emperor to enjoy both liberty and safety in his Majesty's dominions, I shall occupy myself in sport leaving the Almighty to bring about the deliverance of my unfortunate people in His own good time.

Should the Imperial Government, however, think proper to turn its attention towards the conquest of India and desire my services for that purpose, I would suggest that 2 or 3 gentlemen speaking English well should be appointed both to further discuss the matter with me and to enquire into the truth of the assertions I have made with regard to India.

May 10, 1887.

Duleep Singh
Maharaja

429. FROM SIR R.B.D. MORIER, HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR
AT ST. PETERSBURG TO MARQUIS OF SALISBURY,
K.G., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. 164,

ST. PETERSBURG,
10TH MAY, 1887.

I have the honour to forward herewith the enclosed translation by Mr. Cooke from the "St. Petersburg Vedomosti."

The *Standard* is witted with its interest in the strict observance of the Russian passport system and the Maharaja Dalip Singh is considered to have acted quite naturally in "seeking consolation from Russian hospitality for vexations caused to him by Russia's Asiatic neighbour."

PS. While on the subject of Dalip Singh, I should mention that my reports from Moscow describe him as driving publicly in his native dress about the town, where his turban, his jewels, and his orders, amongst them being the Star of India, have produced a great sensation. His attendant, the man calling himself Aroor Singh, informed Mr. Weber that their

stay in Moscow would depend on the state of affairs in Asia, and the probabilities of a Russian advance upon Herat.

— — — — —
(Translation)

“ST. PETERSBURGSKIA VIEDMOSTI”

DATED THE 21ST APRIL (MAY 3RD) 1887.

Today we find out that the *Standard* has certain pretensions against Russia on account of the stay in St. Petersburg and Moscow of the Indian Maharaja Dalip Singh, who has the misfortune to be considered an enemy of Her Majesty, the Indian Queen. The pretensions of the London semi-official organ are founded on the fact that the Indian Prince and his friend Patrick Casey entered Russia without hinderance and lived in Petersburg and Moscow without being provided with regular passports, but with a special permit received through the intercession of M. de Giers. We see nothing surprising in the fact that the Maharaja maltreated in every way by the English and deprived by them of his rights and properties, should seek consolation from Russian hospitality, for the vexations caused him by our Asiatic neighbour. But this solicited of England, the concealer from time immemorial of all Russian political criminals, that nobody should live in the Russian confines without having a passport, seems to us too touching and we consider it our duty to calm our British friends and zealots by explaining to them that it is not the first time that admission has been granted by special permission, and that it does not represent a special favour to the unfortunate Indian prince; for example, that it is not long ago that an Abyssinian boy and girl were admitted into Russia, in the same manner, they having been brought over by the Cossack Ashinor also without passports on account of the absence of the passport system in the realms of the Negus.

St. Petersburg,
the 6th May, 1887.

430. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, SOVEREIGN OF
THE PUNJAB TO VICTOR DULEEP SINGH

NO. 53,

MESSRS. ZENKER & CO., MOSCOW,
21ST MAY, 1887.

I am delighted to see your handwriting but what a fool you are, my son, to write such letter. For I have repeatedly told that I have repudiated the treaty of the annexation, therefore, how dare you tell me write and ask for the money said to belong to me at the India Office.

Whether the "Tschar" (Tzar) helps me or not, I am quite independent of everybody, and perfectly happy and mean shortly to overthrow the British rule in India to which end I have dedicated the rest of my life. But take my advice, my child, and do not believe anything the newspapers write either in my favour or against me.

You will soon be of age and will consequently be able to settle your debts. Yet the Trustees sell the picture of the jewels if they please, for I cannot be bothered afresh with matters connected with England. All that is over as a dream and I have awoken to new life and the destruction of the British power.

But if you wish to retain my affection for you, childie, do not mention again to me such matter, nor ask me to humble myself to my bitterest enemy. Look upon me as dead. But I will never swerve from my purpose or I would not be the son of the Lion of the Punjab whose name I dare not disgrace.

You will see, my childie, by and by. Let the English brag and boast; they will cease their high talk. They are utterly undone, believe me, my son.

PS. I could see you starve and even would take your life to put an end to your misery, but will never return to England. I am entirely changed since you last saw me. I will freely shed my blood for the Emperor of Russia.

431. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, CARE OF MESSRS.
ZENKER & CO., MOSCOW, RUSSIA, TO VICTOR
DULEEP SINGH

WITHOUT DATE, RECEIVED IN ENGLAND,
26TH MAY, 1887.

As I am going to make Moscow my headquarters for some time, and not return to Petersburg, my address will be as above, and I shall be glad to receive a line from you saying that you are quite well.

I cannot tell you how happy I am to find myself in Russia. There is plenty of grouse shooting and fine salmon fishing in the north of Russia, and if not better employed I mean to indulge myself in some first rate sport. The woodcock shouting on the coast of Black sea is very good and is so snipe and wild fowl shooting in the Crimea.

So you (see ?), my dear old man, I have reached the sportsman paradise. Besides money from India, in spite of the stupid British Government's forbidding, will flow to me like water now that I am in Russia. To once reach Russia was all that was necessary, and my loyal

subjects required me to break off all relations with the British, and give them as a proof of my sincerity by entering the dominions of the Tsar before they would undertake to send me large sums of money.

I can imagine the rage that the India officials will be in at my success, though they will pretend to suppress me altogether, but which they will find impossible to do nevertheless. Yes ! they have made a blunder the cost of which will be enormous to the British nation, though it may bring no good to me. But revenge for all the insults I have suffered will quite compensate me for all the inconvenience that I have to undergo.

Write me a line, childie, about your health, though do not in it, or otherwise, mix yourself up in my affairs.

Send the two knives you and Fred have made for me to Purdey to pack up with my other things.

Send my love to Fred and blessing of the Guru of the Sikhs and with the same to yourself, my childie.

P.S. The joy of your cousin will know no bounds now ! I telegraphed my arrival to them, so all India will know.

432. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
27TH MAY, 1887.

You will remember writing demi-officially from Dehra to Mr. Lyall on the 18th April, 1887 and enclosing a copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal about a Kuka called "Banarsi Babu" who was said to be daily preaching sedition in the Sikh quarter of Calcutta.

To this telegram His Honour the Lieutenant Governor replied the following day that the release was unconditional, but that if he was supposed to be taking considerable funds to Pondicherry, he might be arrested ; otherwise Mr. Lyall thought he might do less harm there than elsewhere.

In the demi-official letter of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, it was stated that "Banarsi Babu" returned to Punjab in 1886, and was arrested for collecting arms and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

We endeavoured on this clue to obtain further information respecting this individual and finally discovered that his real name was Banarsi Dass Khatri, that he was a resident of Allahabad, that he was well known in all the large towns of Upper India and that it was at Mirut and not in the Punjab that he was convicted in March 1886.

I now enclose, for your information, a copy of report sent by the

Magistrate of Mirut to MacCracken which gives all that they know thereabout this man.

A

NO. 52.

Copy of a Report, dated, Mirut, the 17th May 1887.

On 18th March, 1886, Baldeo Sahai, Assistant Surgeon, attached to the Mirut City Dispensary, reported at the Police Station that Benarasi Dass fakir, aided by three of his disciples, had thrown down a portion of the Dispensary boundary, and they were armed with swords and pistols and were threatening to kill all who approached. The Police went promptly to the spot and disarmed and arrested the Fakir and his followers. Benarasi Das was sentenced to one year's imprisonment under Section 332, Indian Penal Code, and to a fine of Rs. 100, and in default of payment to a further term of 3 months. His followers were sentenced to various short terms under Sections 446 and 332, Indian Penal Code. This man Benarasi Das is said to be a resident of Allahabad. He is said to be a man of great influence with respectable Hindus who look upon him as a person of great sanctity. Benarasi Das has been to England, but I cannot say whether it was in the capacity of a Guru to Maharaja Dalip Singh. He travels constantly and has temples or *maths* in most cities or towns of the North Western Provinces and the Punjab. His *Math* in Mirut adjoined the City dispensary and during his absence which was of some duration, a new boundary wall was built by the Civil Surgeon. There was some litigation before the Fakir's return by the temple people which did not result in their favour. On Banarasi Das's return it is said he consulted with some Hindu *Raises* of the town, and it is believed that it was at their instigation he had resort to arms. The sword and pistol were supposed to have been supplied by the said *Raises*; but during the enquiry nothing was proved against them. Minute investigation into this point was not considered advisable at the time.

Benarasi Dass is not a native of the Punjab, although he may be a Sikh by religion. As in Calcutta, all respectable people are known as Babus, this man probably has assumed the title. In the North-Western Provinces he is known as plain Benarasi Das. Whilst in jail he feigned madness, which was disproved by the evidence of the Civil Surgeon. He was released from imprisonment at the Jubilee on 16th February last, and has not been heard of in Mirut.

It is said that Benarasi Das and his brother were sent up for trial at Allahabad for uttering false coin. The brother was convicted but Benarasi Das escaped punishment.

433. FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, TO VICEROY,
SIMLA

(Secret and Confidential)

NO. 45.

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH MAY, 1887.

Have you full information as to the action of Thakur Singh and French subsidy to him ? Also as to Maharaja of Kashmir and his money assistance to Dalip Singh ? I should like special report as to the feeling of Sikh population and army.

434. FROM VICEROY, SIMLA, TO SECRETARY OF STATE,
LONDON

NO. 46.

TELEGRAM NO. 12 N.I. DATED 31ST MAY, 1887.

Your telegram 28th, Dalip Singh. We have not yet verified report of French subsidy to Thakur Singh, but are doing so. He was lately said to have contemplated going to Europe, but gave up project fearing arrest at Colombo. We are watching him. Report of assistance given by Kashmir to Dalip Singh is difficult to test. No documentary proof can be expected. We are trying to clear up point.

II

435. FROM A.P. MacDONNEL, SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, TO THE SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB

(Home Public 1887)*

The report following the usual practice, gives no information as to the tone of the vernacular papers published in the Punjab, as this information is supplied in the annual memoranda in the Vernacular Press of Upper India prepared in the North Western Provinces and Oudh Secretariat. It seems, however, to the Governor-General in Council that it would be advantageous that the annual report on the tone of vernacular newspapers in the Punjab should be prepared in the local secretariat, as the local government is obviously most competent to gauge the effect of the Native press on the people of the province. To enable the local Government to prepare the report, it seems unnecessary to alter the present arrangement whereby the weekly reports are published at Allahabad by the Government Reporter on the Vernacular Press of Upper India. Such

* June 1887 Pro. I, No. 24.

reports supplemented by the local knowledge regarding the Native Press, which the Punjab Government possesses, would enable the latter Government to submit to the Government of India the information which is now wanting. Before, however, coming to a final decision in the matter, His Excellency in Council would be glad to be favoured, confidentially, with the views of His Honour on the subject.

436. THE TRIBUNE dated June 8, 1887, page 6, Cols. 2 & 3.

Maharaja Dalip Singh's design in Russia, Germany, Afghanistan and Central Asia, to embarrass the English

Private letters from Maharaja Dhulip Singh reached Paris the week the mail left, giving instructive details concerning his doing in Russia. According to the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, the Maharaja has gone to Russia for the purpose of organising a conference of all the enemies of England. The correspondent says :—

“This will consist in an endeavour to rally all the disaffected Indians and Canadians with a sprinkling of Irish volunteers. An effort will then be made to stir up an insurrection on the Afghan frontier so as to bring the active interference of Russia. The name of Alfred Aylward (who was connected with the Boers) is again pronounced as of the leaders of this movement. Of course, the question remains to be decided how far Russia will meet this new propaganda against England. My own information leads me to suppose that the journey of Dhulip Singh has not been so fruitless as certain English papers would lead us to believe. He is in constant communication not only with M. Katkoff but with M. de Giers. His interview with Czar will probably take place immediately, and he is evidently a *Persona grata* in official circles in Russia. The perplexed story of Dhulip Singh's passport I have discovered today from Mr. Patrick Casey himself. After some hesitation Mr. Casey told me that he had obtained a passport from the British Embassy here. He had much difficulty in obtaining it, but eventually succeeded. He then handed it to the Maharaja, who at once proceeded to Berlin. Mr. Casey stoutly maintains that his friend the Maharaja was watched, and that the satchel containing his passports and 30,000 Fr. was abstracted by British detectives. I give this story for what it is worth. What I particularly imply, however, is that the journey of Dhulip Singh is no wild goose chase and that he is undoubtedly received with favour in Russia. From another source I learn that the Maharaja is accompanied by Prince Suchet Singh whose quarrels with the British Government are well known and who not long ago was going about Paris asking pecuniary aid from charitable associations. These facts are at least instructive and I have reasons to know that one of their first

effects will be to prevent the proposed visit of the Duke of Edenburg to Czar.

It was announced some time ago that when the Maharaja Dhulip Singh was, under the name of Patrick Casey, passing through Berlin on his way to St. Petersburg, his bag containing Pounds 500 in notes, 498 sovereigns and 3000 Frs. was stolen. It is reported from Pesth that the thief has been arrested. He is named Wilhelp Belvis and is known among his companions and to the police at Pesth, where usually reside the international pickpockets.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Standard* says : "Such mystry as remained about Patrick Casey and his friends has been cleared up. The former is in fact Dhulip Singh, and the latter, a countryman of his. There is reason to believe that the whole matter will be brought to the cognisance of the Emperor.

The Paris correspondent of the *Standard* gives the following information relative of Maharaja Dhulip Singh's visit to Russia.

"The Maharaja started from Paris for Russia travelling under the name of Mr. Patrick Casey, whose passport he used. At the station of Berlin, he was robbed of his travelling handbag containing that document as well as 30,000 Frs. The Maharaja naturally applied to the German police authorities with the hope of regaining possession of his property and gave his name as Mr. Patrick Casey. His application to the Russian police remaining without result, Dhulip Singh wrote to most influential people at Moscow, explaining the circumstances, and by their influence soon received the assurance that he could come to Russia and travel there without a passport which was in his favour. The person who is travelling with Dhulip Singh is a Hindu who is half valet, half secretary and who has gone under various aliases, one of which is Yan Megiandy. He is a British subject and succeeded in getting his passport at the English Embassy where Mr. Patrick Casey, though in Paris at the present moment, has not very long returned from a journey from Russia, where he, so to say, prepared the way for Maharaja Dhulip Singh. He visited M. Katkoff and many other personages, and it may be said that it is owing to the preparatory work done by Mr. Patrick Casey that the Maharaja was able to first enter Russia, without a passport and then to have access at once to the personages he has interviewed. Whether Dhulip Singh would be successful in his designs or whether he will fail, may be a question; but I have the very best authority for saying that he went to Russia with the object of seeking permission of the Russian authorities to be allowed to proceed through Central Asia to the Afghan frontier. He believed he will there have sufficient influence to raise in the Amir's dominions most serious trouble for the English, who, he contends, have depri-

ved him of a very large portion of his legal inheritance. Before going to Russia, the Maharaja was for some months constantly in Paris where he lived in the strictest incognito. He then formed a sort of alliance with the advance Irish revolutionary party that willingly accepted his proffered aid. The Irish revolutionists aim at weakening England all over the world and believe that Dhulip Singh can be of use to them by embarrassing England in Afghanistan and India. Dhulip Singh has, I am assured, from the same quarter, recently issued several secret circulars to the disaffected Indian Sikhs recommending them in strong terms to make common cause with Russia. Acting on Maharaja's suggestion, several Irish revolutionists are, I am informed, about to leave for the Russo-Afghan frontier. As for Mr. Patrick Casey's further movements, he is very reticent about it.

437. FROM FREDERICK ROBERTS TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.,
FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA*

SIMLA,
9TH JUNE, 1887.

My dear Durand,

The Adjutant General was addressed by the Military Department a few days ago upon the feeling of the Punjab troops with regard to Dhulip Singh.

On this I directed that each Commanding Officer should be written separately and privately. The replies should be received soon, and will be communicated to the Military Department. I spoke to several old Sikh acquaintances on the subject when I was in the Punjab in March and April; they admitted that the presence of Dhulip Singh with an army on our North-West Frontier would probably cause a certain amount of excitement in the Punjab, and, perhaps, in the Sikh regiments; but they did not think it would be serious, certainly not so long as we were in strength and successful in the front.

This is quite my idea. Sikh corps would, under such circumstances, have to be watched very carefully, but I do not think they would fail us any more than the Pathan regiments did in Afghanistan, where we had scarcely a desertion, not even when we were shut up in Sherpur.

Do not trouble to send Henderson. I have nothing more at present to communicate on this subject.

Yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) Fred Roberts.

* From the Collection of Lady Roberts—microfilm preserved in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

438. SUMMARY OF CORRESPONDENCE

In the case of Maharaja Dalip Singh bearing on the following points:

Section I—Popular feeling about Dalip Singh's expected arrival in India.

Section II—Opinions of various officers regarding sympathy with Dalip Singh on the part of Sikh soldiers.

Section III—Proceedings in connection with the residence at Pondicherry of Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia.

Section IV—Disloyal proceedings of Dalip Singh previous to his detention at Aden.

Section V—Proceedings of Dalip Singh after his departure from Aden.

Prepared by P.D. Henderson, 13th June 1887

Printed at the Foreign Department Press, Simla, 1887

Section I

Popular feeling about Dalip Singh's expected arrival in India

The idea of a visit to India seems to have first taken shape in the Maharaja's mind in 1882; and the earliest indication of any feeling being aroused in India on the subject was in the end of 1883, when a letter was circulated in the Punjab in connection with Surendra Nath Banerjee's case in which the words "Maharaja Dalip Singh" were used. Sir Charles Aitchison, while considering the paper of no great importance, thought it indicated the use that might be made of Maharaja's name.

In August 1885, Sir Charles Aitchison sent an extract of letter from a Missionary at Batala, showing that Maharaja Dalip Singh had been circulating widely in the Punjab Major Evans Bell's book *The Annexation of the Punjab* and *The Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Government*.

Also in August 1885, on the understanding that the ceremony was a purely religious one and of a simple character, the Lieutenant-Governor permitted the prohibit or family priest of the Maharaja, who had visited England in 1883, to offer on the part of His Highness *Karahi parshad* (sweet meats) at the Golden Temple at Amritsar, at the tomb of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore, and at the tomb of Sardar Mahan Singh at Gujranwala. The following prayer is reported to have been offered up by the priests at the Golden Temple and Akal Bunga :—

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm preserved in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

"May the Maharaja Dalip Singh, who has sent presents, money, and *Karah parashad* enjoy good health and *Sikhi-dan* (blessings of the Sikh faith)."

FROM SECRETARY, PUNJAB GOVT., TO FOREIGN
(Demi-Official)

DATED 6TH OCTOBER, 1885.

About the same time, one Jamyat Rai, a pensioner of the Maharaja, whose pension had not been paid for some time, received a cheque for the arrears of his pension with a letter from Dalip Singh in which he said that Jamyat Rai would be glad to learn that he had paid certain sums to his father's samadhi, as also to his mother's, and so was again a *pukka* Sikh. He concluded by remarking that he was now a poor man and was going to live quietly in Delhi.

The English newspapers having in September and October 1885 announced the approaching departure of Dalip Singh from England, the Punjab Government on the 6th October asked for information on the subject, and instanced some reports which showed that the Maharaja's projected visit to India was engaging a good deal of attention in the province. There were :

That he would be made ruler of the Punjab and sent against the Russians (from Ludhiana),

That with the aid of Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, he would assist Government to obtain Sikh recruits (from Gurdaspur),

That he would be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh Army (from Amritsar),

That the Punjab would be restored to him (from Delhi),

That he will settle in Delhi and live as a Sikh, and that land is being acquired there for him (from Lahore),

That he will settle in Kashmir.

The vernacular papers too had begun to discuss the Maharaja's return to India, and congratulate Sardar Thakur Singh on his success in prevailing upon His Highness to embrace the religion of his forefathers.

Later, on the 12th December 1885, the Punjab Government reported demi-officially as follows :

"Quite recently it was reported that the Maharaja's return and restoration to power were freely spoken of by the people attending the great Diwali fair at Amritsar in the beginning of November last, and his expected arrival in Delhi is said to be exciting much interest there. The Kukas, too, are said to look forward to Dalip Singh's coming with pleasure, as it has been spread abroad by certain of them that this would be followed

by the release and return of their exiled Guru Ram Singh. As Ram Singh is now dead, their hopes in this behalf will be disappointed”.

After the publication by Dalip Singh of his address to the Sikhs, the Foreign Secretary on the 19th April, 1886, informed the Punjab Government that it was the intention of the Government of India to stop the Maharaja and party at Aden. The demi-official letter continued : “This will, it is hoped, do something to remove the chance of local excitement; but at the same time the Viceroy trusts that the measures which you may have adopted to guard against any dangcous feeling among the Sikhs will not be relaxed.”

In reply to the above Mr. Tupper wrote on the 28th idem :—“Upon receipt of your telegram announcing the determination of the Government of India to stop the Maharaja at Aden, a demi-official letter was addressed to the four Cis-Indus Commissioners asking them carefully to watch all communications, and at the same time the police were informed of the names of the different persons who have been in communication with the Maharaja, and were instructed to watch for further communications between them and the Maharaja.

“The Lieutenant-Governor has no reason to think that the rumours of the Maharaja’s coming or the frustration of his plan of visiting India will cause any serious excitement among the Sikhs of the Punjab. Such rumours are likely to be turned to account by a few ill-disposed persons, and the Native press will make the most of them, but it is not likely there will be any wide-spread feeling on the subject. You will be immediately informed if we hear of any further proclamations or of any communications between Dalip Singh and the persons with whom he is in correspondence.”

In continuation of the foregoing, the Secretary, Punjab Government, wrote on the 15th May 1886 :—“The letter of the Maharaja Dalip Singh bearing the date 25th March, to which reference has been made in previous letters has been reproduced in most of the vernacular newspapers. Printed copies were received direct from England by the editors of some of the papers. That received by the Editor of the *Koh-i-noor*, which I mentioned in my last letter, is word for word the same as one published in the *Civil and Military Gazettee*. No other address to the Sikhs by Dalip Singh has been published in the papers, nor has any such been reported to be in circulation. There is a rumour which emanated from a quondam Police Officer at Multan that a seditious notice is being circulated in native regiments, but no confirmation has been obtained to this, and the authority for rumour is not trustworthy.

“The editors of vernacular papers generally express disapproval of Dalip Singh’s detention at Aden, and represent him as badly used, but

the articles are not extravagant, and in no case is the Maharaja's claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab supported.

"In connection with the Kukas' belief that Ram Singh's spirit has entered into Dalip Singh, it is worthy of note that four Kukas started for Bombay to meet Dalip Singh.

The Foreign Secretary on the 18th May, 1886, sent to Punjab demi-officially an office precis showing the position of the Maharaja's case in order to elicit an expression of opinion as to the policy that should be pursued in dealing with His Highness in future and the letter concluded : "Any information which you can give me regarding the effect produced in the Punjab by the recent proceedings of Dalip Singh and his detention at Aden would be valuable."

To this Mr. Mackworth Young replied on the 21st May, "You will have got my letter of the 15th instant, giving you all the information which we have obtained up-to-date regarding the movements of those who appeared interested in the Maharaja. The Native Press is bestowing much less interest upon him, and the detention of Maharaja at Aden has produced less effect than might have been anticipated. So long there is a considerable distance between India and the Maharaja, there is not much fear of any keen interest being manifested in his proceedings, nor in his treatment by the British Government; but his presence anywhere near the Punjab could not but produce a disquieting influence, the tendency of which would be to increase according to the length of time that his affairs occupy public attention."

According to Sikh religion no spiritual leader can be recognised as Guru subsequent to the death of Guru Gobind Singh.

Some time in 1885, one Baba Nihal Singh, a Thanadar in the Kalsia State, published a book called the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa*, in which Ram Singh, the late Kuka leader was referred to as Guru Ram Singh and mention was made of the restoration of the throne of Lahore to Dalip Singh as a grant from the Empress of India. In February 1886 a notice was issued under the signature of Gurmukh Singh, Chief Secretary of the Khalsa Dewan (the Sikh National Association which includes all the local Singh Sabhas), stating that author having been called upon for an explanation for the expressions against the Government and of statements calculated to bring the Khalsa faith into disrepute, had failed to give a satisfactory answer, and that the case would be placed before the Khalsa Dewan, and in April 1886 a notice was issued under the same signature declaring the book to be 'unauthorized' on behalf of 15 Sabhas and the author to be excluded from the Singh Sabhas. A letter from the Punjab Secretary, dated the 24th May, 1886, reporting this occurrence, says, "the issue of the present notice excluding Bawa Nihal

Singh from the Singh Sabhas is noteworthy, in as much as the objections taken to the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* are professedly on account of its disloyalty to the Government. Some doubt, however, exists as to whether Bhai Gurmukh Singh, the Secretary of the Khalsa Dewan, has not circulated it on his own authority since it is known that dissensions have lately arisen in the society."

When Maharaja Dalip Singh at Aden expressed in May 1886 an intention of being baptized into Sikh faith, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was asked by telegram dated the 14th May, what would be effect of consent or refusal in the Punjab. He replied on the same date—"Refusal would be misunderstood and might cause irritation as interference with freedom of religious convictions; it would also magnify his importance. So long as he does not return to India or Punjab, consent will do little if any harm. A few people might make capital out of conversion, but most of the intelligent and loyal Sikhs understand situation, and are comparatively indifferent—intended baptism long rumoured.

It may be noted here that of the 18 persons who went to Bombay with the idea of meeting Dalip Singh, there were, with the exception of Sardar Thakur Singh and his sons, none of any influence and position. Nor does it appear from the records that anything is known of communications passing between the Maharaja and any persons of influence in the Punjab or elsewhere. Such letters as have come to light are addressed to persons of a humble position. The Maharaja was reported by the Commissioner of Police at Bombay to have addressed a letter from Suez to Maharaja of Patiala, but the Darbar denied having received any communication from Dalip Singh, and Mr. Young writes (6th June 1886): "Sir Charles Aitchison thinks it quite impossible that the Council of Regency should in such a matter be concealing the fact". As the letter in question was not stopped, no particulars could be given and the matter was allowed to drop.

Since the middle of 1886 no special reports appear to have been received from the Punjab Government regarding the state of popular feeling towards Dalip Singh, but the weekly abstracts of Police Intelligence show that the feeling of the people is being carefully watched. An abstract of all such intelligence as has been received by the Punjab Government is being prepared by the Special Branch of the Police, and will be submitted shortly to the Foreign Department.

The importance of this matter has been kept in view by the Government of India, who in their letter to the Punjab Government No. 5711, dated the 8th February, 1887, when forwarding for information some further correspondence relating to Maharaja's proceedings, again impressed

upon the Punjab Government the need of vigilance. The letter ran : "The Governor General in Council requests that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor will take measures to ascertain by means of special and private enquiries the feelings with which the native army and the native states in the Punjab regard His Highness's aspirations.

"It is important to learn whether Maharaja is in receipt of pecuniary assistance from India. All possible information on the subject should be carefully collected and a vigilant watch kept upon the proceedings of all persons known to be favourable to his cause."

A special Agent, a Muhamadan, was sent into the Punjab at the beginning of the present year to enquire about the feelings of the people in regard to the Dalip Singh. In his report dated 9th April, he writes—

"According to the doctrines of Sikhism, a king cannot commit sin; hence since the date of Dalip Singh's baptism he is looked upon as true Sikh by every Sikh in the Punjab, and, according to the prophecies of Guru Gobind Singh, they look upon him as their future leader." He alludes to the agitation supposed to have been carried by Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, and continues—"The result of all this is that the Sikhs of Manjah are now with Dalip Singh and openly say they are prepared to sacrifice their lives for his cause. But fortunately this evil is only confined to Manjah. The Cis-Satluj Sikhs are still free from it."

Regarding the Kukas, the agent writes : "The Kukas too have thrown in their lot with Dalip Singh. They openly say that the prophecy about the appearance of a just and great king from the West, who will emancipate them from the tyranny of the English, will be fulfilled through Dalip Singh, under whom they will be all powerful and will suppress kine killing in India. Besides this they believe that Ram Singh has miraculously gone over to Russia from the prison at Mergui and will lead Russia and Dalip Singh's advance on India. As regards Ram Singh's having died a natural death, they say it is a story concocted by the British Government. They are neither on the increase nor on the decrease, but are in a state of activity, ready to rise up on the slightest sign of trouble to the British Government.

"The Sikhs are under the impression that they are a part of the machinery of the Government of India, and without their assistance the British cannot rule India." He concludes, "The Muhamedans of the Punjab have no sympathy whatever with the Sikhs and their would-be leader. This state of things is due to Dasehra and Mohurram riots and the introduction of local-self-government. It has created bad blood among them, and if they see anything wrong with the Hindus or the Sikhs, they will be the first who will get them into trouble by giving information to the Government.

With reference to the above expression of opinion, it may be noted that the agent is a Punjabi Musalman himself, and that there is no statement of facts on which his conclusions are based. It is curious that the Punjab Government have not been able to trace the prophecies on which he lays so much stress. I understand from Mr. McCracken that they are not to be found, as the agent states, in the translation of the *Sakhis* published by Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur.

Against the conclusions of this agent may be placed the opinion of Dewan Gobind Sahai, late Prime Minister for a short time of Kashmir, with whom Colonel Henderson had quite recently an opportunity of discussing the question of the influence of Dalip Singh's name in the Punjab. This gentleman has been residing for sometime in his estates in the Gujranwala district, in which were the hereditary possessions of Ranjit Singh's family, so that if Ranjit Singh has any adherents, it would probably be in that part of the country. The Dewan has not heard of any prophecies being in circulation among the Sikhs in regard to Dalip Singh and does not believe that his name is associated with any religious sentiment in their minds. There is, he says, a great deal of talk about Dalip Singh, but this rises entirely in his opinion from the frequent mention of him in the vernacular papers and not from any special interest in his person or fortunes. In all the talk about his doings and movements there is, he says, no expression of discontent against the British Government, or of a desire to join Dalip Singh if he should appear. He says that the people in his part of the country at any rate are perfectly contented. The Dewan is in a position to be well informed, and there is no reason to doubt that his opinion is perfectly honest.

Section II

Opinions of various officers regarding sympathy with Dalip Singh on the part of Sikh soldiers

Letter from	On the 3rd February 1887 a Mr Youngson, a
Mr Youngson,	Missionary at Sialkote, wrote to General Sir F.
a Missionary	Norman as follows :—

" Since rumours were afloat some six months ago that Dalip Singh was coming to India, a feeling of disloyalty has been very plainly evinced. It is a notorious fact, although ignored by the Government, that there is no such thing as loyalty to the British Government in the Punjab. Our civil officers are surrounded by their subordinates, and in reality are scarcely in any instance in touch with the people. I believe that were Dalip Singh to appear on the northern border of the Punjab, we should have enough to do.

"Not many months ago, a Sikh Sardar of Sialkote visited me. And this question was put to him. "If Dalip Singh were to approach India by way of Russia, would you go against him? 'No.' And he is a servant of the Government

In the bazaar a few days ago, three Sikh soldiers said to our preachers: When Dalip Singh comes, we shall cut off your heads."

Opinion of General Channer

On the above letter General Channer, 14th Sikhs, recorded an opinion as follows in a demi-official letter to General Dillon, dated, 6th February, 1887, from Rawalpindi.

"I carefully sounded some of my own Sikh native officers, some of whom are promoted from the ranks, and some by direct commissions. I also asked the opinion of the Subedar Major of the 45th Sikhs, and my own Regimental *Granthi* or Sikh priest.

"(5) As regards Dalip Singh, till this was put into the heads of the people by the vernacular papers they never dreamt of him; he could of course be used as a tool to work upon by seditious agencies and the local native papers, who are at the bottom of half the mischief we hear of in India. In Sikh regiments, from what I gather, Dalip Singh has no influence; his name carries no weight: the Sikh say that Dalip Singh is no Sikh, has no land, money or authority. The Patiala, Jind and Nabha Sikhs were (even in the Punjab campaigns) against his father Ranjit and now what would his return give them?

"(6) I think the Sikhs are contended, their land is lightly taxed; much has been done for their soldiers in our service, there are a number of pensioners living in quiet and ease, the new reserves will be highly popular, the land is well irrigated by our canals, and complaints are listened to, and there is security for all.

"(7) Had Dalip Singh's coming been looked forward to, there would not have been that volunteerism for Burma which has just taken place. Nor would Sikhs have shown eagerness to go to England to join the Jubilee Review which they heard had a chance of doing and were most anxious to participate in.

"(8) I think from what I see and hear that if any disaffection exists it is caused by the working of understrappers who in the districts carry out the orders of the civil authorities. The Sikhs know that an Englishman gives them a hearing, and they say they do not always get this from the native authorities who carry out details.

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“(9) Our men who come from the independent states of Patiala, Jind or Nabha feel the difference there of prompt British enquiries and justice, and their many petitions regarding land questions are never listened to in the same way as under our direct rule.

“(10) Finally, I am positive there is nothing to fear from Dalip Singh except that his name can be circulated among seditious bazar folks who have nothing to lose. The mass of agricultural Jat Sikhs are contented, are at peace, and have everything to lose by any chance.”

General Dillon, commanding the Rawalpindi Division, sent Mr. Youngson's letter for opinion to Colonel Wheeler, Commandant of the 18th Lancers, than whom, he says, “no one is more intimately acquainted with native feeling. He is much out in the districts, shooting or looking at horses, and I venture to believe knows what the villagers think and say more than most men, civil or military.” His opinion is said by General Dillon to be especially valuable on the Sikhs of the districts surrounding Rawalpindi and Jhelum. Colonel Wheeler wrote :

“In my opinion Mr. Youngson entertains an unnecessarily alarming view of the feeling of the Punjab with respect to our Government. There are of course certain disaffected and disloyal persons in the Punjab, but as far as my experience goes they are very few and far between. I have now and again conversed with intelligent Sikh gentlemen on the subject of Dalip Singh's return to this country, and contrary to my own expectations was surprised to find that some thought he would be capable of doing a deal of mischief if so inclined, whilst others treated such an idea with contempt.”

Opinion of Colonel Morgan, Assistant Adjutant-General at Rawalpindi did not attach the slightest importance to Mr. Youngson's opinions. He writes : “I think a fair pulse of native feeling and opinion is found in the willingness or otherwise to enlist in the Government service, and although the pay is small recruits come in readily enough.”

Opinion of Colonel Hennessy, 15th Sikhs General Dillon says that Colonel Hennessy is intimately acquainted with the Sikhs, and he adds—“Poor Wilson—or it might have been Murray—when I reached two years ago told me that if I wanted a sound opinion on the native army, Hennessy would give it me.” Colonel Hennessy, in a letter from Nowshera, dated 10th February last, deprecated the encouragement of the Kukas, and he continued :—

“In regard to Missionary statement about disloyalty in the Punjab I cannot agree with him; but that the gravest ‘discontent prevails’, and has

long prevailed, I have not the remotest doubt, and on that point I am positively certain. I know it not only from what I have heard from my own men but from respectable natives of the better classes with whom I am acquainted. It is the law courts that are driving these simple minded people to distraction. They are very good for lawyers of every degree, but are draining the life drops of the unfortunate population. This is a very big question; it is I confess altogether beyond me. It embraces the entire system of the internal Government of the country. The deepest discontent and dissatisfaction is at any rate the result of it. This being the case it is extremely probable that the people would not object to a change of rulers, although I firmly believe they would prefer to be ruled by Englishmen if only the laws were remodelled to suit their own views and ideas.

"In regard to Dalip Singh's influence over the Sikhs he would indeed be a bold man who could say he had no fear of it in his own regiment. I must devoutly trust the subject will not be put to the test in my day. The spirit of the Sikhs is not dead, and they are full of national fire. I should tremble in my shoes were that gentleman to arrive at our borders with the Russians ! The British Government should hold him fast and secure in England in my opinion.

"I quite agree with the Missionary that the Civil officers are not in touch with the people. Whatever information they receive comes to them through the most corrupt hands. They are the creatures of their *Amlah*. The man in the position of this Missionary knows a great deal more of what is going on than the civil governors of the country do, and the Government would be wise not to turn a deaf ear to the warnings of such men. I am very sorry to hear what the three Sikhs soldiers are reported to have said to those preachers. Perhaps, it was said by a way of retort to the gibes of these over-zealous men and was not meant ? The Sikh religion is most tolerant in all precepts. I have never known a single instance in 19 years in my regiment of a Sikh saying anything prejudicial to the feelings of any Muhammadan, and we have always had a good sprinkling of the latter in the regiment. I have every reason to believe that they have a high respect for the Christian religion.

Opinion of General
Dillon

In forwarding to the Commander-in-Chief the letters above summarized or extracted, General Dillon wrote from Rawalpindi on the 8th February: "I enclose the notes that have reached me in reference to my personal or written communication on the subject, and those from Norman, Channer's note, and Colonel Cook's verbal statement are alike. Poor Nutta Singh*, Raja Harnam Singh and others to whom I spoke of

* Late native ADC to the Viceroy,

Dalip Singh some eighteen months since, were decided that he had no influence, and such then appeared to be the opinion of others to whom I spoke. I met one, however, and his name I cannot recall, who said that were the Sikh priests to take up Dalip Singh's cause, they might do harm."

In a further letter of the 11th February to the Commander-in-Chief, General Dillon wrote :

"All with whom I have conversed from time to time have held that the disaffected are those in towns and bazzars, and that in time the native press may prove very prejudicial to our native soldiery. Wheeler spoke of this and of the surprise of our native officers that we should tolerate sedition."

"Wheeler described the general prosperity of the people and their contentment, they were Muhammadans, I think, at the protection which our rule had given them. But they spoke of their misery caused by the Settlement officer's visits, and their following chiefly, who had them cut off sheep, goats and fowl. They said if you want to increase the settlement, tell us the amount and we will gladly arrange it rather than be ruined by the Settlement officers' following.

...

"One of the well known Punjabi natives described to be a friend of mine, said : 'you are ruining us by education. You take the sons of the menial races and having educated them you put them over their own superiors. They cannot ride or shoot or command men. Why do you not educate them and place them in their proper sphere. The menial race is not fit to rule and know it'."

Opinion of His
Excellency the
Commander-in-
Chief

Writing from Calcutta on the 12th February last, Sir F. Roberts, in forwarding the above opinions for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, said : "I do not believe that there is any general dissatisfaction in the Punjab, but I have always thought that the return, or even threatened return, of Dalip Singh to India would raise hopes of a return to power amongst certain sections of the Sikhs, and that his presence with a Russian force in Afghanistan may cause trouble with our Sikh soldiers. During my visit to the Punjab in March and April, I shall see several old Sikhs of my acquaintance, some of whom would, I think, tell me if there were any excitement on account of Dalip Singh.

Opinion of Sir Charles
Aitchison

The above correspondence having been referred to Sir C. Aitchison, he recorded the following note, dated the 24th February, 1887 :—
"So far as matters have yet gone I do not think the intrigues of Maharaja

Dalip Singh have produced any results that need cause anxiety. What might happen if he were to appear on our frontier with a Russian army is a matter of pure speculation, though we may assume it would put the loyalty of many to a very severe strain. There can be no doubt, however, that Dalip Singh is deeply intriguing and great vigilance is necessary. Orders will be issued which will have the effect of making it very difficult for him to do anything dangerous without Government being forewarned. But I do not think it advisable that every floating rumour should be reported to the Government of India and taken notice of. If we were to do this, we should soon have enough on our hands and only intensify mischief. Only such reports as have been ascertained to rest on real foundation of fact or to have a dangerous or important meaning need in my judgement to be reported to the Supreme Government.

"Mr. Youngson's letter was shown to me some time ago by the Commissioner of Rawalpindi, but I did not attach much importance to it; partly because the particular matters mentioned in it seemed to be nothing more than the talk one meets at any time, irrespective altogether of Dalip Singh or of any intrigues; and partly because the information I obtained from personal conversation with many loyal natives likely to be well informed led me to believe that Mr. Youngson's alarm had no foundation to justify it."

Touching next on a slight Kuka scare in the Sialkote district and the question of Sardar Thakur Singh and his intrigues, Sir Charles Aitchison concluded :

"I would deprecate any measures calculated to show either alarm or anxiety on the part of Government. They will only do mischief. For the present at least we must be vigilant—very vigilant—but that is all. If (as I hear from England the Maharaja expects) the Maharaja should receive an invitation to go to Merv, it would be time to make representations to the Russian Government."

Further opinion
of His Excellency
the Commander-
in-Chief

Again on the 9th June, Sir Frederick Roberts wrote demi-officially to the Foreign Secretary with reference to Secretary of State's telegram of the 28th May calling for a special report on the feelings of the Sikh population and army : "The Adjutant General was addressed by the Military Department a few days ago on the feeling of the Punjab troops with regard to Dalip Singh. On this I directed that each commanding officer should be addressed separately and privately. The replies should be received soon, and will be communicated to the Military Department. I spoke to the several old Sikh acquaintances on the subject when I was in the Punjab in March and April. They admitted that presence of Dalip Singh, with any

army on our north-west frontier, would probably cause a certain amount of excitement in the Punjab, and, perhaps, in the Sikh regiments, but they did not think it would be serious; certainly not so long as we were in strength and successful in the front. This is quite my idea. Sikh corps would, under such circumstances, have to be watched very carefully, but I do not think they would fail us any more than the Pathan regiments did in Afghanistan, where we had scarcely a desertion, not even when we were shut up at Sherpur."

Section III

Proceedings in connection with the residence in Pondicherry of Sardar
Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia

In reply to a telegraphic inquiry from the Foreign Department, the Punjab Government on the 8th January last reported that Sardar Thakur Singh was understood to be at Pondicherry. His son, Gurbachan Singh, a statutory civilian employed in the Punjab, was also there, and had been ordered to return on penalty of forfeiting his appointment, having overstayed leave.

On the 11th January the Foreign Department telegraphed to Madras that Sardar was believed to be at Pondicherry, and the following instructions were given: "Please have his movements and communications quietly watched as far as you can and reported here. It is probable that he had gone into French territory for facility of communication with Dalip Singh."

The Madras Government wired on the 24th January that the Consular Agent believed the Sardar's object in residing at Pondicherry to be as above stated. It was added that he received and sent correspondence by French mail steamer, and that the French Governor was said to have referred for instructions about him. On the 1st February the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government wrote to Foreign: "The Consular Agent reports that Mons. Manes, the Governor of French India, has yet done nothing beyond reporting to the French Government the presence of man in Pondicherry. The Sardar has been making great endeavours to obtain a second interview with Mons. Manes and also an interview with Mons. de Lanessan, Depute de la Seine, who recently visited the colony, but without success."

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy wrote demi-officially to the Foreign on the 12th February to the effect that the Secretary of State desired a close watch to be kept on the proceedings of the Sardar and to be informed of the same. The Madras Government were accordingly asked on the 11th February by telegraph to report the movements of the

Sardar weekly, and to telegraph immediate information of anything of interest. No information as called for having been received up to the 5th March, a telegraphic reminder was sent to the Madras Government which elicited a reply on the same date, stating that Thakur Singh was still at Pondicherry whence the Consular Agent reported that he had posted letters to Dalip Singh at Paris, and that he and his son, Gurbachan Singh, received packets and parcels from the Punjab address of Gurdit Singh, a man of straw.

In a demi-official letter to Foreign on the 8th March, 1887, the Chief Secretary Madras, forwarded copy of a letter dated 5th idem from Colonel Fischer, Consular Agent, giving an account of a conversation with the Governor of Pondicherry regarding Sardar Thakur Singh. The Sardar had apparently given himself out to be a 'Royal Prince' and Colonel Fischer enlightened the Governor on the point. His letter continued: "His Excellency listened to me with very great attention and I therefore said to him 'I hope you have no intention of making another Mingoan Prince of Thakur Singh: for I assure you that it would not be worth the candle.'

" 'Not I, he exclaimed, I have not seen him since the day he called here two months ago with his two sons.'

"This interview, it seems, was not long, and the conversation was entirely conducted by the elder son, a very intelligent youngman (in spite of the blue spectacles he always wears !) who did all the talking for his father, who apparently does not understand one word either of English or French.

"I asked Mons. Manes whether he knew this intelligent youngman was in the employment of our government and whether he could not tell me where he was now. He said that he had in fact heard that he was a collector or something of the kind, but that he had not seen him since, and so our conversation ended.

"Since then I have heard from another more reliable source that Thakur Singh's followers here have been gradually increasing of late by ones and twos, and that they now number about 30 persons, but what this means I do not know.

I meet some of these same followers nearly every morning before sunrise on the beach, looking wistfully out to sea ! and I can not help thinking that some detective who knew their language would not find it difficult to make them communicative."

There is nothing to show what has become of the son, Gurbachan Singh. Apparently a detective was sent to Pondicherry.

On the 19th March the Madras Chief Secretary telegraphed that the Mingoan Prince and Thakur Singh at Pondicherry had become intimate

and exchanged visits and correspondence. The weekly telegraphic reports from Madras recorded no change until 25th April when it was reported that he had received a registered letter from Paris by the last mail. Again in the weekly report dated 23rd May, he is said not have heard from Dalip Singh for a month. The latest news is contained in Madras telegram dated 26th May which reported that the Sardar with three sons and five retainers wanted to embark in the last French mail steamer, but on learning that the party could not be trans-shipped at Colombo in the ship's boat they did not go abroad. The Madras Government telegraphed for instructions. On this a demi-official inquiry was addressed on the 31st May to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab by the Foreign as to whether the arrest of the party under Regulation III of 1818 would be desirable or the reverse.

Mr. Lyall, in his reply, dated 1st June, expressed an opinion that Thakur Singh ought to be arrested at once if he should enter the British territory, but nothing need be done to prevent his going from Pondicherry to Europe. Being old and not strong in mind and body, Mr. Lyall thought he could do no harm in Europe. The Madras Government was requested by telegram on the 3rd June to keep a watch on the Sardar's movements and report any apparent intention of leaving for Europe. To this they replied on the 6th that Thakur Singh and his followers certainly intend leaving by the French mail steamer *Tibre* on the 17th June, having arranged to be trans-shipped at Colombo in the steamer's boat. The French Governor had professed to the Consular Agent complete indifference to the Sardar.

Sir Charles Aitchison, in a note dated 24th February, 1887, had previously recommended the Sardar's arrest. He wrote : "there is no doubt that the change in Maharaja Dalip Singh's attitude dated from Sardar Thakur Singh's visit to England, and I think Thakur Singh's residence at Pondicherry is less due to fear of his creditors than to the convenience it gives him as a medium of communication between the Maharaja and his supporters and others in India. Thakur Singh should be arrested under Regulation III of 1818 and locked up as soon as possible. But it should be done quietly.

It may be mentioned here that the Punjab Government, in a letter to Home Department, dated 8th February last, recommended the dismissal from statutory service of Sardar Gurbachan Singh on account of his refusal to rejoin his appointment, and this measure has been sanctioned by the Government of India.

Section IV

Disloyal proceedings of Maharaja Dalip Singh

In order to understand more precisely the effect that may be caused by the use of Dalip Singh's name in India and especially in the Punjab, it is intended in this section of the precis to examine briefly the causes which induced the Maharaja to assume the position of a rebel, and to bring together all information bearing on the active disloyalty of the British Government, explaining what are his aims and aspirations.

Dalip Singh's wish
to resign his title
in 1882

In 1882 Dalip Singh addressed the Secretary of State on the Subject of his desire to resign the rank, owing to the inadequacy of the income, £13,000 per annum, enjoyed by him. Being called for an expression of opinion on this correspondence, the Government of India replied that they had no objection to the abandonment by His Highness of the title of Maharaja if he so desired, but that they deprecated any increase to his allowance.

His wish to visit and
perhaps reside in the
Punjab

In August 1882 on receipt of a telegram from the Secretary of State intimating that Maharaja was pressing for a reply regarding the resignation of his title, and that he was also hinting his desire to visit, and perhaps permanently reside in, the Punjab, His Lordship was informed by telegraph that it was thought undesirable that the Maharaja should either reside in or visit India. On the 16th November, 1882, however the Secretary of State informed the Government of India, that after consulting his legal advisers on the subject, he had informed His Highness that "while he is at liberty to proceed to India, should he so wish, his movements there will have to be regulated in conformity with the instructions he may receive from the Government of India, and that it is improbable that permission will be accorded him to visit the Punjab."

Objections of
Government of
India to Dalip
Singh's visit to
India in 1883.

A Reuter's telegram of the 25th July, 1883, mentioned the probability of Dalip Singh's visiting India, and on the 1st August the Secretary of State enquired whether it would not be advisable to inform His Highness that, if he goes to India, he will under Article 5 of the Terms of Lahore be required to reside at places selected by the Government of India, the places selected being named after Dalip Singh should leave England. The Government of India replied that the years 1883-84 were for political reasons considered very inopportune for the Maharaja's visit, and while strongly deprecating permission being granted under any circumstances

they held that His Highness, if he should come, could not be allowed to visit the Punjab or to go north of Allahabad, nor visit Hyderabad. The grounds for this refusal are fully stated in paragraphs 5 and 8 of the Government of India Despatch No. 134, dated 17th August, 1884, and are here quoted in extenso to show that subsequent proceedings of Dalip Singh have to a great extent justified the apprehensions entertained by the Government of India.

"5. We lost no time in consulting the Punjab Government with whom we were already in communication on this subject, and our telegram of the 15th instant, cited in the first paragraph of the letter indicated the principal reasons which led ourselves and the Lieutenant-Governor to consider a visit by the Maharaja to the Punjab or India to be not only undesirable at any time, but especially inopportune during the current year of 1883-84. As we therein intimated, we have now additional grounds for adhering to the views we entertained last year, when the project was first mooted, viz, that such a visit would have a mischievous effect. It is true that the Maharaja's conversion to Christianity and his long residence in England may have partially alienated some of the stricter Sikhs from him personally. But we are of the opinion that it would be unwise to attach much weight to such a consideration. It is little more than forty years since Ranjit Singh died and Khalsa was supreme in the Punjab. Many men, indeed almost an entire generation, are still alive who remember that great ruler, and who took a leading part in the events which followed his death, and it is quite impossible to say what might be the effect of the appearance of the son of their great Maharaja, Christian though he be, in the country of the Five Rivers. It may, however, be safely predicted that his presence would have a disquieting effect, and would cause much anxiety to the Government.

"6. Apart from these general objections there are special reasons which make the Maharaja's visit to India particularly undesirable at the present time. Prophecies and rumours among Hindus and Mohammadans alike point to the current year as a season of trouble both in politics and religion. Among the Kukas especially there exists much uneasiness and an unusual movement. The predictions in their religious books lead them to expect civil commotion this year, and they are reported to be performing the same ceremonies as were observed by Guru Govind Singh before his revolt against the Mohammadan power. We have no desire to attach unnecessary importance to this movement taken by itself, but it would certainly tend to bring about a condition of the political atmosphere which any further disturbing influence might render dangerous. The circulation of the letter* to which our telegram of

* This was a letter regarding Surendra Nath Banerjee's case in which the expression 'Dalip Singh ki jai' was used,

yesterday's date had reference also serves to indicate the methods by which disaffected persons might attempt to create trouble.

"7 The preceding observations apply more particularly to the Punjab, but it is obvious that similar objections cannot be disregarded in considering the advisability of the Maharaja's visit to any part of India at the present time. The practical difficulties which would inevitably be experienced in preventing undesirable intercourse between Dalip Singh and persons unfavourably disposed towards the British rule, as well as in restricting his movements to such places as he might be allowed to visit, could hardly fail to prove seriously embarrassing to our Government and a source of anxiety to the local authorities. It might even be found necessary to have recourse to personal restraint, and such a measure would inevitably be productive of considerable excitement."

It does not appear from the printed correspondence that any communication was made by the Home Government to Dalip Singh in regard to his proposed visit to India.

Operation of clause V of Agreement of Lahore in regard to place of residence

Here it should be mentioned that in 1882, a discussion took place with reference to clause V of Agreement of Lahore of 1849 by which the Maharaja bound himself "to reside at such places as the Governor General of India may select."

It was ruled by the Secretary of State under the advice of Consul that such place in that clause applied to India only.

In April 1885 Dalip Singh addressed the Secretary of State begging him to inform the Government of India that he (Dalip Singh) intended to join the British Army as a volunteer in the event of a war between England and Russia, and that he proposed proceeding from Bombay via Karachi and Baluchistan to Afghanistan, thus entirely avoiding passage through the Punjab.

Dalip Singh's offer to join army as a volunteer in 1885. "My father," he wrote, "was an ally of the British crown and I also myself have had the honour of being styled as such, and although my Christian guardian has thought it fit to oppress and ill-treat me, yet I am determined to prove my loyalty to my sovereign by placing my life at her service.

"I am determined not to be deterred from this resolve (unless physical force is employed by the Indian Government) and to convince the British nation that, however, unjustly treated, I am loyal to my gracious sovereign at heart."

His offer declined—
His objection to any
restriction on place
of residence in India

After consulting the Government of India Lord Kimberley on the 5th May, 1885, informed the Maharaja that, whilst Her Majesty's Government were sensible of the feelings by which he was actuated, neither they nor the Government of India thought it desirable that His Highness should proceed to India, nor would it be possible to comply with his wishes as to joining the army. The Maharaja was reminded that, in the event of his visiting India, at any time, he would, as already informed in 1882, be required to regulate his movements in conformity with instructions from the Viceroy. To the refusal of his request to serve as a volunteer the Maharaja made no further allusion, but as will be shown below it rankled in his mind. To the decision regarding his movements he demurred urging that the restrictions imposed by clause V of the Agreement of 1849 had been removed when in 1863 he had been told that he was entitled to all the privileges of a British subject. The Secretary of State declined to acquiesce in His Highness's views on this point, and in a letter on the 8th June, 1885, he asserted his right to freedom, and begged the Secretary of State to inform his Council that upon his arrival in India, to use his own words, "I have no intention of regulating my movements in conformity with the directions of the Viceroy, although His Excellency's wishes will always have great weight with me."

Dalip Singh's intention
of reverting to Sikhism.

It is significant that it was just about this time, viz, the 28th June, 1885, that the Maharaja addressed a letter to Sardar Sarup Singh, a relative of his in the Punjab, announcing his intention of reverting to the faith of his ancestors and of residing at Delhi. In reply to a letter from the Sardar expressing an interest in the Maharaja's fortunes, and asking for the gift of a photograph, His Highness wrote :

"You have no doubt read in the newspapers about the estate I claim in the Punjab as my private ancestral property, but I have very little hope of obtaining justice from these Christians whose immorality (I know by long residence among them) knows no bounds where payment of a large sum of money is concerned. However, if I cannot have any rights I intend shortly to return to India, and after visiting Apcalnagar or Amritsar for the purpose of rejoining the faith of my ancestors, to reside at Delhi. I hope to be able to ask you all, my relations and relatives, to be present at the solemn ceremony of taking the *pauhal*," It was at this time also, viz, in June 1883, that the Maharaja's *prohit* applied for permission to present offerings on behalf of His Highness at the Golden Temple of Amritsar and the Tomb of Ranjit Singh. The actual ceremony was performed in August.

With the letter to Sarup Singh were sent a copy of Major Evans Bell's two works—*The Annexation of the Punjab and Maharaja Dalip Singh* and *The Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Government*, printed for private circulation. In December 1885 it came to the knowledge of the Punjab Government that Sardar Thakur Singh, Sandhanwalia had caused the former work to be translated into Gurmukhi, and had arranged to have

300 copies of it printed for circulation to be distributed on the Maharaja's arrival in India. The work was duly completed, but in consequence of Dalip Singh's detention at Aden and subsequent return to Europe, the idea of distributing the work was abandoned. English copies of the work were known to be in the hands of a good many people in the

Punjab and both Sardar Thakur Singh and Maharaja's *prohit*, Harkishen Dass, were reported to have a number of copies in their possession. There seems from the above letter reason to doubt that Dalip Singh contemplated arousing an agitation in his favour simultaneously with his arrival in India.

But this is somewhat anticipating events. The case becomes involved with the Maharaja's pecuniary claims, and it is necessary to go back to Dalip Singh's letter of the 8th June, 1885, to the Secretary of State alluded to above, where he made a definite statement of his grievances in the following terms. He wrote : "An English Governor General took advantage of his position as my guardian to deprive me of my kingdom in 1849.

"The poor promise of a pension which he made on that occasion has proved illusory so far as I am concerned, for the India Office has withheld more than half the amount from me.

"My private patrimony in land and private property of great value has likewise been appropriated by the British Government without any justification in law or right, and every account or redress has hitherto been denied me.

For some years previously the embarrassed condition of Dalip Singh's private affairs had been the subject of much correspondence between the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the Maharaja. In February 1880, he preferred a definite claim to private landed estate illegally held by the Government of India in lieu of his stipend reduced by interest on debts, &c., and also alluded incidentally to the *Koh-i-noor*. In a later letter of the 12th March, 1886, he to a certain extent waived his claim by saying "I was quite aware when I wrote my last letter that the Government of India might not allow my claims to my very large private

property, but I was anxious, should my affairs be brought before Parliament, to stop the mouths of those self-constituted champions of India who might possibly grudge me that which your Lordship in Council might be inclined to give, by showing that I might be placed in a position of great wealth without adding to taxation already existing."

Dalip Singh's petition to Parliament regarding his claims By March 1882, however, the claim developed and assumed a more definite shape for he preferred a petition to Parliament representing

- (1) that he had been deprived of his kingdom, the surplus revenues of which amount to a million sterling per annum;
- (2) that for 30 years he had been deprived of his landed estates valued at £120,000 per annum;
- (3) that he had been deprived of gold plate and jewels of enormous value including the *Koh-i-noor*. His concluding prayer was that some more equitable and just arrangement might be entered into with him and "may he not hope that, if his kingdom cannot be restored, his private landed estate or a portion thereof may be handed back to him, or a fair and reasonable sum paid to him in respect of his estates and loss of his private property."

Dalip Singh's statement of his claims which were refused by Secretary of State Later on, on the 1st March, 1883, in reply to a letter from Lord Hartington (not on record) Dalip Singh submitted a statement of his wishes to the following effect :

"1st—I would venture humbly to hope that, if no greater generosity can be bestowed upon me, at least my present life stipend of £25,000 per annum be continued to my male-heirs after my death.

"2nd—That the £138,000 in which I am indebted to the Indian Government, together with £105,000 given to me for the purchase of an estate in this country may be considered as a full compensation for the loss of gold and silver plate and palace jewels, thus releasing my stipend of the heavy charge of interest deducted.

"3rd—That the premium on the policies of life insurance effected for the benefit of my younger children and widow, paid by me out of my life stipend of £25,000 per annum, be discharged from the surplus arising out of the unexpended balances of the sum allotted for the maintenance of myself, my relatives, and servants of the state at the annexation."

This letter specified as his private property the Sookar-Chackea *Misal*, a landed estate yielding $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs per annum; the salt mines (Pind Dadun Khan) producing four lakhs annually; the Bhungee *Misal* yielding some nine lakhs; and five or six mansions belonging to his brother and other relatives that cost at least 10 or 20 lakhs of rupees. The Secretary

of State informed His Highness that he was entirely unable to entertain the requests put forward.

In 1883 or the beginning of 1884 Maharaja Dalip Singh sent Mr. Talbot, a Solicitor, to India in order to make an enquiry regarding his

<p>Inquiry in India by Dalip Singh regarding his private estates</p>	<p>private estates and shortly after this gentleman's return he submitted a statement of his claim into which it is needless to enter. But in presenting this claim he wrote :—</p>
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"I do not wish to insist on pushing these rights to their extreme limits : on the contrary, as I have stated on other occasions, I shall be content with a fair and equitable compensation for their loss, such as would satisfy impartial and competent judges, and so as to enable me to maintain my estates and rank for myself and my family without pecuniary embarrassment, &c."

He continued : 'As the State of Lahore, and all the property acquired by my father, Ranjit Singh, after he became Maharaja and Ruler of that State, have by the virtue of the terms of annexation been assumed by the British Government, I do not seek to disturb that arrangement, although Your Lordship cannot expect me (with my present information) to acquiesce in the abstract justice of the annexation itself."

The foregoing paragraphs summarise the correspondence regarding the Maharaja's claim to private property down to about the time when, as above shown, he proffered services as a volunteer with the British army in Afghanistan were refused, and the first indications was given of His Highness's reversion to the Sikh faith, and of an attempt to rouse opinion in his favour in the Punjab by offerings at the Golden Temple and his father's tomb and by disseminating works relating to the annexation of the Punjab and his treatment by the British Government. Then followed correspondence of 1885, also above summarized, regarding the claim of the Maharaja to be unfettered in his movements when visiting India. This ended with an intimation from Lord Randolph Churchill (dated 26th October, 1885) that "it will rest with the Viceroy of India to adopt such measures as he may think necessary in order to secure compliance with any instructions which his Excellency may give in respect to Your Highness's movements when in India."

<p>It was in reply to the above that Dalip Singh in a letter, dated 2nd Dalip Singh's defiance of Government orders—assumes truth of Sikh prophecies</p>	<p>November, 1885, sounded the first note of defiance and assumed the fulfilment in his own person of certain prophecies attributed to the last Sikh Guru. "I cannot," he wrote, "tell Your Lordship how pleased I am to learn that the Government have definitely determined on pursuing the very course which I have all</p>
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along desired should be followed towards me on my arrival in India in order to help forward my destiny. I welcome, therefore, the official persecution which awaits me in India. For it has been foretold by the last Sikh Guru or teacher (who died about 1725) that I shall suffer in this manner, and that when I shall have been reduced to absolute poverty, then my prosperity is to commence.

...

"What effect this ill treatment, foretold by Guru Govind Singh, of one so intimately connected by prophecy with the Sikh faith as I am, but doubtless, seeing that all predictions come literally to pass in my case, they will not unnaturally look forward to the fulfilment of rest of the prophecy shortly." In conclusion he announced his intention of proceeding to Delhi, "leaving it to His Excellency the Viceroy to employ force, if he thinks proper to do so, in order to prevent my travelling to that city."

Last appeal of Dalip Singh regarding his claims On the 16th January 1886, Dalip Singh made what he called a last appeal before leaving England, in which after a long review of the history of his family from the beginning of the present century and a lengthy dissertation on his claims, he concluded—

"There are wrongs which can and those which cannot be remedied.

"I do not aspire to be reinstated on the throne of the Punjab.

"I do not expect the realization of the whole of what I consider my just claims.

"Moreover I am not now asking Your Lordship to admit any of my claims, though it has been necessary for me to explain them to Your Lordship to make my meaning clear."

His final prayer was that a Court of Arbitration consisting of Law Lords of the House of Peers should examine into his claims "especially as to the residue of the pension over and above the £ 25,000 a year paid to me, which has now lapsed, and should be paid over to me (as a very high legal authority thinks after reading the Treaty carefully)."

In reply to the above memorandum Dalip Secretary of State Singh was informed on the 25th January, 1886 again declines to that the Marquis of Salisbury "regrets very much entertain them that he is not in a position to accede to the requests with which your memorandum concludes.

Subject to any appeal to a Court of Law which you may be advised is open to you the disposal of all questions involving any charge upon Indian finance is placed, by Act of Parliament, in the hands of Secretary of State for India and the Council of India and cannot be assumed by any other authority. The determination of the questions

raised by you with respect to the meaning of Treaty entered into by Lord Dalhousie thirty years ago, and of the import of the words 'property of the state' used upon that occasion, could not be satisfactorily arrived at by any other authority in this country, even if there was one which under the existing law possessed the necessary competence, and I have no doubt that the Secretary of State and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters."

Grievances of Dalip Singh and his implied claim to sovereignty of Lahore

The concluding words above quoted appear to have given Dalip Singh some hope of his case being reopened at the India Office, but an interview that took place between him and Sir Owen

Burne, on the 29th January, 1886, the latter told him distinctly that so far as he was aware the Secretary of State in Council had no intention of reopening his case. At this interview his claims and grievances were fully discussed; in the latter category was the refusal of Government to trust him when he offered his services as a volunteer. When reminded of his thankful acceptance year after year of previous concessions and of his consent to an Act of Parliament for the settlement of his affairs, he admitted all this, but added "I now see, however, that I have been a fool. It is only lately that I have learnt to realise my position as a king. This conception of his position had evidently possessed him entirely for he alluded to the allowance of £ 3,000 a year that his eldest son would receive at his death as an amount "ill-befitting the son of a King," and regarding the Indian Government he said "they forget : I am a King". When warned of the possibility of his being deprived and made to reside in some selected spot, if he persisted in going out to India, he said : "I should laugh at you. This is just what I want. You must at any rate clothe and feed me and my family, and my income will

Menaces used by Dalip Singh

be then more than made up by subscriptions from every ryot in the Punjab and from every part of

India. Moreover I know that no government would dare resort to such a step in view of English public opinion and the consequences of it in India." These veiled threats were accompanied with a protestation of somewhat conditional loyalty. The Government of India, he said, "have offended a man once loyal to them and only too anxious to show his loyalty if he be given what high legal authorities and others tell him are just dues." After the interview Dalip Singh forwarded to Sir Owen Burne a copy of the Sikh prophecy regarding himself to which he had referred in earlier correspondence. A copy will be found at the end of this section, Appendix A,

A final interview before the Maharaja's proposed departure for India was accorded to him by Lord Kimberley on the 8th February, 1886, when Dalip Singh again put forward his exaggerated claims laying particular stress on his claims for payment with arrears and interests of his "pension", i.e., the lapsed portion of the "five lakh fund" and for the proceeds of the sale of his jewels, &c., estimated by him at £450,000 sterling at a hint of moderate pecuniary concession, he asserted that he would not be satisfied without an inquiry into his claims. He professed, as stated in the record of interview, "unshaken loyalty and complained of the refusal to allow him to give his services in case a war had broken out with Russia, and the want of confidence shown him by the Government of India in not allowing him to reside at Delhi and requiring him to reside at Ootacmund. He said, however, he would obey the Viceroy's orders". And in a letter dated 10th February, he expressed his willingness to reside at Ootacmund or any other place the Viceroy might think proper, "and thus prove my loyalty at the expense of all personal considerations."

In the meantime the Secretary of State had addressed the Government of India by telegram on the 2nd February, consent to offer saying that no reasonable concession appeared Dalip Singh £50,000 likely to be expected, "still it might be useful to know the maximum limit of pecuniary concession, you will recommend, his claims being as follows :

(1) Court of Inquiry; (2) Private estates including Pind Dadun salt mines; (3) Five Lakh fund with arrears; (4) better provision for his family at his death. The Government of India replied on the 20th March : "We are willing to afford the Maharaja such relief as can be obtained by maximum grant of £50,000. This sum, or a smaller sum which you think sufficient, could be applied, first to payment of any debts due to persons other than Government, second, to decreasing of debt due to Government so as to make reasonable addition to Maharaja's income. Money would be given on understanding that Maharaja abandoned all claims to mines or other private estates, that he gives acquittance in full, and effectual undertaking never to return to India, and that no payment will be made hereafter on any ground. Grant would preclude all further claim regarding five lakh fund and provision for family."

Dalip Singh's rejection of offer and claim to fulfilment of Sikh prophecy in his own person—Further menaces to Government

These terms being offered by Sir O. Burne at a personal interview with the Maharaja on the 24th March, he observed, "with vehemence that nothing would induce him to accept the 'Paltry sum' offered, that he was not in debt and wanted no money; that he was resolved to go to India, and that on no account would he sign any paper

either in renunciation of his claims or binding him never to return to his country. "After this he entered into a rambling statement assuring me", records Sir O. Burne, "in the first place of his loyalty and warning Government, in the second place of the risk they would run if they imprisoned him in India. This step would exactly fulfil one part of the Sikh prophecy : then to find himself in some, as yet unknown Sikh village, to be supernaturally elected as a prophet and to lead the Sikh nation; then there was to be a great war between England and Russia, in which he was to have a part, although it was yet not known which side he was to take; that he was now to be a 'fakir' and that he cared no longer for his position and property in England."

Dalip Singh followed up by writing to Sir O. Burne on the same afternoon "My position on re-embracing the faith of my ancestors will become, in fulfilment of the prophecy, that of a Sikh Guru, and, should the Indian Government be so ill-advised as to imprison me, I dare not predict the serious consequences that will follow sooner or later. For it will be believed by the Sikhs, of whom a considerable number are in the British army, that I have suffered degradation, not in consequence of disloyalty on my part towards the British Government, but on account of my having renounced Christianity and embraced Sikhism.

"It is extremely distasteful to me to say anything with reference to the above subject, but as a loyal subject, I must do my duty, however painful, and warn Her Majesty's Government against the blind and suicidal policy intended to be followed towards me in India, who am the son of the old ally of England.

"I must confess that, thinking over what passed at our interview this afternoon, I have become convinced that the prophecy concerning myself will be literally fulfilled, and I shall really be the Guru of the Sikhs after all, through the misguided policy of the Viceroy. But I do not care what happens to me, for my trust now is in the God of my ancestors and in my destiny."

Issue of address to the Sikhs by Dalip Singh

On the very next day Dalip Singh issued his now well known address to the Sikhs, which runs as follows :

[See No. 253]

Having been afforded an opportunity of repudiating the above manifesto, Dalip Singh declared it to be perfectly genuine.

His Highness left London by the P. & O. Steamer *Verona* on the 31st March 1886, accompanied by the Maharani, three sons and three daughters with attendants.

Government of India
detain Dalip Singh
at Aden, consequent
on above

On the same date the Secretary of State telegraphed out a summary of the above address to the Sikhs to the Government of India adding "Dalip Singh's communications should be carefully watched. He is now in a state of mind which seems to border on monomania." In reply the Government of India on the 15th April wired that, in consideration of the above address and of the menaces used by Dalip Singh to Sir O. Burne in reference to eventual troubles in India and war with Russia, they thought it desirable to issue warrants for the detention of the Maharaja and party at Aden.

On the arrival, therefore, of the *Verona* at Aden on the 21st April, 1886, Dalip Singh and party were detained and required to land there. Finding that he could not go to India the Maharaja enquired whether he could establish himself at Cairo, his two elder sons returning to England. The Government of India consented to this course, on condition that neither His Highness nor any member of his family would seek to visit India without the permission of the Government and that he would refrain in future from political agitation. The Maharaja then expressed a desire to return to Europe for the purpose of consulting his legal advisers before formally assenting to the suggestions made. To this the Government of India assented, but a few days after the Maharaja changed his mind and announced his resolve to remain at Aden, sending his family to England. The Maharani and family sailed for London on the 6th May.

Disavowal of dis-loyal tendency of address Telegraphing from Aden the Maharaja expressed a particular wish that the word 'disloyal' should not be used in any instructions given to him, and being informed that the ill-advised documents put into circulation by him had caused his detention, he wired "address to co-religionists assured by legal advisers contains no expression of disloyalty. However will always complain bitterly want of confidence shown by Government instead of taking me into its confidence. If any expression caused disloyalty, entirely unintentional."

Maharaja suggests
payment of a quarter
of a million sterling
and demands public
trial

The Maharaja did not wish to go to England on the ground that he could not face the ridicule attending his return, but expressed his willingness to return and sign any protocol provided Government should promise a full judicial investigation of all his claims by Law Lords of the House of Lords with a view to granting him only a reasonably equitable redress within six months, and provided Government should pay him immediately on reaching London the sum of quarter of a million sterling as compensation for the sacrifice of his liberty, which, as a loyal subject he is asked to make, in



MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH
(1838-1893)

To face p. 413

binding himself not to visit India without the permission of the Government. No reply is on record on this request. On the 28th May he wired a request for a public trial as a naturalised Englishman "in order to prove my innocence of having issued address alleged to be disloyal and for imprisonment here."

Dalip Singh returns to Europe and gives up stipend	But in the meantime the Maharaja's health had suffered from the climate, and on the 30th May the Resident at Aden was authorized to allow him to return to Europe unconditionally, but with a warning that very decided steps would be taken if he should come to India. On the 3rd June, 1886, the Maharaja sailed by French mail steamer for Marseilles with the intention of going to Paris, having previously telegraphed on the 1st, "From the 1st July next, I resign stipend paid to me under the Treaty of Annexation thus laying aside the iniquitous document."
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Initiation into Sikhism	During his stay at Aden, the Maharaja performed on the 26th May the ceremonies necessary for his re-entry into the Sikh faith.
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Section V

Proceedings of Maharaja Dalip Singh after his departure from Aden.

On his voyage to Europe Dalip Singh addressed a letter to the *Times of India* complaining that although a naturalized Englishman, yet he was arrested at Aden without a warrant, one, he wrote, "having been issued since I re-embraced Sikhism while staying in Aden." He intimated the possibility of his landing either at Goa or Podicherry or of his entering the Punjab through Russia. He concluded his letter—"the tax payer of India no doubt will be glad to hear that I have resigned the miserable stipend paid to me under that iniquitous treaty of the annexation, which was the extorted from me by my guardian when I was a minor, thus setting aside that illegal document entirely. As soon as I am restored to health, I hope to appeal for pecuniary aid to the oriental liberality of both my brother princes as well as the people of India. Should, however, the Government place its veto upon their generous impulse, then I shall have no alternative but to transfer my allegiance to some other European power, who I dare say, will provide for my maintenance."

Information of Dalip Singh having taken up his residence in Paris was given in Sir O. Burne's demi-official letter of the 23rd June, 1886. He did not long leave in doubt the question as to the European power to which he proposed to transfer his allegiance, for on the 22nd July he

wrote privately to Sir R. Montgomery begging that no communication from India Office should be addressed to him. For, he wrote : "I neither respect such a tyrannical and unjust administration, nor am I any longer loyal to the British crown (having offered my services to Russia), I seek nothing from you gentleman as I have been refused justice and my loyalty insulted.

"I have only one prayer now, that God may, before I die, enable me to have revenge on the India administration and humiliate that Government, and to cause the expenditure of many more millions of poor John Bull's money than the £ 3,000,000 I should have asked for the loss of my private property, out of which I have been so piously swindled by the Christian British nation." He concluded by calling himself "a rebel now in earnest."

Later, on the 9th September, he telegraphed to Sir R. Montgomery spontaneously from Paris—"No proclamation has either been prompted or authorized by me, although I have two ready by me to be issued, but find it hard to sever old ties."

Of these proclamations he forwarded a copy to Sir R. Montgomery on the 28th January, 1887. They would, he said, be published in Paris in a few days. He sent also a third proclamation to be published latter on. In this he said—"Doubtless you will be surprised to hear that I have received promise of pecuniary aid up to £1,000,000 on certain conditions and from India assurance of loyalty of the entire Punjab, and allegiance of some 45,000 Punjabis in the British army. Lord Dufferin, you see, has gained nothing by arresting me at Aden after all. What he did not wish should happen (viz., that my countrymen be not in a position to show me sympathy) has happened. The downtrodden worm at last has been enabled, through the mercy of God, to lift up his bow (sic) down head and heart in order to avenge the injustice and the insults (as the only reward of his loyalty) showered upon for the last 36 years."

The contents of the three proclamations were as follows :—the first, dated Paris, 15th July 1886, signed "Dalip Singh, Maharaja of the Sikhs under Treaty of Bhyrowal, 1846," sets aside "that iniquitous and illegal document, the so-called 'terms granted' which was extorted from us in 1849 by our wicked guardian, the Christian British nation, when we were an infant of only 11 years of age." The second, dated Paris, 1886, appeals to the oriental generosity of the "brothers princes and nobles and the people of beloved Hindustan" to aid "a brother Prince and countryman in adversity" on the ground that Government had refused to grant an inquiry by a Court of Law of the Law Lords of the House of Peers into Dalip Singh's claims. The third proclamation to be published later on called upon his countrymen to "rise up and make common cause with us and

share with us also in the glory of liberating our mother country." The Khalsa were especially invited to "prepare for our advent into the Punjab. We command also such of our loyal subjects as may be serving in the British army and who may be left behind to attack the British forces sent against us in the rear, and those who may be in the troops opposing us to come over to our side."

The last proclamation is evidently intended for issue when Dalip Singh shall find himself in the field opposed to the British army. Nothing has been heard in the Punjab of either of the two former proclamations.

The exaggerated idea entertained by Dalip Singh of his power and influence is exemplified by some correspondence about the same time with a Mr R.D. Watson, in which he writes: "Believe me, Watson, that I have in my power either to save or to destroy the British Empire of India, and I will either have £3,000,000 or my revenge. Let the British Government ask the (same) 45,000 Punjabi soldiers in the Anglo-Indian army whether they will or will not fight against me if sent to oppose my advance with the forces of Russia, and convince themselves of the truth of my assertion."

His own ideas as to the proper policy of Government towards himself are thus expressed—"The British Government, if they were wise, after regaining my loyalty would place me on the throne of the Punjab and make use of my unique position for strengthening their empire." But in case this experiment should not meet with approval, let them, he wrote, "only restore my estates in the Punjab, giving me at the same time a peerage as well as an honorary seat both in the Council of India in London and the Council in Calcutta, and publish abroad that I am appointed to enquire into and amend the petty grievances of the natives of India, which, believe me, are like thousands of little fires ready to be blown into a great conflagration at any moment by the merest accident, and I shall be more than content to serve England loyally and undertake to establish her empire on the sure [foundations of justice without which it will never stand. No one (though I say it of myself) knows so well as I do both English and the Indians by the peculiar circumstances of my life."

The information on record regarding Dalip Singh's doings in Paris is very meagre. It appears that his endeavours were being directed to convince Russia of his ability to create trouble in India and that he wished to reside at Sarakhs or Meshed whence he could keep up communications with the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Minister of Gwalior, who, he asserted, are disposed to join forces or furnish funds in the event of a Russian advance which would be signal for another insurrection. He was also anxious to communicate with

Ayub Khan of Kabul. He contemplated leaving Paris on the 17th March, 1887, for Marseilles, whence he was to sail for Odessia via Constantinople; but gave into the objections of his friends who dissuaded him against this step, predicting his "possible assassination through British intrigues." An alternative idea was to go by rail to St. Petersburg where the Minister of the Interior, Bogdanovich, Katkoff and Ignatiev, to whom he had been specially recommended, would take him in hand. The latter plan was eventually decided upon, and he left Paris on the 21st March for St. Petersburg. He was to be told at the frontier station whether to stop there or to go on to Moscow. The person who gave the above information sent copies of three printed proclamations, one inscribed, "proclamation for issuing which I was arrested at Aden." All but No. 3, he believed had appeared in India. Copies were obtained in the beginning of March of a letter (undated) from Dalip Singh to M. Katkoff, asking for his influence to obtain for the Maharaja Russian naturalization, and also to the Czar (dated March 1887) offering his allegiance and asking for an asylum in His Majesty's dominions. In doing this he wrote: "I do not ask any pecuniary gain whatsoever as my loyal subjects have already furnished me with sufficient means, and are further largely providing for my future maintenance, so that I am entirely independent of everybody in this respect." The letter to Mr. Katkoff asked for a letter of authority "to pass my baggage and sporting guns and ammunition both at Batoum and Baku on way to Tehran in Persia." To the secret informant he stated that Merv or Sarakhs, the latter for choice, would be the place of residence he would select; if this were impossible he proposed to pass the time shooting in the vicinity of the Caspian.

On the 23rd March, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, under instructions from the Foreign Office, had a conversation regarding the case of Dalip Singh with M. de Giers. "I said," ran the despatch reporting the interview, "that a rumour had reached me that he proposed to come to St. Petersburg, and I thought it right to tell His Excellency that he was in a state of open rebellion to the Empress of India. M. de Giers observed that it had certainly been a year ago the Maharaja's intention to visit Russia, but that he had heard nothing lately* of any such plans, nor did he think it likely that he would carry out his intention. He then told me that a year ago M. de Staal had a letter from Dalip Singh proposing this visit. The Russian ambassador immediately reported on the subject to St. Petersburg giving a very unfavourable account of the intended tourist, and was instructed to do everything to prevent his carrying out his project, *de l'empêcher* was His Excellency's expression.

*The interview took place on the 24th and the Maharaja had left Paris for Russia on the 21st.

Some little time later the Maharaja called on M. Kotzbue, the Russian Charge d'Affairs at Paris, and again urged his strong desire to visit St. Petersburg with the same want of success as on the previous occasion. In fact, observed M. Giers laughing, *C'est un monsieur dont nous ne pourrions faire la connaissance de moins que nous ne soyons en guerre.*

"Even in that case, I observed, I could hardly recommend him to Your Excellency, because by thrice changing his religion and other outrageous acts he has so discredited himself as to have lost all value and importance in his own country."

"Before leaving I said: 'I may then inform His Majesty's Government that Dalip Singh was duly *'econduit'* when he made his advance at London and Paris'. After reflecting a moment His Excellency replied this would perhaps be too strong a term, for after all there was nothing in his letters which would have justified so drastic a treatment. He made no proposal which could be taken up, and only expressed his extreme desire to study the beauties of St. Petersburg and pay his respects to the Russian Government, and he was told in quite unmistakable language that his visit was not desired.

"I mentioned this afternoon to M. de Staal the conversation I had with M. de Giers, and he told me that on receiving the Maharaja's letter, he had at once called on Lord Kimberley, then at the India Office, and had enquired what manner of man his correspondent was. Lord Kimberley's account tallied with mine, and this was the one he had sent to St. Petersburg."

It is evident from the above that Dalip Singh's first overtures to Russia were made before he sailed for India, so that the extreme sensitiveness expressed at Aden regarding word disloyal being applied to him seems somewhat unnecessary.

There is no official information on record regarding Dalip Singh's doings since his arrival in Russia.

439. MEMO CONCERNING SHEIKH DJAMAL-ED-DIN.*

Northern Africa generally and in Egypt particular, as well as in Syria where it was pretty largely circulated.

I had lately from a trustworthy authority that Djemal-ed-din after leaving Egypt came to India and lived for sometime in Hyderabad and on this subject I expect shortly to receive fuller information. About his recent visit to Moscow some information has been received here in the Foreign Department from the India Office.

Donald Mackenzie Wallace.

*From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

440. FROM SIR R. B. D. MORIER, HER MAJESTY'S
AMBASSADOR AT ST. PETERSBURG TO
MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K. G.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. 55. NO. 218 (SECRET)

ST. PETERSBURG,
22ND JUNE, 1887.

The *Times* having contained a telegram from Moscow to the effect that Maharaja Dalip Singh was to be received by the Governor-General, and that this reception would at once give him the status quo which would enable him to be admitted into the society of the old Russian capital, I called the attention of M. de Giers today to the statement. His Excellency thought it impossible that it would be correct because Prince Dolgoruki was an extremely cautious man, and his attention had from the first been directed to the Maharaja as personage of suspicious antecedents upon whom a close watch could be kept. He would, however, make a note of what I said and himself communicate confidentially with prince Dolgoruki on the subject.

I have the honour to transmit herewith the enclosed Report on the Maharaja from the Vice Consul at Moscow, which reached me just too late to be sent by last Wednesday's messenger.

441. SEDITIOUS ARTICLE IN THE *DHUMKETU* IN FAVOUR
OF MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH, EXTRACT FROM
REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS (PAGE 644), FOR
THE WEEK ENDING THE 25TH JUNE, 1887.

Paragraph 6. A correspondent of the *Dhumketu* has some verses on Dalip Singh to the following effect.

O Wicked Englishmen, do you remember the insults which you have heaped on the lion (the son of Ranjit Singh)? Can Dalip, the son of the King of the Punjab, quietly cherish such fearful anguish in his heart?

Binding himself to the Czar of Russia by ties of unbroken friendship and animated by high hopes and unpelled by danger, he is now bent on conquering helpless India—a lion about to make a trial of strength with another lion.

He has not yet lost his love for his own countrymen. The son of a hero is fully awake to consideration of his own country and nationality. He can distinguish between respect and insult. He cannot bear to live like a subject?

China, Burma, even uncivilized Japan are free and have an importance of their own and despise slavery. Why shall he (the son of Ranjit) suffer so much agony ?

From a far distance and with the fire of hope burning in his heart, he is from time to time roaring out, "Awake ye Sikhs."

Hark, he is still roaring deeply: "Ye Sikhs! quit your beds and awake. How do you bear so much insult? Look you—a fire is burning within him and tear crops stand in the corners of his eyes. Look about you, Ye Heroic Sikh bands and put that fire out by sprinkling water upon it! Have you. O Brother, forgotten your father Ranjit, firm in war and always undaunted? Have you buried that clear headed, cool tempered hero in the waters of forgetfulness? No, the lion of the Punjab, that mortal enemy of the wicked, that humbler of the proud, that priceless jewel cannot be forgotten. Have you forgotten your days of prosperity when this very earth, with its skies and mountains, shook under your feet. Have you forgotten the bright jewel—the Koh-i-noor—which once adorned the brow of Ranjit—that jewel in the crown of the hero of India? Where is that diamond gone? It is the *Yavans* that have robbed you of it. Don't you, brother, sleep no longer. Open your eyes, call forth fresh energy and break off the insupportable shackles of bondage and slavery.

To live in bondage is to live in hell. To live in bondage is to suffer cruel oppression. To live in bondage is only to live in the body and not in the spirit. Snap asunder the cruel fetters of bondage.

442. FROM W. M. YOUNG, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, TO THE OFFICIATING
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to report for the orders of the Government of India, the case of Sardar Gurbachan Singh Sindhanwalia, a statutory civilian in the Punjab.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh was appointed a probationer for the Native Civil Service, and after a period of three years probation having passed the prescribed departmental tests, was confirmed in the appointment. Sardar Gurbachan Singh is the son of Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, with whose history the Government of India is fully acquainted. The Sirdar's case formed a subject of correspondence with the Government of India in the Foreign Department in the year 1882. In the letter of that Department, No. 8581, dated 28th September 1882, Government of India declined to sanction a loan of Rs. 70,000 with the object of clearing the Sardar from his financial embarrassments. Since these orders were received the

Lieutenant-Governor regrets to state that the attitude of Sardar Thakur Singh towards the British Government has not been satisfactory. The Sirdar visited England in the year 1884-85 and appears to have been much in communication with Maharaja Dalip Singh during his stay in that country and since his return. As the Government of India is aware Sardar Thakur Singh is at present residing at Pondicherry.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh obtained extraordinary leave of absence for one month, under section 85 of the Civil Leave Code, with effect from the 16th October 1886. On the 3rd December, the Commissioner of Rawalpindi Division reported that Sardar Gurbachan Singh had not returned at the expiry of his leave and enquired whether his leave had been extended. It was ascertained that Sardar Gurbachan Singh had joined his father at Pondicherry, and on the 11th December a telegram was sent to him reminding him that he was absent without leave and that if he did not return immediately, there was a risk of his losing the appointment. The Sardar replied in a telegram, dated 12th December, stating that he would write fully and asking for delay in the disposal of his case. On the 3rd January, a letter was received from Sardar Gurbachan Singh, bearing dated Pondicherry, 15th December. This letter was couched in terms so improper and so disloyal that the Lt.-Governor ordered a letter to be addressed to him warning him that, unless he rejoined his appointment within ten days of its receipt or at least by the 25th January, he would be reported to the Government of India for dismissal from the service. The reply to this letter has been received and forwarded.

On the above review of Sardar Gurbachan Singh's case, the Lt.-Governor feels that he has no option but to recommend that he be dismissed from the service. Making every allowance for the sympathy which his father's circumstances naturally evoke from him, Sardar Gurbachan Singh has himself adopted a tone so defiant and so disloyal that his refusal to rejoin his appointment cannot in the opinion of Sir Charles Aitchison, be condoned. Apart from the behaviour of the Sardar which has been thus brought to light, the Lt.-Governor is bound to add that Sardar Gurbachan Singh during the time he has been in Statutory Service, has not conducted his duties in a way as to elicit commendation from his superiors. Sir Charles Aitchison deeply regrets the necessity of recommending the dismissal from the Statutory Service of one of the few native gentlemen who were considered fit both by education and social position for such a post, but he believes that the Government of India will agree with him that under circumstances no other course is open to him.

443. The *TRIBUNE* dated July 2, 1887, page 2, Col. I.

Maharaja Dhulip Singh's efforts to win the support of Russia and Afghanistan to stir up rebellion at Lahore in his favour to recover his throne.

Dhulip Singh in Russia :—Maharaja Dhulip Singh has never been credited with the possession of much *savoir faire*, and it was not at all wonderful to find him making very slow progress in his intrigue with the Russians. He has taken a young lady—an English girl with him to Russia, having, it is said, quite cut himself adrift from his legitimate belongings. And another member of his suite is a Sikh, who goes under the name of Aroor Singh, and who freely imparts more or less reliable information about the Royal vagabonds to inquisitive newspaper correspondents. According to one of these authorities, Dhulip Singh has been staying in the Hotel Dussaux in Moscow for the last month or five weeks under the name of Patrick Casey. Aroor Singh, his A.D. Camp, spoke without the least reserve as to the object of their visit to Russia. They came direct from Paris and at the Central Station at Berlin, on the 22nd March, Dhulip Singh was robbed of a handbag containing his passports and £1000 in cash. He telegraphed to Mr. Katkoff with whom he had been in previous communication, who replied, instructing him to come forward and he would find a police permit awaiting him at the frontier. He acted on these instructions and arrived in Moscow a few days later. The object of the visit is acknowledged to be to influence the Russian Government on his behalf, and if he can gain their support, to pass through Afghanistan to Lahore to stir up a rebellion in his favour with a view to recovering his throne. Aroor Singh was in India four months ago to ascertain the feelings of the people. His statement is that if Russians were to invade India, they would fight for England; but should Dhulip Singh come, they would without hesitation turn against the British. Dhulip Singh stated the English Government engaged to allow him £60,000 a year, but he has only been paid £25,000 and the arrears, with interest amounted to three millions of money. In pressing his claim he first went to Mr. Gladstone, who referred him to the India Office, who said it was a matter for the government. He then wished the matter to be tried in a court of law; but was told, he declares, that the court was for everybody in England except himself and, being driven from pillar to post, he got tired out and had no other recourse but to take the step he is taking. He says he would prefer remaining under English protection if he was fairly dealt with.—*The Globe*.

The correspondent of the *Times* endeavoured to interview Dhulip Singh, but was unsuccessful. Patrick Casey, he tells us, was the Maharaja himself who travelled into Russia under the Irish name, because, as he

strangely asserts, he was afraid that the English might have stopped his progress here as they did at Aden. He did not feel himself safe from English pursuit even at St. Petersburg, and only breathed freely without the necessity of maintaining his Irish disguise when he reached Moscow. Why he selected such a notorious disguise as the name of Patrick Casey is inexplicable, unless he obtains the passport of the real Patrick Casey at Paris and was unable to get any other. The robbery of all his ready money, together with the passport at Berlin appears to have thrown him into great straits, and he was living at Moscow very quietly. The *Times* correspondent goes on to say :

Mr. Katkoff has set a sharp watch over the Maharaja Dhulip Singh. A gentleman from "Moscow Gazette Office" is in attendance daily and whenever the Prince goes out, it is nearly always to visit or dine with Katkoff, often in all the splendour of his Indian dress. With all the Russians dreams about India, the presence of this Indian prince at Moscow is quite an event. The great Moscow editor has never had such a mysterious partisan. Learning that the Maharaja had been advised by Katkoff's representatives not to receive me I wished to see how far the advice would be practised so I sent in my card. The Maharaja at once sent word that he was very busy writing and excused himself for not being able to see me, I had heard that a few days before the British Vice-Consul at Moscow had called upon His Highness and had been told that if he had come with instructions from his government the Maharaja would rather not see him, so that I was not at all surprised at being put off in this way. As I was leaving the hotel, however, Aroor Singh, the Ade-Camp came after me in the corridor with a note signed and sealed by the Maharaja formally declining to grant me an interview.

The same correspondent goes on :

"There can no longer be any doubt that Dhulip Singh has taken up his residence in Russia as the avowed enemy of England. He makes no further concealment of his intentions, and it is rumoured that one of his first steps would be to become a Russian subject. Some Russians here talk as though he laid some vague ancestral claim to the whole of Afghanistan, this must in any case be positively certain that he has already been in telegraphic communication from Moscow over the Russian wires with an important and well known point on the Afghan frontier. This may give an idea of what he and Katkoff may be hatching at Moscow and it will be interesting to follow the further development of Indn-Moscovite intrigue.

444. FROM SIR R.B.D. MORIER, HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT ST. PETERSBURG, TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. 57. NO. 236.

ST. PETERSBURG,
6TH JULY, 1887.

In the course of conversation the other day, the subject of Maharaja Dalip Singh's visit to Moscow having been touched on, M. de Giers incidently made a remarkable admission. I had all along been firmly convinced, though without positive data, that it must have been through General Bogdanovich that the Maharaja had been smuggled into Russia, and I had assumed the fact in speaking to His Excellency, as not requiring any proof. Upon which His Excellency observed "as you know the truth I will not now conceal from you, though what I state is stated in the utmost confidence that it was owing to the discovery of his having been the instrument by which the Maharaja had effected his entrance into Russia that I finally persuaded the emperor to make an example of the intriguing General."

The Emperor as I reported to Your Lordship in a former despatch, had been much incensed at the surreptitious manner in which the Maharaja had succeeded in baffling the vigilance of the regular Imperial Police officials, and therefore that of the Officers appointed by H.M. to look to his own safety as well as that of the public. Accordingly the Emperor's first exclamation, when M. de Giers reported to him that I had informed His Excellency of the presence of the Maharaja in Russia, that in reply he had denied the possibility of such an arrival unknown to itself and that nevertheless it had turned out to be true, was—"It was passing strange that the British Ambassador should have at his disposal at St. Petersburg a better police than I have." It is clear that M. de Giers had utilized this current of Imperial indignation to submerge his adversary. As he related the story to me, he only pointed out to H.M. to what an impossible position he was reduced, if as Foreign Minister he led, through ignorance of M. Katkoff and his staff, a Foreign Ambassador into error and that in so glaring a manner as to destroy for the future all confidence in his most solemn assurances. But I think he placed the case before H.M. so as necessarily to make his Imperial listener feel *de te fabule narratur*. In a word General Bogdanovich, whose position was already undermined, had been caught in *flagrante delicto* doing a piece of Executive business behind the back of the Emperor, of H.M.'s Ministers and of H.M.'s Police officials and his fate was sealed. But this is not all, M. de Giers dropped the expression '*C*' *était un acte de trahison* ! I

caught up the phrase as very strong for the occasion, and M. de Giers was proceeding to make some observation when he stopped himself and changed the conversation. From what he did say, however, I gathered clearly that Maharaja's unlawful crossing of the frontier was only a link in the intrigue which there is no doubt M. Katkoff was carrying on through him last winter at Paris and that his invitation to the Maharaja to come to Moscow was somehow or other connected with this intrigue.

445. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE
VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B., INDIA OFFICE*

(PRIVATE)

SIMLA,
JULY 14TH, 1887.

My dear Lord Cross,

I am not able to send the report of the Punjab Government by this mail, but the enclosed memorandum [on Dalip Singh] by a native detective of our own, whom the Foreign Office has been recently employing, may interest you, though after all there is not very much in it.

Believe me,
My dear Lord Cross,
Yours sincerely,
Dufferin.

DALIP SINGH

The Manjha Sikhs take great interest in everything concerning Dalip Singh. In every village Dalip Singh's affairs are freely and constantly discussed. The persons who have suffered through the fall of Sikh dynasty, and who will gain by Dalip Singh's success, are busy in inciting the people to support Dalip Singh's cause. Most prominent among them are the relatives of Sirdar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, Jamiat Rai Jhiwar of Malla, Pertab Singh *Granthi* of Amritsar, Thakur of Vagha, Harikishan *Prohat* of Lahore, and Jowand Singh of Barki. All the above are either Dalip Singh's relatives or servants, and during the Sikh rule, they held very high positions. At present they are nothing, and it is natural that they should clamour to see again the bygone days of their being all powerful. About 20 days ago, a Fakir was noticed travelling about in the Lahore district quietly making inquiries as to the feeling of the people, and at

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross — microfilm preserved in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

the same time informing them that Russia will gladly receive any Sikh going over to their country. Two carpenters of Bhadana recognised him as the one whom they noticed at Quetta.

Sirdar Thakur Singh is carrying on correspondence with his friends and relatives in the Punjab. In his letters, recently received, he informed the Sikhs that anyone wishing to join Dalip Singh can come over to Pondicherry, and from thence he will have them sent and pay their expenses to Russia.

Among the rumours which were being publicly discussed was the following, viz., that a Sikh Sirdar of the Man family from the Gujranwala district, in anticipation of Dalip Singh's return, has just returned after betrothing his daughter to the Maharajah.

Nothing can positively be ascertained as to what this agitation and interest will eventually lead, and the opinion of the oldest Sikhs and Muhamedans is that it depends on the spur of the moment. If on Dalip Singh's arrival on the frontier, only a few of the Sikhs rise up, their brethren will follow them; but, on the other hand, if they stand fast, they will fight to the last against him. The Sikhs who stand in this position are only of Manjha. The Hindus and Muhamedans of Manjha and the Cis-Satluj Sikhs have no sympathy with Dalip Singh, and will never have any, for it means their own ruin. The days when the Muhamedans, under the Sikh rule, were not allowed to say their prayers aloud, and when their mosques and shrines were desecrated, are still before their eyes. But there is one disaffected sect in the Punjab which is bound to rise—the Kukas. For the last few months every one of them is in a state of activity, and on the slightest excitement they are bound to give trouble to government.

As far as it can be ascertained, it appears that Dalip Singh is working under a mistaken idea, and is placing great deal of reliance on the expected support of the Punjabis. Jowand Singh of Barki, who met him at Aden, says that the first thing Dalip Singh asked him was as to how the Punjabis were affected towards him, and that on being informed that they were all with him, Dalip Singh said that he had already been informed by Thakur Singh and others to that effect.

The opinion of the sensible natives in the Punjab is that in the same way as Lehna Singh ruined the Sikhs in 1848-49, his son Thakur Singh has done the same thing with Dalip Singh in 1886-87.

The native troops, either the Sikhs or the Muhamedans, take no interest in Dalip Singh. I have heard one officer of the 31st F. N. I. Regiment remarking that if the Government will offer something for Dalip Singh's head, he will be the first to shoot him down,

II

No. 66,* a forwarding letter

No. 67, T. V. Lister sends the following letter (a copy) to under Secretary of State, India Office.

446. FROM HIS EXCELLENCY SIR R. MORIER, G.C.M.G., HER
MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, ST. PETERSBURG, TO
THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

NO. 252.

ST. PETERSBURG
20TH JULY, 1887.

It will be in your Lordship's recollection that the *Times* correspondent asserted some time ago in the most positive manner that the Maharaja Dalip Singh had been received by the Governor General of Moscow who had returned his visit and forwarded a petition on his behalf to the Emperor I instructed the Vice-Consul at Moscow to make careful enquiries into the truth of this assertion and I now learn from him that the report is entirely untrue. The Maharaja was never received by the Governor-General and only once met His Excellency casually at the house of Am. Cheremetieff.

447. The *TRIBUNE* dated July 23, 1887, page 1, Col. 2

DHULIP SINGH IN RUSSIA

The *Times* Moscow correspondent writing on June 10 says :—

The Maharaja Dhulip Singh is still at his hotel in Moscow, but without his aide-camp, Aroor Singh, who has gone to England. In the latter's state, though I do not mean to insinuate in the latter's capacity, His Indian Highness is now solaced in his hours of brooding discontent by a Turkish gentleman, who has recently arrived from Constantinople for the express purpose. It would seem, of conferring with the prince. There is as yet no particular reason for attaching any importance to this new arrival among the Maharaja's Moscow friends, except the very natural one of the suspicious curiosity attaching through his own fault alone, to every little circumstance of His Highness's life in Russia. Such is this curiosity, that we may not improbably hear before long of a Russian Indo-Turkish coalition instead of a Russian Indo-Irish one under the aegis of M. Katkoff. It has become known on authority which I have no reason to doubt that His Highness is tomorrow to be formally received in audience by the Governor General of Moscow, Prince Dolgoruky. For

* Foreign Deptt. Secret I, October 1887, No. 66—69.

some time certain members of society in St. Petersburg and Moscow have been debating the question as to whether the Maharaja has committed any crime against England which would make his open reception among them a dangerous and unadvisable proceeding. If the report of an alleged appointment with Prince Dologoruky turn out to be true, we must conclude that Russian society has at last solved the question in Maharaja's favour and, that with the exception of frequent explosions of riot against England when he is mistaken for an Englishman, His Highness is held to have done nothing which could properly exclude him from the highest Moscovite circles.

448. FROM H.J.S. COTTON, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official) Confidential

NO. 2,

KYD STREET, CALCUTTA,
5TH AUGUST, 1887.

I think it right to let you know at once that we arrested this morning a Sikh, one Arur Singh, who has come direct from Dalip Singh at Moscow and who carried with him letters from Dalip Singh which are conclusive evidence of treason on his part. These are original letters in the Maharaja's own handwriting. One is to King of Oudh, another is a circular letter; and there are others of very compromising character.

Bernard (the acting Deputy Commissioner) is off immediately to see the Lieutenant-Governor and inform him of everything. In the meantime I think that Colonel Henderson (if such work falls within his department) should come to Calcutta at once and thoroughly investigate and report.

Arur Singh has been, I believe, for nine years in Europe. He has come as Dalip's accredited 'Ambassador' and was arrested as soon as he arrived in Calcutta. He was only here one day, having come from Madras and was on his way to Chandernagore.

We kept everything perfectly secret. The arrest was effected in consequence of information received from a Bengali informer (a Police Inspector on leave) who has before now given information on the same subject.

We know nothing yet to implicate any body in Calcutta.

449. FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, BHAGALPUR,
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA.

NO. 3.

TELEGRAM DATED 7TH AUGUST, 1887.

Cotton's letter of 5th Lieutenant-Governor seen Bernard and documents found on Aroor Singh. Among others autograph letter from Dalip

Singh to King of Oudh and Circular to native Princes, promising deliverance from British yoke with help of Russia and asking token of adherence to convince Czar. Arur Singh is undoubtedly emissary of Dalip Singh. After particulars follow. Detention necessary, please send warrant under section 2, Regulation III of 1818, addressed Commissioner of Police Calcutta, for detention Arur Singh alias Partab Singh. Telegraph officially self-sufficiency Cotton that warrant has issued. Prosecution not recommended but your own agent should be sent up to follow enquiry.

II

No. 4 is warrant for arrest of Arur Singh under Regulation III of 1818.

450. FROM J. WARE EDGAR, ESQ., C.S.I., BHAGALPUR,
TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

ON BOARD YACHT RHOTAS,
7TH AUGUST, 1887.

In continuation of telegram of this date, I am to send you further particulars about the arrest of Arur Singh. It appears that some months ago a detective Officer under Barnard wrote to Dalip Singh a dummy letter expressing sympathy, and desire to aid him. This letter though unsigned indicated that the writer was employed in Bengal Police, and might be heard of through friends of Dalip Singh at Chandernagore. Dalip Singh seems to have been taken in by this, and when sending emissary, Arur Singh, to India, gave him a letter for delivery to the writer of the anonymous letter, if found. A copy of this letter marked 'C' is enclosed. The reports of Barnard and the Inspector detail how the latter found out Arur Singh, introduced himself to him, wormed out his secret, and finally had him arrested. I enclosed copies of two of the letters referred to by Barnard and of the extract from 'C' letter to Dalip Singh. Arur Singh told the Inspector that 'C' is an Irishman, who is or was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army, and Sir Stuart Bayley ventures to suggest that the English Police might be communicated with on the subject. All these letters are autographs and the signatures correspond with that of the cheque on the Bank of Bengal found with Arur Singh. There seems no reason to doubt their genuineness.

The Lieutenant-Governor considers a prosecution in the case would not be advisable but that Arur Singh should be detained under Regulation 3 of 1818, until the Governor General in Council had decided on his disposal. He also thinks that one of your agents should be sent to Calcutta, to follow up the enquiry.

Barnard took upon himself very serious responsibility in arresting Arur Singh. But Sir Stuart Bayley considers that he acted rightly, and he would be glad if Government of India were to let him have a word of encouragement.

A

Confidential Report

NO. 8.

At 3-30 A.M. on the 5th August 1887, the special Inspector, who was employed in looking after the arrival and departure of foreigners, but who is on leave, came to me and reported that Arur Singh, who was for some years with Maharaja Dalip Singh in Europe, had come to Calcutta and was at that very time sleeping in the Inspector's house, believing that officer to be a well wisher of Dalip Singh.

The Inspector made over to me five letters that had been entrusted to him by Arur Singh for safe custody, of these four were opened, one being a circular letter to the "Princes of Hindustan". Another a copy of a letter written by one "C" at Paris to the Maharaja, and certified as being a true copy by Dalip Singh himself, and two other unaddressed letters to private individuals; the fifth letter was closed and addressed to the King of Oudh. This letter I opened and read. All these letters were of an inflammatory nature and treasonable to the British Government.

From what the Inspector had been able to draw out of Arur Singh, it appears that he has been for some years with Dalip Singh in England, and eventually accompanied his master to Russia, which country he apparently left some time in May last.

Leaving Dalip Singh at Moscow, Arur Singh came down to Odessa and thence crossed the Black sea in a German steamer to Constantinople; he then went via Suez to Colombo in, I believe, foreign steamers, and there changed into one of the B.I.S.N. Co.'s steamers which brought him to Madras.

He then went by train to Pondicherry where he stayed for some time with Sardar Thakur Singh, from Pondicherry he went to Hyderabad, and eventually came to French Chandernagore where he arrived on the 1st instant.

On this date, the Inspector reported to me that a Sikh who lived like an European, had come to Chandernagore; having heard that Arur Singh had left the Maharaja and suspecting that this might be the same man, I told the officer to keep his eyes open in case the man should come down to Calcutta; this he did, to such good effect that he noticed the Sikh, who subsequently turned out to be Arur Singh, arrived in Calcutta on 2nd

instant and watched him visit certain houses in the town; on the evening on the 4th instant, the Inspector managed to make the acquaintance of Arur Singh, gain his confidence and obtain possession of the above mentioned letters, which he brought at once to me.

With these facts before me at about 6 O'clock in the morning, I came to the conclusion that it would be advisable to arrest Arur Singh at once lest he should ask for the letter to be delivered to the King of Oudh, and not getting it become suspicious and go back to Chandernagore, from which place he could go to Russia without coming into British India again.

I, therefore, arranged that the Inspector should go back to Arur Singh and by telling him that it was necessary that he should change his residence, induce him to get into a *ticca ghari* with his baggage and then have him driven straight into the Detective Department Thana, where he could be quietly arrested.

I then went to the Detective Department Thana taking a trustworthy European constable named Campbell with me, and there arranged with Inspector Millard that directly the *ghari* entered the compound, the gates should be closed and Arur Singh should be arrested by him and constable Campbell.

At about 9 O'clock I received the information that the arrest had been effected as I had arranged, and having gone to the spot and satisfied myself that the arrested man was Arur Singh, I had taken him quietly to the lock up at the Central Police Office, in a *ticca ghari* with closed door.

I then examined Arur Singh's baggage and detained a courier bag and a small hand bag, making a list of their contents, and made the other property over to him, after it had been carefully overhauled.

In a pocket book which was in the hand bag, I found a letter from the Bank of Bengal to Dalip Singh, dated 1st April, 1887, a cheque for Rs. 500/- on the Bank of Bengal drawn by Dalip Singh, the person to whom payable being left blank, four French Bank notes for 100 Francs each, three envelopes addressed to "Mustafa Effendi, Constantinople", one envelope addressed to Messrs Zenker & Co., Moscow, Russia, on the reverse of which was written the following address: "Madame Vallier 58, Rue de la Rochefoucauld, Paris, France", and one English postage stamp.

At 10 P.M. of the 5th instant, I reported the above facts to the Commissioner of Police and obtained permission to go to Bhagalpur, and report the same to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor.

I have made no examination of Arur Singh, but he volunteered the information that he had been sent to India by Dalip Singh to borrow money.

Arur Singh is now confined in Police lock up, where he is allowed to have anything that he requires in reason and is made as comfortable as possible, he is seen daily by Dr. Mackenzie, the Police Surgeon.

At 4-30 P.M. on the 6th instant I left Calcutta for Bhagalpur to report this case with particulars to His Honour the Lt.-Governor of Bengal.

Bhagalpur,
7th August, 1887.

A.B. Barnard,
Offg. Dy. Commissioner of Police,
Calcutta.

B

NO. 9.

Ref : Arur Singh alias Partab Singh (Secret and Confidential)

Being on leave I have been unable to note the facts of this case in my diary, but as it is an important case, I put it in the present form and beg that the same may be filed with other papers.

During the middle of July, the Deputy Commissioner informed me that Arur Singh had disappeared from Moscow and directed me to watch such Punjabis as might come down to this part of country. On the 1st of this month, I got information that a Sikh was putting up at Chandernagore and living like an European. The matter was immediately reported to the Deputy Commissioner, who directed that the man should be closely watched ; the next day Arur Singh came down to Calcutta, and availing myself of my leave, I devoted my whole time in watching him. He moved about a great deal and at night was seen in the House of Mr. J. Ghosal of the Kassiabagan Villa, Circular Road. On the 3rd, he was noticed in the vicinity of Simla and at night I saw him enter the house of Nilamber Mukerji, Beadon street. On the 4th, I managed to form his acquaintance. I found him cautious but soon succeeded far in gaining his confidence as to enter into his secrets. During our conversation he said that he was native of Kohalli in the Amritsar district and had for the last several years living with prince Dalip Singh, and has come out as an emissary. He said in coming out he took a circuitous way and frequently changed his steamers. It cost him about £102. Leaving Dalip Singh at Moscow, he came down to Odessa, crossed the Black sea in a German steamer and reached Constantinople, crossed the Mediterranean and came to Suez. From Suez he came to Colombo, thence to Madras, where he took the train to Pondicherry, where he put up with S. Thakur Singh. From Pondicherry he came to Hyderabad, Deccan. Here he met with a man named Hazari Singh who rendered him

every assistance, but being afraid to live in British jurisdiction he came up to Chandernagore which he reached on the 1st instant.

With a view to knowing more of this man, I played the part of a sceptic and told him that before I trusted him with my secrets, he must convince me that he was not a member of the secret force. Upon that he produced lettres written by the Bank of Bengal to Maharaja Dalip Singh dated the 1st April, 1887, and a blank cheque signed by Dalip Singh, besides that he referred me to the crest and the monogram of the Punjab Prince. For the purpose of getting hold of those letters, I told him that it was dangerous for him to carry these letters about his person, and asked him to hand over the same to me for safe custody which he unsuspectingly did. This happened at 2 O'clock in the morning of the 5th and I immediately placed them at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner.

Under the direction of the Deputy Commissioner, I called on him again and under the plea of accompanying him to Chandernagore, I led him into the trap prepared by the Deputy Commissioner for his arrest.

With regard to the Russian intrigue in India, I shall record here what he said to me.

As we have succeeded in arresting him very quietly, I beg that there should be no public trial in this case. I also beg that Ghosal, Nilamber Mukerji, and the late proprietor of the *Beaver* should be left altogether untouched for any proceedings against them would seriously interfere with my future work.

6th August, 1887.

Sd. Inspector of Police.
(on leave)

C

DATED CARE OF ZENKER & CO., MOSCOW, RUSSIA*

My unknown friend,

I received your letter without signature which made me happy, but you must be careful in writing to me for your own sake. Your letter appeared to me to have been opened.

I pray God that your second giving your name may not fall into the hands of the British Government. I think the best way to communicate important news would be to send a special to me. The expense would not be very great, and he could come from Calcutta by a French boat to Port Said, and from there to Constantinople, and via Odessa.

A passport of course would be necessary, but our friend at

* Foreign Deptt. Secret 1 October 1887. No. 10.

Chandernagore could easily procure one from the French officials. A French passport would be better than an English one.

The bearer of this will give you my news by word of mouth.

Please help him every way.

Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Pb.

D

NO. 11

DATED CARE OF MESSRS ZENKER & CO., MOSCOW.

BROTHER PRINCES OF HINDUSTAN

We send our faithful and trusted Arur Singh from here to announce to you our arrival in Russia and to inform you that we shall soon come to India to your assistance. Therefore, believe no reports to the contrary whether they be published by the British Government or by the newspapers. We shall give our life to free you from the English yoke, and only ask you to be prepared for your deliverance, for by the aid of the Almighty we shall succeed. But as it is necessary that we should report to the Emperor of Russia who among you are for His Imperial Majesty and who for the continuance of the British rule, therefore, we request you to inform by word of mouth only our trusted Ambassador on which side you mean to take part in the coming struggle.

If you should decide on serving the Emperor then confirm your fidelity to His Imperial Majesty by sending some kind of token, in order that you might not lose the reward for your preferred loyalty on the day of the defeat of the accursed English.

Look to the efficiency of your armies and get them in order.

The above is our address should you wish to communicate direct with us, but we advise you not to write to us for fear of your letters falling into the hands of the British Government.

Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Punjab.

E

NO. 12.

Copy of letter addressd on envelope His Majesty King of Oudh, Calcutta, India, care of Messrs Zenker & Co., Moscow, Russia, the 18th May, 1887.

With great joy I announce to you that I have reached Russia and hope through the mercy of God and with the aid of the Emperor of Russia

soon to come to India and deliver your Majesty from the hands of the accursed English and to replace you on your throne.

You and I though placed in similar circumstances by the same wicked hand, yet I have reached this great empire, while you are still in the hands of your enemies, therefore, I advise you to be very careful.

Many Princes of India have written to say that they will assist me both with their armies and money. Also some 45,000 Sikhs in the British Army in India are with the entire Punjab loyal to me, but as I desire your Majesty to join us also, I therefore address you on the subject.

Please do not write, but send me some token that I may be assured of your good will also to the glorious cause of liberating our mother country from the hateful yoke of the accursed English rule.

Yours sincere friend,
Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Pb.

F

DATED PARIS, THE 15TH MAY, 1887.

Mon (i.e., My) Prince

I had almost thought myself forgotten when your letter arrived, I posted the enclosure to Constantinople and through one of my Irishmen had the other mailed in England, where you will see from the enclosed cuttings that your Russian journey had made a sensation. ... I am quite of your opinion about the article at least so far as it regards you. The hour has not yet sounded, but is not distant. I know that in England the Government is convinced of the inevitability of an Anglo-Russian War and fears that France may take sides with the Moscovites (i.e., Russia).

The two military parties of the Irish nationalities have drawn up a proposal for the establishment of an Irish military colony near the Indian frontier—600 to 6,100 men engaging to attract to it 11,000 to 13,000 Irish deserters from the British army.

The colony probably to be commanded by one of our most devoted friends, who will act as the Imperial Government of Russia may dictate, and it is suggested that, if necessary and expedient, it will be ready to march in the service of any deposed sovereign and place him on the throne.

I am waiting for M. de C. to send document, but you might refer to the matter with Katkoff, for no time is to be lost. Pray write me a line on the subject.

451. FROM A.B. BARNARD, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND,
ESQ., C.S.I.*
(Confidential)

NO. 14.

POLICE OFFICE, CALCUTTA,
10TH AUGUST, 1887.

With reference to Arur Singh's case, the papers of which you will have received from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. As the special Officer who gave me information of Arur Singh's presence in Calcutta, knows more of the ins and outs of any intrigues that may have been going in this part of the country, do you think that it would be advisable for me to place him on special duty under the officer you may depute to enquire and let him continue working in the case?

II

Nos. 15 & 16 are letters giving approval of the above proposal.

452. FROM T.V. LISTER, ESQ., UNDER SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO THE UNDER
SECRETARY OF STATE, INDIA OFFICE

FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON,
15TH AUGUST, 1887.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to transmit to you, to be laid before the Secretary of State for India, a copy of a despatch as marked in the margin (in Sir R.M. Morier No. 257 relating to Sheikh Jemal-ed-din.)

Enclosure

A

453. FROM W.M. HARNSTEDT, ESQ., VICE-CONSUL,
MOSCOW, TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR R. MORIER,
G.C.M.G., HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR
AT ST. PETERSBURG

BRITISH VICE-CONSULATE,
MOSCOW, 23RD JULY, 1887.

I just became aware of Djemal-ed-din's appearance in this city through the Moscow Gazette of the 1st July (O.S.) which contained an article headed by the "Afghan Sheikh in Moscow" giving an account of his life and mentioning that he arrived here from Persia.

* Foreign Deptt. Secret I, October 1887. No. 14-96.

I immediately suspected that he had some connection with the Maharaja Dalip Singh and at once made my enquiries but could learn nothing about Djemal-ed-din until yesterday when I discovered that he was staying at the Hotel Royal, a third class hotel in Moscow.

Dalip Singh has taken a country house near Moscow and I have therefore not the same opportunity to observe in speaking of them, but I have not the slightest indication of any connection between the Raja and the Aga Cheyab or that the two have even met.

I hear the Raja blusters a good deal, he told the German Consul that within three years there would not be an Englishman to be found in the whole of India.

Alas for Dalip Singh ! Mr. Katkoff is *bors de combat* and is not likley ever to show fight again.

454. FROM H.M. DURAND ESQ., C.S.I. TO COLONEL
SIR EDWARD BRADFORD, K.C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 17.

SIMLA,
19TH AUGUST, 1887.

We have just arrested in Calcutta a "trusted Ambassador" of Dalip Singh, one Arur Singh, alias Pertab Singh, who has been with the Maharaja for some years and has now come to India from Moscow via Odessa, Constantinople, and Colombo. He landed at Madras, stayed some time at Pondicherry with Thakur Singh, and after visiting Hyderabad, came on to Chandernagore. He had with him an autograph letter from Dalip Singh to the King of Oudh and circular to the native princes, promising deliverance from the British yoke with the help of Russia and asking them to send some token to convince the Czar of their adherence. I enclose a copy of these letters.

The circumstances which led to the man's arrest are rather curious. A detective officer of the Calcutta Police wrote a dummy letter to Dalip Singh, expressing sympathy and a desire to aid him and stating that he could be heard of through Dalip Singh's friends at Chandernagore. This letter seems to have taken in the Maharaja, for when sending his emissary to India he gave him a note for delivery to the writer of anonymous letter.

The Police had intelligence of Arur Singh's disappearance from Moscow and were on the look out for the strange Punjabis. Arur Singh's arrival at Chandernagore was therefore observed and he was watched, followed to Calcutta and there quietly arrested. Besides the papers I

have referred to, the following were found with him :—

(a) A blank cheque on the Bank of Bengal drawn by Dalip Singh, the signature to which correspond with that of the letters.

(b) Three envelopes addressed to Mustafa Effendi, Constantinople.

(c) One envelope addressed to Messrs. Zenker and Co., Moscow, Russia, on the reverse of which was written "Madame Vallier, 58 Rue de la Rochefoucauld, Paris, France."

(d) Copy of an extract from a letter addressed to Dalip Singh signed by "C".

Of the last I enclose a copy. According to Arur Singh, "C" is an Irishman, and is or was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British army. Perhaps you may find it possible to institute enquiries in England about this gentleman.

Arur Singh alleges that his reason for visiting India is to borrow money for his master. He professes to be in possession of information regarding the Russian intrigues in India and Henderson has gone to Calcutta to enquire fully into the matter, taking with him all the information possessed by the Punjab Police and a man who knows Arur Singh well. I may add that Arur Singh seems to be a man of no great intelligence. Indeed his proceedings were so simple throughout as to suggest to me the idea of "Plant" on the other side. I telegraphed today that Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia had died at Pondicherry.

We had lately heard that he was in bad health and in great straits. He was reported to have spent all his money and to have written to his relatives in the Punjab that he could not support them any longer. This did not look as if the French Government were helping him with funds as alleged. The news of his death came last night from a man I had sent down to clear up this point.

I take this opportunity of enclosing copy of printed correspondence of the state of feelings in the Sikh Regiments regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh. I understand that the Military department were sending but it seems they are not.

To close a long letter you tell me whether Dalip Singh is drawing any income from his estates in England? No doubt his wife helps him from her liberal allowance but it would be interesting to know, if possible, what his total resources are.

455. FROM ALI MOHAMMAD, PONDICHERRY,
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 20TH AUGUST, 1887.

Sohan Lal of Dadri, servant of mother of Nahar Singh of Balabgarh, age 40, height 5'—3", blind of one eye, travelling with letters stitched

under lining of portmanteau, among Sikh states since June last. Have him looked after please.

456. FROM H.M. DURAND, TO J. WARE EDGAR,
ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official) Confidential

SIMLA,
20TH AUGUST, 1887.

I have to acknowledge your demi-official letter of the 7th August regarding Arur Singh.

The case, which no doubt was difficult one, has been worked very well, and the Viceroy fully approves of the action taken by Mr. Barnard in arresting Arur Singh when he did. Will you kindly tell him so? Any hesitation on his part might have done serious harm, and he deserves credit for so promptly taking upon himself the responsibility.

Colonel Henderson has left for Calcutta with all the information he could get here and with a man who knows Arur Singh, and I have informed Cotton by telegraph.

Arur Singh does not seem to be a person of striking intelligence. Indeed his whole proceedings were so simple that they almost suggest a "Plant" on the other side.

457. FROM ALI MUHAMMED, PONDICHERRY,
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 70.

TELEGRAM DATED 21ST AUGUST, 1887.

Jowala Singh of Raja Sansi, Amitsar, left today with letters and verbal instructions and Thakur Singh's bones. Will go first to Hardwar.

II

In No. 71, H.M. Durand instructs D. McCracken to watch Jowala Singh.

458. FROM H.M. Durnand, ESQ., C.S.I.,
TO D. McCRACKEN, ESQ.

NO. 98.

SIMLA,
21ST AUGUST, 1887.

This is from Aziz-ud-din. Perhaps you can make something of it.

459. FROM THUGGEE, CALCUTTA, TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, CALCUTTA

NO. 19.

TELEGRAM DATED 22ND AUGUST, 1887.

Have now two interviews with Arur Singh for two hours. Each time he pretended ignorance and gave no information. Case looks hopeless, but will try again. In case of failure, solicit orders about his disposal. Lock-up here not very suitable. Police Commissionar anxious to get him away early. Would suggest Chunnar, North Western province may be prepared in anticipation.

II

No. 20 to 24 are small telegrams about Arur Singh's transfer to Chunar jail.

460. FROM COL. P. D. HENDERSON, TO H. M. DURAND, ESQ. C.S.I., (Demi-Official)

NO. 25.

U.S. CLUB, CALCUTTA,
22ND AUGUST, 1887.

I have this afternoon telegraphed to you in cypher telling you of my failure to extract anything from Arur Singh. I arrived here yesterday (Sunday) morning, saw Barnard at once who had no more information than that contained in the papers already submitted and after breakfast interviewed Arur Singh for a couple of hours.

His story is that he was sent by Dilip Singh for the sole object of raising money in India and was told not to show his face again unless he appeared with a large sum, that his instructions were to go to Shashi Bhushan Mukerji, the Editor of the *Beaver* at Chandernagar who would direct him as to his future movements and the persons from whom he was to collect money. Another person whom he was instructed to visit is Lala Jbinda Ram, the pleader at Multan, who you will remember sent you an autograph letter from Dalip last June. Arur Singh says that Jhinda Ram promised to obtain pecuniary assistance for the Maharaja.

Questioned regarding his visit to Thakur Singh at Pondichery, he would say nothing except that no plans were settled as Jawala Singh, a man sent by the Sardar into the Punjab to feel the ground of Arur Singh, had not returned. Thakur Singh was going to give him instruction as to where to go for money on this man's return. Questioned regarding his stay at Hyderabad, he would not admit that he went to see any Sikh leader

there. States that he wanted to see the Nizam, but learning from two Sikhs whom he met casually and whose names he does not know that this was not practicable, he came on to Chandernagar. Questioned about the circular letter to the chiefs of Hindustan, he would not name anyone to whom he had been specially accredited. At one time he said he was going to call on all the chiefs, and at another to those only whom Shashi Bhushan should advise him to visit.

Beyond one or two little bits of incidental information this was all I could get out of him. As soon as I brought him back in my cross examination to the main point—intrigues in India—he stopped short and took refuge in a solid assertion of ignorance. He would not admit the truth of the detective's report that he had visited Babu Nilambar and a man named Ghosal in Calcutta being evidently determined not to incriminate anyone. He would not admit that Shashi Bhushan had made any communication to him, but says this man told him to go to Chandernagar as it was not safe to make any disclosure in British territory. He was arrested, however, before he could return to that place.

I was not mistaken in my fear that a Sikh would not be easily brought to peach. Arur Singh is a dull, heavy man and to all appearance about as bad a messenger as Dalip Singh could have chosen, but he is faithful or obstinate. There can be no doubt that he knows all about the intrigues carried on by Thakur Singh and others after the fortnight that he spent with this Sardar at Pandicherry, that he must have had some special business at Hyderabad, that he must have had communications with some sympathisers here during the three days he spent in Calcutta before capture. In my first interview I pointed out to him the penalties to which he had rendered himself liable, and promised him a remission of, or exemption from, these in case of his making the only possible reparation by telling the whole truth. By this afternoon, I hoped to find him more compliant, but he was rather the reverse, and struck obstinately to his story.

Now in regard to this story, I am inclined to think that there is a great deal of truth in the statement that the main object of Arur Singh was to get funds. He says that the Russians offered to give Dalip Singh an allowance for his maintenance but that the latter was too proud to accept it and declared that his Indian subjects would supply all his wants. Arur Singh asserts that no money has come in from India, that Kashmir gave no present, that the Maharani does not send any money from England, and he says his orders were most peremptory not to show his face again without bringing money with him. The fact of Dalip having written a circular letter to the chiefs of India without addressing anyone in particular looks as if he had not received pecuniary assistance or promise from

any of them, and the view is rather confirmed by the separate letter to the King, he would presumably have written to any chief from whom he had received promises or entertained hopes. This circular backed up with a copy of 'C's' letter about an Irish colony on the frontier has an appearance of a bid for subscriptions.

Another factor seems to point to the absence of much communication on the part of Dalip Singh with India or knowledge of what is going on out here, it would seem also to show an absence of communication between Thakur Singh and the Chandernagar sympathisers of Dalip. Arur Singh did not know that the publication of the *Beaver* had been stopped which it was last February, and went to Chandernagar expecting to find the office of the paper. He was obliged, as I learnt from the detective, to go to the Post Office in order to find the address of the former Editor, Shashi Bhushan, who lives in British territory. Hence his visit to Calcutta where he got caught.

I don't know that there is any reason to doubt the truth of Arur Singh's unprompted statement that he was instructed to visit Lala Jhinda Ram, the Multan pleader, but it is pretty clear that Jhinda Ram is not an eager or influential partisan of Dalip Singh, and if this man and the Bengali Babu at Chandernagar were the two principal people that Arur Singh was told to visit, it does not seem to indicate that Dalip Singh has received much sympathy or pecuniary support from India as yet. Of course, Arur Singh may in time have obtained access to chiefs or influential men, but it certainly looks as if the ground had not been prepared beforehand by intrigues in India.

I will try again whether Arur Singh can be induced to speak, but do not feel at all sanguine. In case of failure, I have asked for orders regarding his disposal. It is not advisable to keep him longer than can be helped in the lock up here, for the police office is much frequented place, and the fact of his being confined here is sure to get out before long. I have, therefore, suggested his being sent to Chunar. There seems no reason for treating him there any better than he would be treated in prison if convicted of the serious offence of which he has been guilty, and a little discomfort may possibly make him more inclined to confess after a time.

There is no use in my staying, pleasant though it is after Simla, in Calcutta if Arur Singh continues obdurate and I propose after seeing him again to ask leave by telegram to start.

461. FROM D. McCracken, Esq., TO H.M. DURAND,
ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official) Confidential

NO. 99.

BERNMORE, SIMLA,
22ND AUGUST, 1887.

I return herewith the telegram from Aziz-ud-din you sent me yesterday. Sohan Lal is not mentioned in any of the papers in our office, but I conjecture that he has come from Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia probably on begging expedition, as the Sardar is known to be very hard up indeed, having come to the end of the money of his son, Gurbachan Singh, raised in Shahpur district before joining his father at Pondicherry.

Nahar Singh mentioned in the telegram was the last Raja of Balabgarh in the Delhi district, who after a long reign (from 1829) was implicated in correspondence with the mutineers in 1857 and was hanged. Several of his relatives, including an uncle (mother's brother) were deported, I believe, to Rangoon. The raj was confiscated but the dowager Rani, Nahar Singh's mother, Rani Kishen Kaur, was allowed to reside in Balabgarh. The Gazetteer of 1883-84 says she bought the Zamindari rights in Balabgarh from Government for Rs. 64,500, and that she receives a pension of Rs. 500 a month, so she is well off. Bikrama Singh, the present Raja of Faridkot, is a connection of this lady's having married a daughter of Nahar Singh's.

They are also connected with Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia. I do not know what the connection is at present but I will ascertain.

I will endeavour to trace Sohan Lal, who may have been entrusted with letters relating to Maharaja Dalip Singh, though I do not think it is likely. Meanwhile I should be glad if you would ask Aziz-ud-din for some further particulars of his travels, whether he is likely to have assumed any disguise, &c.

P.S.

Since writing the above, the *Civil and Military Gazette* of August 22nd has come in, and I see in it a report of Sardar Thakur Singh's death. This is not unlikely to be true as he was reported to be very ill. Another of Dalip Singh's supporters gone!

II

Nos. 100 and 101 are letters by Durand enquiring about particulars regarding Sohan Lal and informing McCracken about the same.

462. NO. 102.

Aziz-ud-din informs Durnand by telegram, date not given, as under:—"Sohan Lal started from Pondicherry in June last. Is a goldsmith of Dadri. Please start enquiries from that place. Will dress like a Hindustani.

463 FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., C.S.I.,
TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 53.

SIMLA,
22ND AUGUST, 1887.

In my demi-official letter of the 27th May last some information was given regarding a Kuka as Banarsi Babu. It has now been reported to us from Calcutta that this man left Calcutta on the 16th July for Patna whence he proceeded to Muzafferpur. The latter place he left at the end of last month, and is said to have gone to Nepal for the purpose of visiting the shrine of Pasupatinath.

464. FROM THUGEE, CALCUTTA, TO FOREIGN
SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 26.

TELEGRAM DATED 29TH AUGUST, 1887.

Aziz-ud-din arrived today. We made final attempt to extract information from Arur Singh, and leave tomorrow to follow other clues from Simla. Please impress on Punjab importance of arresting Sohan Lal. Enquiry should be started from Dadri with great caution.

II

No. 27 reports fairly satisfactory results (Telegram).

III

No. 28 to 31 concern transfer of Arur Singh to Chunar and the issue of warrants.

465. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., TO C. GIRDLESTONE, ESQ.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 54.

SIMLA,
30TH AUGUST, 1887.

A Kuka known as Banarsi Babu, or Banarsi Das, who is said to have been a Guru of Dalip Singh and to have been with the Mahraja in England has recently been preaching in Calcutta regarding Dalip Singhs,

intended return to India, with the help of Russia, and warning the Sikhs to hold themselves in readiness to join the Maharaja.

He only returned to India last year and was imprisoned at Mirut for violently resisting with arms in his hands an alleged encroachment on the grounds of his temple. He was released on the occasion of the Jubilee and went to Calcutta which place he left on the 16th July for Patna, whence he proceeded to Muzaffarpur. The latter station he is said to have left at the end of the last month for the purpose of visiting the shrine of Pasupatinath in Nepal.

You might have him watched, or find out what he has been doing. He is in correspondence with Dalip Singh and is supposed to be collecting funds for the Maharaja. It is desirable not to lose sight of him and I should be glad to have information of his movements.

P.S.

Banarsi Das is reported to have been once charged with uttering false coin at Allahabad, but escaped punishment, although his brother who was implicated was convicted.

II

No. 55. The Nepal Resident asks for descriptive role.

III

No. 56. Also asks for Personal description.

466. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.,
TO H.M. DURAND, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 127.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I think Aziz-ud-din had better go to Delhi. He knows the ins and outs of the entire Pondicherry intrigue and could no doubt work a full statement out of Sohan Lal.

The papers found are enough to justify Sohan Lal's arrest, which is good so far, but the man is a trusted agent and must know a great deal.

P.S.

• Aziz must be empowered to promise him some return if he confesses.

467. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., SECRETARY TO
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, TO THE SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF N.W.P. & OUDH
(Confidential)

NO. 32. NO. 3959 I.

SIMLA,
3RD SEPTEMBER, 1887.

With reference to my telegram of 23rd instant and your reply of the following day regarding a person that would probably be sent to Chunar on special warrant. I have this day addressed you the following telegram.

"Your telegram of 24th. Orders issued to Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to send to Chunar Arur Singh alias Pertab Singh. Please instruct Commandant Chunar to receive him. Warrant will be sent to Commandant direct. Letter follows."

I am now directed to inform you that the warrants in question under Regulation III of 1818, copy of which is herewith forwarded for your information, has been sent to Commandant, and that the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, has been instructed to send Arur Singh by the mail train leaving Calcutta on Tuesday, the 6th instant, in order to allow of preparations being made at Chunar for the man's reception.

I am also to beg that instructions may be given to the Commandant of Chunar fort to the effect that the prisoner should be securely guarded, being allowed, however, such moderate freedom and exercise as may be necessary for his health. All communications between him and strangers outside or visiting the fort, particularly Punjabis, should be prohibited. The Commandant may be requested to suggest the amount necessary for the diet and clothing of the prisoner bearing in mind that the man is a little more than a menial servant and that it is not necessary to show him any indulgence.

II

In No. 103 Magistrate of Mathura is asked to watch and report about Sohan Lal.

468. FROM DONALD McCracken, ESQ., TO COLONEL
P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.

NO. 104.

STOCK LODGE, SIMLA,
4TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I send herewith a telegram just received (S.A.M.) from the Magistrate of Mathura to say Sohan Lal has not arrived there.

We know he left Balabgarh on the 30th August, so this look, I fear, as if he had smelt a rat and given us the slip.

If further information from Muthra confirms this, perhaps, it would be best to arm Aziz-ud-din with a warrant under Regulation III of 1818, and sending him first to Merk at Delhi to pick up the clue, let him start in pursuit of Sohan Lal and run him to earth whereon he may be found.

P.S.

Shall I let Merk know that Sohan Lal has not apparently gone to Muthra? His man may be able to ascertain at Balabgarh, where Sohan Lal really has gone.

469. FROM DONALD McCracken, ESQ., TO COLONEL
P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 74.

SIMLA,
6TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I return herewith (1) Young's letter of 4th September, about advisability of arresting Sohan Lal and Jowala Singh, (2) copy of letter Colonel Menzies has this day sent to Mr. Warburton at Amritsar about arresting Jowala Singh. This letter will reach Amritsar tomorrow afternoon.

470. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., TO COLONEL P.D.
HENDERSON, C.S.I.
Enclosure

NO. 75.

SIMLA,
4TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

With reference to your conversation today, Mr. Lyall is of the opinion that the best course will be to arrest Sohan Lal and Jowala Singh and to imprison them, if it can be shown that they are the bearers of letters of the kind we suppose. Mr. Lyall thinks that the men might be prosecuted under the Penal Code with advantage if clear evidence of the facts is forthcoming. But in any case, he agrees to the Government of India's proposal for their immediate arrest under Regulation III of 1818.

471. FROM COLONEL O. MENZIES TO J.P. Warburton
(Demi-Official)

NO. 76.

SIMLA,
6TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

In continuation of previous demi-official communications regarding Jowala Singh of Raja Sansi, I write to inform you that the Government of

India have decided on arresting him under Regulation III of 1818. The warrant will follow this.

Jowala Singh should not be arrested till you receive telegraphic instructions from me to do so and this is only to warn you to keep careful and unobstructive watch over him, so that the arrest may be effected immediately on receipt of orders.

The important point is to get hold of papers of which he is supposed to be the bearer. It is believed that there are letters from Gurbachan Singh to the effect that he is carrying on the intrigues in favour of Dalip Singh, which were conducted by his late father, Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia.

It is most desirable that the arrest should be carried out without any fun, and the man at once cut off from all communications with any on outside and that in making any search for correspondence nothing is to be done to annoy those with whom he is found. It would, therefore, be as well that you should yourself execute the warrant.

Any possibility of excitement among the Sikhs in consequence of this arrest is to be avoided.

Please show this letter to your District Magistrate.

472. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I., TO H.M.
DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

NO. 73.

PORTMORE, SIMLA,
6TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I send you for information copy of a letter written at my suggestion by Colonel Menzies to Warburton at Amritsar about the arrest of Jowala Singh. As soon as Aziz comes, I propose that telegram should issue to make the arrest. Please either let me know when he arrives, or tell him to come and see me.

Nothing has yet been heard of the other man, Sohan Lal.

P.S.

When we do arrest Jowala Singh, I think that instead of sending him to Chunar, he might go to Allahabad Fort where some of the Kukas were confined. I did not think of this before.

473. FROM COLONEL O. MENZIES

NO. 77.

SIMLA,
8TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Under orders from the Foreign Secretary, I beg to send herewith a warrant under Regulation III of 1818, addressed to the Commandant of

Allahabad fort, authorising him to detain in custody the man Jowala Singh, regarding whom you write to Warburton on the 6th instant. Your letter to Warburton has been shown to the Foreign Secretary and has been approved by him.

Mr. Durand now authorises you to instruct Warburton to arrest Jowala Singh as soon as he can effect this without attracting too much attention, and with a reasonable assurance to obtain possession of the letters of which he is supposed to be the bearer.

Warbuton should telegraph immediately that arrest has been made, letting you know whether he has secured any papers and whether the man given any information regarding his deputation to the Punjab.

474. FROM MAJOR R.B. BURNBY, COMMANDANT
CHUNAR, TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

Confidential

NO. 33, NO. 110.

FORT OF CHUNAR,
8TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 3958 I, confidential, of the 3rd September with warrent.

2. Yesterday I received over Arur Singh from Calcutta Police.

3. I find that while a prisoner in Calcutta he was dieted as a European. At his own request I have given orders for a similar diet for him. I have also as a temporary arrangement hired some furniture of his use.

4. The prisoner having asked me for some ice, brandy, claret, and Vichy water, I propose to supply him at present with such stimulants as the medical officer may recommend, and I would request instructions if he can have ice or Vichy water.

5. The prisoner further states to me that he left in Pondicherry, French territory, about six weeks ago two brown leather portmanteaus, an opera glass and several other things in charge of S. Thakur Singh. This man he now believes to be dead. He thinks this man's son Gurbachan Singh has the things and he would be glad if they could be recovered and sent to him.

6. He also tells me that, when he was arrested, he gave up to the police some money, and would wish out of it a hundred rupees sent to his mother. He appeared to assume that the Government of India knew where she was to be found.

7. I also at his request wrote the enclosed letter, but cautioned him that it would rest with the Government of India whether it was sent on or whether his other requests were complied with.

8. I would also add that in Calcutta, it appears, the prisoner was allowed carriage exercise, but here I shall not give it him without sanctions.

9. I shall apply to Government, North-Western Provinces, for subsistence for the prisoner.

10. The prisoner talks very good English.

11. I shall appoint an extra Assistant Prison Warder subject to sanction. His pay would be Rs. 7/8/- a month. He will be a man from Detachment British Infantry. I have now one chief warder and one Assistant.

475. FROM MAJOR R.B. BURNBY, COMMANDANT,
CHUNAR, TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA
DULEEP SINGH, RUSSIA

Enclosure

NO. 34. NO. 111.

FORT CHUNAR,
8TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I have been directed by Arur Singh whom you sent to Mukerji, the editor of *Beaver* at Chandernagar, to write to you.

Arur Singh desired to inform you that he was given by Mukerji and his other friends in charge to the Calcutta Police.

476. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.,
TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

PORTMORE, SIMLA,
9TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I received the enclosed from McCracken while at dinner last night and took on myself the responsibility of authorising him to wire to Merk to have the man arrested at once in case of his again giving us the slip. There was no need to give Merk any detailed instructions as he was fully informed when asked to look after the man, Sohan Lal.

Being Khatri, I expect that if any compromising papers are found on him, he will probably be induced to confess. I will hold myself in readiness to go down to Delhi, if it should be necessary.

I suppose we need not send a warrant till we hear from Merk.

477. FROM DONALD McCracken, Esq., TO COLONEL
P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.
(Demi-Official) Confidential
Enclosure

NO. 107.

SIMLA,
8TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I have just received the following urgent telegram from Merk, the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi:—

“Sohan Lal went Muthra, thence returned Balabgarh and started to Dadri on 5th. My man follows him there. Jowala Singh went to Lahore. Better seize both men sharp if you want them.”

Will you get orders from Durand at once and telegraph direct to arrest Sohan Lal and secure his papers. The warrant under Regulation III of 1818 can follow by first post. Or if Durand will authorise me to do so, I can telegraph to Merk in cypher which will avoid risk perhaps?

478. FROM D. McCracken, Esq., TO COLONEL P.D.
HENDERSON, C.S.I.
(Demi-Official) Confidential

SIMLA,
8TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Merk writes under date 7th instant, in reply to a demi-official of mine, asking him to recover the clue as to Sohan Lal's whereabouts :

“I have already, as you will know by this time, taken steps to track Sohan Lal. He is a sort of gentleman who is never long at any place, nor is he very frank, as to his intended movements. If Government wants his (or any one else's) things overhauled and paper boned [?], they should send me demi-official or official orders, the thing is easily done ; but I am shy of acting in a matter of this kind without orders for obvious reasons. His things can easily be overhauled without arresting him, but then again, I want orders before I will do it. I have been among the Philistines you see.

Merk has got his orders ere now, of course, and you have sent him the warrant. I think he will be more successful than Warburton.

479. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, Esq.,
TO W. MERK, Esq.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 111.

SIMLA,
9TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Herewith I send direct, to save time, a warrant for detention of Sohan Lal. When the result of his arrest has been reported, and is

decided where he is to be sent, another warrant addressed to the proper authority will be sent, this being returned to me.

Your news about Jowala Singh having gone to Lahore was correct. The Amritsar Police thought they had him under observation there. He did arrive there on the 7th from Lahore and was searched on some pretext without result.

However, he does not apparently know that he was suspected and I think it better to leave him alone for the present.

II

No. 112 is the warrant of detention under Regulation III of 1818.

480. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.,
TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 80.

PORTMORE, SIMLA,
9TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

This is unfortunate, but no harm has been done, as the man apparently does not know that he is suspected of being an agent from the Pondicherry people.

I think certainly that the best plan is to leave Jowala Singh alone for the present, having his movements and doings carefully watched.

Merk's information was better than that of the police for he knew the man had been to Lahore, while the police thought he was in Amritsar all the time. He evidently got rid of his letters at Lahore.

481. FROM COLONEL O. MENZIES TO COLONEL P.D.
HENDERSON, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 81.

SIMLA,
9TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I sent off instructions to Warburton by the mail this morning in accordance with the instructions contained in your note of yesterday's date and the warrant. By post today the enclosed has come from Warburton and apparently Jowala Singh has been searched and nothing found.

Under these circumstances will it be necessary to execute the warrant. Will you kindly take Foreign Secretary's orders on the case as it now stands.

A telegram if sent tonight or early tomorrow morning will be in time to stay Warburton's hand in the matter of the arrest.

Enclosures from Warburton reported that Jowala Singh had been searched by the Police on some pretext, and nothing in the way of the letters found.

Instead of having been at Amritsar all this time as supposed by Warburton he had been to Lahore whence he had only just returned. If he had any letters, they were doubtless delivered at Lahore. There was a secret pocket in his pillow where letter would have been secreted.

P.D. Henderson, Colonel.

482. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., C.S.I., TO COLONEL
SIR E. BRADFORD, K.C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 35.

SIMLA, 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

In continuation of my demi-official of the 19th ultimo regarding the arrest of one Arur Singh, an emissary of Maharaja Dalip Singh, I must send you a few lines by this mail to let you know what has been done in the matter since then. A full account will follow when all our information has been put into proper shape.

Henderson interviewed the man at Calcutta several times, but did not succeed in getting very much out of him. He freely admitted all that he could possibly deny in the face of the papers found in his possession, but obstinately pretended ignorance of any details regarding intrigues in India on behalf of Dalip Singh. His story was briefly that the object of his mission was to procure money for Dalip Singh and that in the first place he was to go to the Editor of the *Beaver* at Chandernagar, who would direct him as to his movements, and as to the persons from whom he could collect subscription. At one time he said that he was to visit all the chiefs of India and at another only those with whom the Editor of the *Beaver* should place him in communication. He said that finding it impossible to obtain access to the Nizam, he had hurriedly left Hyderabad for Chandernagar after posting at the former place a letter to Dalip Singh in one of the envelopes with which he was provided addressed to Mustafa Effendi at Constantinople.

While Henderson was at Calcutta, an agent of mine had been sent to Pondicherry where he succeeded in ingratiating himself with the late Sardar Thakur Singh, and obtaining from him a good deal of valuable information regarding intrigues in India. He learnt there of the arrival of Arur Singh in India and after Thakur Singh's death started off in pursuit of him. A telegram from me reached him enroute informing him of Arur Singh's arrest in Calcutta and directing him to join Henderson here.

By a judicious use of the detailed information obtained in Pondicherry, he managed to induce Arur Singh to give him a full account of the objects of his mission. According to this statement, his first subject was to go to all the Native Princes of India and prepare the ground for Dalip Singh and Russia, obtaining, if possible, from each written assurances of support which could be shown in Russia. He was to appoint an agent in each state to be the medium of correspondence, and he was to make arrangements, for taking round a Russian officer (who is to arrive, he said, in India in a month's time) for the purpose of verifying the information obtained and given to the Russian authorities by Dalip Singh as to the favourable disposition of the princes and the chiefs in India. He was also to obtain money for bringing high Russian officials to exert their influence on Dalip Singh's behalf. Arur Singh was also to visit certain influential Sikhs and the *Pujaris* of the Amritsar temple in order to communicate Dalip Singh's instructions for cutting the line of railway and attacking the British army in the rear when a Russian force should appear on the frontier.

According to Arur Singh, no Native State has yet agreed to join Dalip Singh, and in some letters in the Maharaja's own handwriting which were shown to my agent at Pondicherry, he distinctly expresses distrust of the Native Chiefs.

This is so far satisfactory. From the fact of Arur Singh having only a circular letter in general terms to all Native Chiefs, there does not appear to be any reason to believe that any of them are compromised. But no doubt intrigues among the Sikhs have been pretty actively carried on by Thakur Singh. We have now the names of most of those principally concerned and will be able to set on foot measures to counteract his proceedings. It is pretty certain that a man named Jowala Singh, who brought up to Hardwar the ashes of Thakur Singh, is the bearer of letters from his son, Gurbachan Singh, at Pondicherry, informing the Sikh partisans of Dalip Singh that he (Gurbachan Singh) is going to continue the work of his late father. We have Jowala Singh under observation and will probably arrest him shortly. Another Agent, whom we know to be at work among the Sikhs, is also being followed and we hope to arrest him with the documents said to be in his possession.

The man Mustafa Effendi at Constantinople, who is the intermediary of correspondence with Dalip Singh, is said to be a friend of Jamal-ud-din, the Afghan at Moscow. He is in charge of the burying ground of Sultans, and according to Arur Singh is in Russian pay. Any native of India wishing to join Dalip Singh can be helped by Mustafa Effendi. Perhaps, it would be as well for our Embassy at Constantinople to keep an eye on

this individual. I send you copy of the addressed Envelopes, three of which were found in Arur Singh's possession.

It may be as well perhaps also to ascertain who and what is the Madam Vallier of Rue de Rochefoucauld, Paris, mentioned in my last letter.

According to Arur Singh, the Maharani does not help Dalip Singh from her allowance. He is said to have £ 10,000 lodged in the hands of Mallet Farrer of Paris, and to be living in Moscow on the proceeds of the sale of his jewellery of which he has a large quantity with him. The Russian Government offered, according to the same authority, to make him an allowance, which he declined. My agent saw a letter from Dalip Singh cautioning Sardar Thakur Singh to accept no allowance from the French Government. It is said that they were willing to allow him a thousand francs a month.

P.S.

The worst news I have yet heard about this matter is that one senior native officer and several other men from Sikh regiments are believed to have gone down to Pondicherry. If this turns out to be true, it means mischief.

II

No. 36 and 37 concern the facilities to be given to the prisoner and a copy of warrants issued under Regulation III of 1818.

III

Nos. 38 to 41 give information of Thakur Singh's death on the 18th August at 20.25.

483. FROM D. McCracken Esq., TO COLONEL P.D.
HENDERSON, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 113.

STOCK LODGE, SIMLA,
11TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

The following deferred state telegram has just come to me in cypher from Merk at Delhi:—

"Sardar Rghubir Singh of Ladran, Ludhiana, relation of late Thakur Singh arrived here this morning, goes Dadri this afternoon. Narain Singh went to arrest Sohan Lal."

The telegram is dated 10th and was despatched from Delhi at 2-10 P.M. Narain Singh is the Inspector at Delhi whom you know. The telegram was delivered to me at 2 P.M. today.

II

In. No. 114 Merk informs McCracken that Narain Singh had succeeded in arresting Sohan Lal.

484. FROM J. WARE EDGAR, ESQ., C.S.I. TO H.M.
DURAND, C.S.I.*
(Demi-Official)

NO. 1.

11TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I enclose a confidential memorandum received from the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, on the subject of the intrigues of Dalip Singh and his adherents. This is sent to you, as the Lieutenant-Governor understands that Henderson has left Calcutta, and gathers that some of the information has come to hand since his departure.

Sir Stuart Bayley does not know that he can offer any useful suggestions in the matter, as the information available to the Foreign Office must be far larger than his own, but there are one or two points on which he ventures to make some remarks.

S.N.A.

First, as to the genuineness of the papers discovered by Mr. Barnard's agent, there can, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, be no doubt, for they are so ineffably foolish that he cannot conceive anyone manufacturing them.

Turning to the information contained in Mr. Barnard's note the plan of campaign needs no comment. In regard to the remarks about the Native army, the Lieutenant-Governor, disbelieving the statement as made, thinks that it would be desirable to ascertain whether there is any substratum of truth underlying the assertion that native officers are in the habit of visiting Pondicherry.

The Lieutenant-Governor has nothing to say about the statements made on the subject of native states, except that he doubts very much the truth of the assertion regarding the Peshkar at Hyderabad and would attach very small importance to the fact even if it were true. Sir Stuart Bayley notices that the Bengalis are to be allured by the promise of local self-government and freedom of speech and seats in the supreme council, but he doubts whether the offer will prove sufficiently attractive to induce them to incur serious risks.

As to Kumar Indra Chunder Singh, a gentleman of poor reputation and the mortgagee in possession of the *Statesman* newspaper, it will be

* Foreign Deptt. Secret I, November 1887, 1 to 11,

sufficient for the Deputy Commissioner of Police to keep his eye upon him without taking any further action.

There is some obscurity in the passage of Mr. Barnard's note relating to Thakur Singh, who is described in one place as at present Prime Minister to Dalip Singh, while lower down his death is apparently referred to. The Deputy Commissioner of Police will be asked to explain this.

The Lieutenant-Governor would call attention to the fact that 'Proclamation' purports to be printed in Paris. The type is unmistakably French.

The question of the disposal of Arur Singh's property remains. The Lieutenant-Governor would prefer to have it made over to Henderson, but if desired it can remain in the custody of the Deputy Commissioner of Police.

NO. 2

Confidential Report

I have the honour to submit a brief note of what has been done, and what information has been acquired in the matter of Arur Singh, since the submission of my confidential Report, dated the 7th August, 1887.

On the 10th August I placed my officer on special duty in connection with this case. He has made two trips to Pondicherry and its neighbourhood, and after visiting Sardar Thakur Singh, in whose household he gained a friendly footing, has obtained the following information:

Plan of Campaign :

The following is the plan of Dalip Singh's Party:—

As soon as the Russians have completed the Railway, they are making through Central Asia (which is expected to be in about a year and a half), a Russian army accompanied by Dalip Singh is to invade India, the native soldiers who will be sent to the front with the British army on reaching the neighbourhood of the Russians, are to desert and to place themselves under the command of Dalip Singh, whilst the native soldiers on their way to the front are suddenly to mutiny, loot the stores and attack the British Regiments; at the same time arrangements will be made to destroy railway and telegraph lines all over the country; and to enable the people, in certain places, to rise against the British rule; the native states are at this time to declare themselves for Dalip Singh, and to attack the British with their armies.

Native Army :

In order to gain this end, Dalip Singh's and Thakur Singh's emissaries have been going round the lines of the native army, inducing the

Sikh and the Rajput soldiers, to espouse Dalip Singh's cause; and in consequence of this, representatives from various regiments have been going to Thakur Singh at Pondicherry and have been taking the oath of allegiance. My officer, on hearing this, expressed his surprise that soldiers should be able to come to Pondicherry from great distances without arousing the suspicions of the Railway Police and the Government officials—when it was explained to him that these men leave their Regiments and homes on the plea of visiting the shrines of Rameshwar in the south of India, but that instead of going to Madura, they leave the train at Arconum, go to Chingleput, and from thence, drift slowly down to Pondicherry, avoiding the Railway station bordering on the French territory; two men of the corps of Guides are said to have been with Thakur Singh at the beginning of August, and 40,000 Sikh and Rajput soldiers are said to have taken the oath of allegiance through representatives from their Regiments sent to Pondicherry in this manner.

Native States :

Various Native states have been communicated with and asked to join the movement, and several chiefs have taken the oath of allegiance. Great reliance is placed in Hira Singh of Nabha, who is said to have considerable influence in the states of Patiala and Jind, the Chiefs of which are minors. Hira Singh has taken the oath, and has agreed to lead the armies of Patiala and Jind, together with his own men, to the field of battle.

Raja Moti Singh of Poonch, son of Dhyani Singh, who was minister to the Late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, is also in the plot.

Narendra Parkash Bahadur, a member of the late Raja Chandu Lal's family and Peshkar of Hyderabad, is in constant communication with the Pondicherry people, and through them with Dalip Singh.

Suchet Singh, a police officer at Hyderabad (most likely the Hazara Singh mentioned by Arur Singh), is also in it. He is said to have obtained his appointment two years ago through the influence of Thakur Singh.

The Sikh soldiers of Hyderabad have sworn allegiance. 1,20,000 Kukas in the Punjab are reckoned on to rise at the critical moments; the Kukas are also said to be in direct communication with Russians in Central Asia.

Bengal :

As Bengal has no army to put into the field, she is to get up political agitation to disturb the Government, and when the time arrives, to destroy the Railways, bridges and telegraphs; in return for this Bengalis are to be given seats in the Supreme Council.

Kumar Indra Chunder of Paikpara is mixed up in this business, and I attach his letter of appointment as Agent in Bengal, which was made over by Thakur Singh to my officer of conveyance for him.

Nepal :

The Benarssee Babu, whose doings in Calcutta have already been reported, is a trusted emissary of Dalip Singh's party and has now gone to Nepal to ascertain which is likely to be the popular side there, should matters come to a head, as the party at present out of power in Nepal have told Thakur Singh that they, being the descendants of Jang Bahadur, are the favourites of the people, but they cannot get into power as long as the British Government exists in India, as it supports the opposite side.

After Plans :

When the British have been turned out of India, Russia is to be recompensed by receiving double the amount incurred by her for the expenses of the war, of one and half times the amount if paid in advance, a yearly tribute is also to be paid to Russia. Dalip Singh is to be installed as ruler of India, and is to be helped by a Supreme Council, the country to be governed on liberal principles and the people to be allowed to have local self-government and freedom of speech.

My officer read several letters written by Dalip Singh to Thakur Singh, in which he says that his officers are progressing as favourably as possible; he has had a satisfactory interview with the Governor of Moscow but is afraid to give particulars as he mistrusts the Germans and the Post Office officials. He also says that matters have been slightly delayed owing to his Excellency Lord Dufferin inducing Mons. Giers to obstruct Russia's progress towards India, but he says that the people want war and so war is inevitable.

Thakur Singh is Dalip Singh's Prime Minister and Chief Agent in India as will be seen from the two extracts herewith forwarded which were signed by Thakur Singh and written by his son Gurbachan Singh. Arur Singh's passport was obtained and has been made over to Colonel Henderson, and I now forward an envelope in which a letter was received from Dalip Singh, and a printed proclamation which were given to my officer.

Letters from India to Thakur Singh, and since his death to Gurbachan Singh are addressed to Mulraj Punjabi, House No. 10, Pondicherry.

For correspondence, a crude and cumbersome cypher is also used, in which each letter in the alphabet is represented by a number of dots corresponding with its numerical position, thus 'D' is represented by four

dots and 'S' by nineteen, but, in order to render it more intricate, the dots are formed into various figures at the will of the writer which have no bearing on the meaning, for instance "Dalip Singh" could be written...

The prisoner Arur Singh, with his personal baggage, was, on the 6th instant, under the orders of the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, sent to Chunar and the letters and papers found with him have been made over to Colonel Henderson. I now request orders for the disposal of the hand courier bags containing jewellery, money, and other articles, that are still with me.

Calcutta,
The 9th September, 1887.

Sd. A.B. Barnard,
Offg. Dy. Comm. of Police.

Enclosures

I. Orders of appointment of Kumar Indra Chunder of Paikpara, from Dalip Singh (ii) two copies of extracts of letters from Dalip Singh to Thakur Singh, (iii) an envelope in the handwriting of Dalip Singh to the address of Thakur Singh (Small letters), (iv) printed proclamations* from Dalip Singh, printed in Paris, dated February 7th, 1887.

485. FROM W. MERK, ESQ., DEPUTY COMMISSONER,
DELHI, TO D. McCracken, ESQ.

no. 116.

TELEGRAM DATED 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Jhind officials at Dadri refuse to give up man to Narain Singh, although yesterday Jhind Vakil here telegraphed orders at my instance. Please move Government. Narain Singh remains at Dadri till man is surrendered and holds Jhind officials responsible for man and papers.

II

No. 117 is a letter from W.M. Young asking if he is to act in his capacity as Political Agent in Jhind in the matter, he should be supplied with a warrant, leaving the places of detention blank.

III

No. 118, 119 and 120 are about warrant.

IV

No. 82 to 87 are small letters about confining Jowala Singh to Chunar.

* For the Proclamations referred to above under (iv), See pp. 363-65.

486. FROM J.O. MILLER, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.,
(Demi-Official)

NO. 88.

NAINITAL, LIEUT-GOVR'S CAMP,
13TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

On receipt of your telegram regarding the confinement of a political prisoner in Allahabad fort, the Lieutenant-Governor caused Mr. Porter, the Magistrate (now holding office as Commissioner), to be consulted, and on his telegraphing that accommodation was available, a message to that effect was sent to you.

I am now to enclose a copy of letter from Mr. Porter on the subject for information. It will be seen that arrangements for a prisoner can be made, but as the fort is under command of a military officer who is not accustomed to take charge of civil prisoners and as the arrangements for the prisoner's isolation and for his diet may probably be new to the commandant, the Lieutenant-Governor has asked by telegram that previous notice of the prisoner's arrival should be given to Mr. Porter, who will see that proper provision is made for these things.

A portion of the Allahabad fort is open under certain rules to pilgrims who go in numbers to visit a sacred place within the walls, and, if complete seclusion is required, some special vigilance will be necessary.

II

No. 89 is Mr. Porter's letter about accommodation in Allahabad fort.

III

No. 90 and 91 also concern accommodation.

487. FROM DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, DELHI, TO
THUGEE, SIMLA
(Demi-Official)

NO. 121.

TELEGRAM DATED 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Your telegram thirteenth. Man here. He had papers as described, but given by him on 5th to man who went to Lahore and Amritsar and was searched there. More by letter tomorrow. Man was sent yesterday by friends, if arrested. Man to Lahore to warn other friends of his arrest.

488. FROM W. MERK, ESQ., TO COLONEL P.D.
HENDERSON, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 123.

DELHI,
16TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I promised a report on Sohan Lal today, but unfortunately Inspector Narain Singh has fever and is *bors de combat*. As there are a lot of Nagri and Persian papers to translate before I can write fully, I will wait till tomorrow when he will probably be alright. As I telegraphed to you, Sohan Lal made the most important papers to Jowala Singh at Dadri on the 5th evening and from the way in which North Western Police escorted Jowala Singh to Delhi, I fancy he had a shrewd suspicion that there was something in the wind and therefore made all haste. The information you had received about the portmanteau was quite correct. Sohan Lal was on the point of returning to Pondicherry when he was arrested. His seizure has struck a panic into his employers and friends. A big man in the Mirut district has also been sending messengers to Pondicherry; this Mirut man is a connection by marriage with Thakur Singh. I hope to be able to send full particulars tomorrow. Perhaps Sohan Lal may make a clean breast of it, which would be very convenient. Received the warrant alright.

489. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I., TO
A.B. BARNARD, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,
16TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

With reference to your confidential report of the 9th September, will you try and get out of Mr. Palmore precisely his authority for saying that representatives from various Regiments have been to Pondicherry to take the oath of allegiance. Information from the other party is to the effect that no such men have been there, but I should like very much to verify this, if possible. From a third source I have heard the name of a native officer who is supposed to have been there and I am following up this clue.

The most important connection with the D.S. intrigues is that of the army.

S.N.A.

490. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.,
TO MAJOR L. HAMILTON

(Demi-Official)

NO. 4.

SIMLA,
16TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

There have been of late more or less vague reports of Sikhs in our Regiments corresponding with the agents of Dalip Singh, but now in the Punjab Political abstract appears a distinct statement that Jamedar Attar Singh of the 19th P.I., stationed at Ferozepur, recently obtained 2½ months' leave and went to Pondicherry in order to visit the late Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia, who established himself there as an Agent of Dalip Singh under the title of 'Prime Minister of King of Lahore.' He is said also to have been on or about the 28th August at Hardwar in company with a man, Jowala Singh, who brought up from Pondicherry the ashes of the late Sardar, and who is believed to be an emissary sent up with letters to certain persons in the Punjab. The Jamedar is said to have accompanied this man, Jowala Singh, to Amritsar where he arrived on 2nd of September.

Mr. Durand thinks it advisable to follow up a specific report of this kind, and endeavour to ascertain whether there is anything in it. I am to ask, therefore, whether, with His Excellency's permission, the commanding Officer of the 19th P.I. may be addressed by you confidentially for information regarding the date on which the Jamedar obtained leave, and if anything is known of his movements during his absence, ostensible reason for his taking leave, etc. The commanding Officer might also be asked regarding the Jamedar's antecedents and character.

Between the 28th August and 2nd September, Jamedar Attar Singh is reported to have gone by train to Jullundur whence he started to Kapurthala to deliver there a letter from Pondicherry, of which he was the bearer to one Sardar Jawala Singh of Kapurthala.

Another man mentioned in the Punjab Report is Jamedar Mustan Singh of the 15th Sikhs. Of him it is merely said that he was a great friend of the late S. Thakur Singh and assisted him with money, which was remitted through Pohlo Mal of Raja Sansi in the Amritsar district. It may be worthwhile to ask the commanding officer if this man is in a position to remit money and whether he has any connection with Raja Sansi.

491. FROM FREDERICK ROBERTS TO THE DUKE OF
CAMBRIDGE*

(PRIVATE)

SIMLA,

17TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I scarcely think I need trouble your Royal Highness with a letter this mail, as nothing of importance has happened since I last wrote, but I do not like a week to pass without your receiving a few lines from me.

Dhulip Singh continues to communicate with the Sikhs, but uptill now his proclamations have fallen flat. There are, of course, a certain number of restless, discontented men in the Punjab who would welcome him, but the general feeling is one rather of expectancy than of disloyalty, at the same time it cannot be overlooked. It is unfortunate that the Home Government could not manage to keep Dhulip Singh happy and contented, for his appearance with a Russian army in Afghanistan would undoubtedly have a serious effect on our Sikh soldiers, though I believe the majority of them would remain faithful so long as they were assured that we should be able to maintain our supremacy. Some years ago I warned Northbrook of the danger of allowing Dhulip Singh to leave England.

With my respectful duty,

I am, Sir, Your Royal Highness's
most obedient humble servant,
(Sd.) Fred. Roberts.

492. FROM W. MERK, ESQ. TO COLONEL P. D.
HENDERSON, C. S. I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 125

DELHI,

18TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I enclose a note about Sohan Lal. I have sent the papers found on him to McCracken. The compromising papers were clearly made over by him to Jawala Singh at Dadri. Sohan Lal is evidently much trusted by the Thakur Singh party. Narain Singh thinks that, if he could be told what he has done at Pondicherry, or Calcutta, he would make a free confession, i. e., he could think the game was up and it would be no use keeping back anything. If you think so, perhaps you could tell me one or two things which would show Sohan Lal that we know all about him. At present he

* From the Collection of Lady Roberts—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

is in a fright, and is moreover down with fever, as indeed everyone is more or less in Delhi. The portmanteau I have also sent to McCracken. The appearance of the flap between the two compartments shows that something has been brought concealed in the flap.

A

NO. 126.

Sohan Lal for years been steward of Rani Kanwal Kaur, widow of Dharam Singh of Balabgarh. Rani Kanwal Kaur, had one son, Nihal Singh who died before 1857, and 3 daughters—one was married to Partab Singh of Raja Sansi dead, the second was married to Sardar Thakur Singh also dead, the third was married to...Nabha territory also dead. Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Narinder Singh, Gurdit Singh and their sisters Mussamut Bisio married to Raghbir Singh of Ladran in Ludhiana district, are grand-children of Rani Kanwal Kaur. Narinder Singh is betrothed to the daughter of Rao Umrao Singh in Kutesar in Mirut district. The sister of Rani Kanwal Kaur was married to late Raja of Jind and the present Raja is her grandson.

Last year or in 1885 Sohan Lal is believed to have gone to Egypt, he used to talk about his travels, saying he had been there and had also been to Pondicherry. When Raja Raghbir Singh of Dadri died in February last, Sohan Lal was in Pondicherry and returned about April. He then returned to Pondicherry about June, accompanied by a servant of Rao Umrao Singh, the latter probably was sent to break off the betrothal of Rao's daughter with Narinder Singh. On the 5th instant, Sohan Lal went to Dadri and met Jawala Singh, who immediately after an interview with Sohan Lal left for Lahore, there can be no doubt that the papers brought by Sohan Lal were made over at Dadri to Jawala Singh, who took them on. Narain Singh thinks that the papers he brought were addressed to petty Sikh Sardars, Kukas and Akalis and not to the Sikh Native States. In torn up scraps of Gurmukhi letters found on Sohan Lal's the words "Akali" occur two or three times.

17th September, 1887.

Sd. W. Merk.

493. FROM W. MERK, ESQ., TO D. McCRACKEN ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

DELHI,

18TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I enclose a list of papers found on Sohan Lal which Narain Singh is sending you with portmanteau. The flap in the portmanteau between its two compartments shows clearly that the papers were brought as described.

What a pity they did not have him arrested at once. He will confess probably, Narain Singh thinks, if we can tell him what he did at Pondicherry. It will make him think the game is up and it is no use holding back anything. I have sent Henderson a short note on Sohan Lal, and told him I am sending papers to you. Sohan Lal is down with fever and so is Narain Singh and every one else at present in this beastly hole.

(A) letter from Pohlo Mal of Raja Sansi, agent of Thakur Singh, to Sohan Lal.

(B) Two letters from the widow of Kushal Singh (s/o the late Raja of Balabgarh hanged in 1857) to Gurdit Singh and Narinder Singh sons of Thakur Singh. The writer lives at Saharanpur. (Sohan Lal was about to take these letters to Pondicherry.)

(C) Letter from a resident of Balabgarh to Sohan Lal of 1885, asking when Dalip Singh is coming to India.

(D) Two letters in Nagri, undated but probably quite recent, begging Sohan Lal not go to *Wilayat*, written by a woman with whom he has an intrigue.

(E) Pedigree of Dalip Singh, apparently printed in England and sent (by Dalip Singh ?) to one Kishen Kaur.

(F) A copy of the *Punjab Darpan* of October 1886.

(G) Old letter from Gurdit Singh to Sohan Lal, dated 15th December, 1883, referring to some communication then expected from Dalip Singh.

(H) Urdu statements of Dalip Singh's case, either translations of the English text of his case or rough draft sent to him upon which he compiled his case.

(I) Twelve letters to Sohan Lal from various individuals about private affairs showing with whom he has relations.

(J) Time Table of Egyptian Railway for summer 1886.
17th September 1887.

W. Merk.

494. FROM SIR R. B. MORIER, HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR
AT ST. PETERSBURG TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY,
K. G., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS*

NO. 9.

ST. PETERSBURG,
20TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

The *Moscow Gazette* of 5th-17th September, 1887, contains an article on Dalip Singh, which seems a little out of reason, as the interest excited by this personage in Russia has almost ceased. The *Gazette*, however, introduces him to its readers as if his presence here were an entire novelty.

* Foreign Deptt. Secret I, January 1888, No. 8 to 13

The greater part of the article consists of an absurd account of how Dalip Singh was cheated out of his kingdom and private property. Not being of an age to appreciate what he had suffered, Dalip Singh came and lived peaceably in England, where he was granted means sufficient to enable him to live as one of the aristocracy, but was not allowed to be educated at either Oxford or Cambridge, for fear of developing his mind. This attempt to keep his eyes shut did not however succeed, for he became an ardent student in the library of British Museum, where he learnt from historical researches how he had been robbed. He therefore addressed a letter of remonstrance to Lord Salisbury and when he received no redress he set off to India in order to use his personal influence in his own country. He was, however, arrested at Aden and sent back on which finding that no justice was to be obtained from England, he abandoned that country entirely and finally threw himself into the arms of Russia.

The article after the usual tirade against English aggression concludes as follows :—

“the Maharajah has decided to break off all relations with England and to settle in Russia. We welcome him with the conviction that he will find among us all the sympathy which his fate demands.”

495. FROM D. McCracken, Esq., TO COLONEL P. D.
HENDERSON, C. S. I.

(Demi-official)

NO. 128.

SIMLA,

20TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Macworth Young desires me to send enclosed (received by the midday post from Merk at Delhi) for your perusal and return, and to ask with reference to remark that “Sohan Lal will probably confess if we can tell him what he did at Pondicherry, etc.,” that you will be good enough to obtain the required information from Aziz-ud-din for transmission to Merk for use against Sohan Lal.

496. FROM W. MERK, Esq., TO COLONEL P. D.
HENDERSON, C. S. I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 129.

DELHI,

21ST SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Just received your letter. I thought when the order came to arrest Sohan Lal that the Jind people had been squatted at Simla, however, such a thing as stopping a man quietly anywhere near his house is hardly

possible in this country. If we had known that Sohan Lal was about to go again to Pondicherry he could have been booted in Madras and then no doubt would have vanished without a trace as far as his people are concerned here, but then, for all we know, a speedy arrest of Sohan Lal might have got us the papers that are wanted. He is an obstinate villain. I shall interview him tonight. Narain Singh having prepared the way to some degree, he seems now that the game is up. If you send the Pondicherry informer to me, please let him come to my house, and on some other business ostensibly. Here in Delhi every one's ears are cocked for anything that may be going on. We are in the midst of the Moharram-Dassehra worries and I shall be glad when the business of guarding idolatrous and fanatical processions is over.

ii

No. 130 is a letter forwarding Sohan Lal's confession to McCracken.

497. FROM MAJOR J. HAMILTON TO COLONEL P. D.
HENDERSON, C. S. I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 5.

SIMLA,

22ND SEPTEMBER, 1887.

With reference to your letter to me (now with His Excellency) on the subject of investigating the behaviour of certain Sikh sepoys, I am to tell you that the commander-in-chief would like to wait a few days until he can have a personal interview with Colonel Waller, the commanding officer of the aforesaid sepoys, who is now at Norkanda, but who is shortly coming back to Simla.

498. FROM A.B. BERNARD, ESQ., TO COLONEL P.D.
HENDERSON, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 7.

POLICE OFFICE, CALCUTTA,
23RD SEPTEMBER 1887.

Your demi-official letter of the 16th instant.

Mr. Pal's authority of saying that representatives from various regiments have been to Pondicherry to take the oath of allegiance is as follows :—

On the afternoon of his arrival at Pondicherry he saw two Sikhs and joined into conversation with them; they told him that they had been on a pilgrimage to Rameshwar and were on their way back to their homes in Punjab. When Thakur Singh subsequently [?] about representatives

coming to Pondicherry, and the plea on which they came to that part of India, Mr. Pal mentioned having met these men, and was told that they were from the Frontier Guides and were living in Thakur Singh's house. He afterwards saw one of them hanging about the premises.

His authority, therefore, is Thakur Singh's communication, supported by the fact of two Sikhs, who said that they had been to Rameshwar, being in Pondicherry.

As this part of the world does not, I presume, generally see any of these gentlemen going about, might not enquiries be made of the Railway police at Arconum and Chingleput, whether there had been any soldierly looking Sikh passing through lately.

This may be of some use to you; before his arrest Arur Singh told Mr. Pal about a native officier named Anup Singh, who visited Dalip Singh in England and related an instance where Dalip Singh, Banarasi Babu, Arur Singh and Anup Singh travelled in the same Railway carriage to the ford and Elvedon Hall.

499. The *TRIBUNE* dated 24 September, 1887,
page 5, col. 1

Maharaja Dulip Singh's plans have been a good deal thwarted :

Authentic information has been received at Simla that Maharani Dhulip Singh died at London on the 18th instant after only two days' illness. The troubles to which Her Highness was subjected by the desertion of her husband from her has culminated in her death. Her poor husband is also in a bad plight. Mr. Katkoff, the great Russian, whose protegee the Maharaja was, having died, there is nobody in Moscow to take up the cause of the aggrieved but misguided prince. Although he has been promised support by many influential Russians, there can be no doubt that his future plans have been a good deal thwarted by the death of his great friend and protector. We are sorry for Dhulip Singh's children, who have been left orphans by the death of their mother. We shall be glad if the Maharaja gives up his foolish desire to avenge himself upon England, and returns to that country. But the British Government should make good at least a part of his monetary claims.

500. FROM H.M. DURAND, ESQ., TO J. WARE EDGAR, ESQ.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 6.

SIMLA,
24TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 11th enclosing Barnard's confidential memorandum which will be useful.

Curiously enough, his news about the Peshkar is to some extent confirmed by intelligence received from a wholly different source.

The Paikpara man has put himself in our hands to some extent by his connections with Dalip Singh's affair, and this may be useful hereafter. The handwriting of the certificate of appointment and other papers sent by Barnard is undoubtedly Gurbachan Singh's.

Arur Singh's property had been sent to Henderson.

501. FROM W. MERK, ESQ., TO D. McCracken, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 131.

DELHI,

26TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Enclosed is Sohan Lal's confession and translation of a report of what one of his companions who went with him to Muttra says. You see my report that he went to Muttra or Brindaban was correct and the Muttra fellows are asleep.

It will become known in time that Sohan Lal has confessed. So I would watch very carefully all the men whom you mean to arrest some day as the panic in their camp by the arrest of Sohan Lal will be increased very much when they get a hint that he has confessed. I say this because I think that very little in this country remains secret if natives have had anything to do with it. This does not mean that there is disloyalty or treachery, but the conditions of native life are such that some time or other at any rate hints of what has happened come out.

P.S.

Aziz-ud-din and Narain Singh deserve great credit for the way they have worked this case.

A

Statement of Sohan Lal

I went to Pondicherry and there Sardar Thakur Singh gave me five envelopes. I went in the month of *Chet* this year. I went to Pondicherry, stayed there two days, then went on to the shrine of Rameshwar near Ceylon and on return went again to Pondicherry. There Thakur Singh gave me five envelopes containing letters for the chiefs of Nabha, Patiala, Jind, Faridkot and a 5th State whose name I forget. These letters were with me for a month at Dadri, then I became afraid I might be caught and burnt them at Dadri in the month of *Baisakh*. I did not read the letters in the envelopes which were not addressed, they only bore marks to show for whom they were intended. No one told what the contents of the letters were, I do not know what they were. Thakur Singh told me to get Rani Kanwal-Kaur to send him money. She has sent none as

she has no money. I brought the letters in my portmanteau, among my clothes. No one else was present when Thakur Singh gave me the letters. He told me to tell the Chaudris, Ranghars and Thakurs of village of Sankar, Sawal, Bond, Songa Maneadu to do something when there was a rising against the British Government and these men were to tell their clansmen and others to join, but I have said nothing to these men and have made no arrangements. I had my photograph taken at Pondicherry. Thakur Singh said nothing to me of village headmen and petty chiefs near Raja Sansi. I have not been to Egypt. I did not go to Bombay but went straight to Pondicherry. Gurbachan Singh, Narindar Singh and Gurdit Singh were in another banglow when Thakur Singh next day...after receiving the letters. When he gave me the letters, he told me to give them into the hands of the Rajas themselves and into no one else's hands. He gave me no verbal messages nor did he communicate the contents of the letters to me. Why did I burn the letters. Because he told me to give the letters secretly and not show them to any British or Native State official, but to give them very secretly to Rajas themselves. On hearing all this, I became very suspicious. He told me if these letters were discovered on me, he would suffer, but I would be hanged. All this made me very frightened, and I decided to burn the letters. I went to Dadri a day or two after Jowala Singh. Thakur Singh did not mention the names of any Lambardars or chiefs among the Ranghars and Thakurs, but said I was to tell all such about Dadri that when there was a disturbance against the British, they were to join and tell their clansmen and friends to join. I stayed two days at Pondicherry on my way to Rameshwar and eight days on my return from Rameshwar. Thakur Singh and Gurbachan Singh told me Dalip Singh would come in a few months, drive out the English, and be king. Nothing was said to me of any Rajput state; nothing was said of Alwar. Before I went to Pondicherry, I went to Kutesar in the Mirut district, to Rao Umrao Singh, and told him at the request of Rani Kanwal Kaur that Narindar Singh could return or else he must betroth her elsewhere. At Pondicherry Thakur Singh said he could do nothing in the matter of betrothal. I know Hindi but do not know Urdu or Persian characters. I picked out the Egyptian time table from a lot of books and waste papers which Thakur Singh brought from Europe and left at Dadri. The pedigree of Dalip Singh was left at Dadri by Narinder Singh. The letters addressed to Narinder and Gurdit Singh were given to me by Rani Basant Kaur, because I knew where to address them. The torn Gurmukhi papers containing the words "Russians", "Nihangs", etc. found with me belonged to waste papers of Thakur Singh which he left at his quarters in Dadri on return from Europe. All that Thakur Singh and Gurbachan Singh said was that in a few months Dalip Singh would be king again. They did not talk of

disturbances anywhere else, all they said was that I was to warn the Thakurs and Ranghars at and in the neighbourhood of Dadri. Thakur Singh did not say how he expected Dalip Singh to conquer the country. He did not say where the disturbances were to occur, in which Dadri Thakurs and Ranghars were to join. I went to Brindaban near Muttra for two days from Balabgarh last month. I had no intercourse there with any Jat leading man or with any one from the Bharatpur state. I went there to visit a shrine. I lived at the place of Jai Narain whom I know. He has a temple. Teja and Khanna of Balabgarh went with me. I have been two or three times to this temple and know Jai Narain Mahant well. Thakur Singh gave me Rs. 15/- for my expenses home. I got Rs. 40/- from Rani Kanwal Kaur at Dadri and spent Rs. 22/- out of my own pocket. I visited all the shrines at Brindaban but the only Mahant I know is Jai Narain. I met Jowala Singh at Pondicherry, he is much trusted by the Sindhanwalias. The letters from Thakur Singh to Dalip Singh were written in English by Gurbachan Singh in my presence. No letters came from Dalip Singh while I was there, but Thakur Singh told me that Dalip Singh would make his arrangements and come in four or five months, and then their kingdom would be re-established. They never told me where the disturbances were to arise in which the Thakurs and the Ranghars round Dadri were to join. The villages I have visited are in Jind territory and within 10 to 15 miles from Dadri.

— — —

The above statement was made to me on the condition that the life of Sohan Lal is spared if the statement is true.

Delhi,
25th Sept. 1887.

Sd. W. Merk, B.C.S.
D.C. Delhi.

B

Translation of statement of Teja Singh of Balabgarh.

I have known Sohan Lal for 13 to 14 years. He came to Balabgarh 20 or 25 days ago and stayed for 4 days. He and I went together to Bindra-ban, stayed there one day and then went to Muttra. Sohan Lal then returned to Dadri in the month of *Magh*. Sohan Lal came to Balabgarh before this visit of his. He on that occasion told me about and spoke of Dalip Singh and Thakur Singh. What he said was that Thakur Singh had gone to France and seen Dalip Singh and the king of Russia and sent for Dalip Singh and had given him 20 lakhs of soldiers for the conquest of India, also that Thakur Singh having met Dalip Singh had written that the Rajas of Gwalior Jaipur, Alwar, Bikaner and four or five Punjab Rajas had joined them (i.e., Dalip Singh's Party) and that he (Thakur Singh) had written to these Rajas

and they had sent replies. Sohan Lal used to say that Rani Kanwal Kaur had sent him from Dadri to France to Sardar Thakur Singh but that he had been unable to go to France.

Delhi,
26th Sept. 1887.

Sd. W. Merk, B.C.S.
D.C. Delhi.

502 FROM J.P. Warburton, Esq., to D. McCKACKEN, Esq.
(Demi-Official)

NO. 92.

AMRITSAR,
26TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I send you the only letter of any importance recovered from Jowala Singh of Raja Sansi. It is signed in English by three brothers, Gurbachan Singh, Gurdit Singh, and Narindar Singh and in Persian only by Gurbachan Singh. The names on the reverse are the signatures of Inspector Amir Ali and Budha Misser and Ganda Singh witness, in whose presence it was found.

A

NO. 93

Translation of a document found in possession of Jowala Singh of Raja Sansi at Amritsar on the 11th September, 1887.

"To Ganda Singh : It is a great mortification and a severe perplexity that my esteemed Father departed for the paradise (i.e. died). It is a great calamity but could not be helped. It was destined by the Guru. The Court of Wards has no concern now. Therefore, have the money paid at once to Jowala Singh and to get the weight lightened, do not delay it. Take as an advance from (Name not legibly written) or from any one else and have Rs. 20 paid into the house of Maghar Singh,

Sd. Gurbachan Singh
and also by Narinder Singh
Gurdit Singh.

503. FROM DONALD McCracken, Esq., to COLONEL
P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 94.

SIMLA,
27TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Aziz-ud-din has just been to see me and brought Sohan Lal's confession, which was addressed to me by name. I have sent it on to Young and asked him at Aziz's desire, to return it sharp. Aziz also said that Jowala Singh was not at Delhi but up here.

Menzies has, at Young's desire, sent orders to Warburton to send Jowala Singh to Delhi should Merk want to confront Sohan Lal with him. As Sohan Lal has confessed, this is of course necessary.

Will you kindly consult Durand and write to Young if you consider the orders about sending Jowala Singh to Delhi should be countermanded and Warburton should now get fresh orders to send him up here direct to us.

504. FROM SARDAR GURBACHAN SINGH SINDHANWALIA
TO W. M. YOUNG, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB

NO. 13.

PONDICHERRY,
27TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant with thanks.

I also take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for this kind letter.

I saw a long time ago in some of the papers that you were made a Commissioner and was under the impression that somebody else was doing the work of the Secretary to the Government,

But now as I find that you hold the reins of Government, I am sure that I will succeed in attracting the merciful and favourable attention of Government to us for you have been so kind to me. I sent a letter to the address of the Private Secretary to His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor on the 14th instant, the purport of which need not be repeated here, as it might have passed through your perusal by this time.

We are in a foreign land without friends or any sort of help and really in great difficulty and our case is one that requires the mercy of the Government.

The Government is famous in arranging to preserve the respect and save the respectable families, and, therefore, we commit our case to the Government for its mercy and benevolence and trust that you will be good enough to make us succeed in re-establishing ourselves in the Punjab once more with respect and freedom.

It would not be out of place, I think, if I say that though we all three brothers have not committed any wrong yet as we want to acquire the pleasure of Government, we beg pardon for anything wrong or any of us might have been presumed to have acted.

Pray for an early and very favourable consideration of our case.

505. FROM COLONEL P. D. HENDERSON, C. S. I.,
TO W. M. YOUNG, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 95.

SIMLA,
28TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Durand has desired me to ask that, if there be no objection on the part of the Punjab Government, the man Jowala Singh who was arrested at Amritsar may be sent to Simla to be examined. Arrangements can probably be made by local authorities for him to be started off without any one at Amritsar knowing his destination. He might come up consigned to McCracken and, before his arrival, we can determine where he can conveniently be detained.

506. FROM MAJOR HAMILTON TO COLONEL P. D.
HENDERSON

(Demi-Official)

NO. 8.

SIMLA,
30TH SEPTEMBER, 1887.

Your letter of the 16th September referring to Sikh disaffection.

His Excellency has now seen Colonel Walker, commanding the 19th P.I., as to the character and antecedents of Jamedar Atar Singh.

It appears that this Native Officer has recently been retired from the service on account of an unfavourable report made up on him last inspection. He was of a barber caste and a man of no influence in the Regiment. He was of low character and repute and on this account His Excellency sanctioned his discharge. The accusations against him may be true but His Excellency has nothing to say now that he has left the service. With regard to Jamedar Mastan Singh of the 15th Sikhs, I have written to his commanding officer and will inform you of the result.

II

In letter No. 9 Colonel P. D. Henderson asks Colonel Walker to supply to the Government the copy of Jamedar Atar Singh's role so that enquiries be made as to the truth of the Report that is or was carrying on communication with Dalip Singh's agent at Pondicherry.

507. FROM D. McCracken, ESQ., TO COLONEL P. D.

HENDERSON

(Demi-Official)

NO. 57.

The Magistrate of Mirut has sent me the following descriptive roll:—
"Sallow complexion, broad forehead, round face, short hair, small beard

on chin only, clipped moustaches, small scar on the left breast, short and stout, age about 60 years." See end of Paragraph 33, page 144, Secret Police Abstract. No. 28 of 16th July, 1887, where all the information about Benarsi Das is given that I collected by writing to District Superintendents of Police, Mirut, Allahabad and Benaras, this last spring.

508. FROM COL. P.D. HENDERSON TO W. MACWORTH
YOUNG, ESQ.

(Demi-Official) Confidential

NO. 11.

SIMLA,

2ND OCTOBER, 1887.

I am requested by Durand to send you, for information and record, a copy of a confidential report dated 9th ultimo, from Mr. Barnard, officiating Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, embodying the result of enquiries made by an agent of his at Pondicherry into Dalip Singh's intrigues.

As regards the information under the head 'Native Army' there is reason to believe that statement about representatives from various Regiments having visited Pondicherry is without foundation. A trustworthy agent, sent by the Foreign Office, who obtained excellent news of all the doings of the Pondicherry people, heard nothing to confirm this report, and the men who have been arrested deny its truth.

The information under the head 'Native States' is equally unreliable.

The Certificate of appointment of the Raja of Paikpara (Bengal) as agent of Dalip Singh is apparently genuine and bears the seal of Thakur Singh. They have been compared, as you know, with the handwriting of the letters of the Punjab Government. These papers may be useful in the case of G.S. ever returning to the Punjab.

Measures are being taken to obtain news of what goes on in Pondicherry, and to watch the comings and goings of Sikhs and other Punjabis from and to that place.

509. FROM DONALD McCracken, ESQ., TO COLONEL
P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 96.

BENMORE, SIMLA,

5TH OCTOBER, 1887.

Warburton writes on the 3rd instant :

"Jowala Singh's house was again searched and some letters have been found, which in connection with other information already in posse-

ssion of the Government might prove useful. I shall send them up as soon as I can."

I have wired to him to send them atonce.

Has Jowala Singh confessed or given any information worth having ?

510. FROM W.M. YOUNG, ESQ., TO H.M. DURAND, ESQ.,
C.S.I.
(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,

6TH OCTOBER, 1887.

In continuation of my letter of the 16th September and with reference to your reply of the 17th I am now to forward, for your information, copy of a letter which has just been received from Sardar Gurbachan Singh who is still at Pondicherry.

If you still think it desirable, the Lieutenant-Governor has no objection to the effect that his absence from the Punjab is entirely his own doing and that he is at liberty to return whenever he likes, that with reference to his applications for assistance, no pledge can be given but that, if he returns, he will be free like any other subject of the British Government to make any representations.

511. CONFESSION OF JOWALA SINGH, S/O DESA
SINGH, CASTE JHIWAR, AGE 52 YEARS, OF
RAJA SANZI, IN THE AMRITSAR DISTRICT

NO. 14.

6TH OCTOBER, 1887.

He has been in the late Thakur Singh's service for the last 15 years. In the month of *Bhadon* 1941 (7th Aug. 1884 to 5th Sept.) he accompanied his master to England. They remained in London about nine months and during their stay were Maharaja Dalip Singh's guests. While in London, Thakur Singh wrote to the *Granthis* and asked them to explain the passage in the *Granth* about Guru Gobind Singh's having joined the Muhammadans at Machhiwara and also whether a Sikh, who has embraced Christianity, can be re-admitted into Sikhism. The answer to this from the *Granthis* was that a convert from Sikhism can be readmitted into the Sikh religion.

Many other letters were written and received by Thakur Singh to the *Granthis*, but he does not know what their contents were. While in London, Thakur Singh asked Mahant Gurdit Singh to send him a copy of all the *Sakhis*. There was some delay in its reaching England, so on this he asked his son, Kesar Singh, to go and remind the Mahant to expedite its despatch, but a few days after the second letter, the book was received.

In *Sawan* 1942 (28th July to 25th August 1885) they all returned to India. On landing at Bombay after a few days' stay at Poona on the road, they went to Hyderabad Deccan. On arrival at Hyderabad, they put up for 4 days at the Dak Bungalow and then moved into the house of Raja Ganesh. They remained there for about 20 days and were then guests of Ganesh Raja. At Hyderabad Thakur Singh used to see Raja Narendra Bahadur. Here Thakur Singh met one Suchet Singh from Manjha, who was staying there in search of employment. At Thakur Singh's request, this man accompanied him to Aurangabad where he recommended him to Maulvi Dalil-ud-din, the Subah. This man on the Subah's recommendation has been appointed as an Inspector in the Hyderabad Police. From Aurangabad they went to Nander and stayed there about 10 days.

From Nander they came over to Dadri. At this place, 10 or 12 days after their arrival, he and Sant Singh were sent away to Raja Sansi. Since then he lived at his home. He was watched by the Police on his recent return from Pondicherry.

In *Magh Samat* 1943 (10th January to 8th February 1887) he received a letter and a post card from Thakur Singh asking him to come over to Pondicherry. He received Rs. 160/- from Ganda Singh and Pohlo Mal, and in company with Maghar Singh of Raja Sansi, Kesar Singh of Dhariwal and Bir Singh of Fathankote, they left Amritsar on the 9th or 10th *Magh*. They travelled via Ajmer, Khandwa, Manmad, Dhond Raichore and Madras. At the time of his departure from Amritsar, Narang Singh, Pritpal Singh and Ganga Singh *Granthis* gave him combs and a book of *Shabads*. The book was given to him by Pritpal Singh.

When they reached Pondicherry, Dalip Singh was in Paris. Letters used to pass through him and the Sardar.

Sardar Thakur Singh used to teach Gurmukhi to all his servants, and used to tell them that he will give them jagirs on Maharaja's arrival in the Punjab.

Two or three months after his arrival, the Maharaja went to Russia and on his arrival there sent the title of Prime Minister (Wazir-i-Azim) to Thakur Singh.

In the month of *Chet* (10th March to 9th April 1887) Hari Singh, servant of Budh Singh Bedi, who is employed in the Nepal Army and is now living at Amritsar in Thakur Singh's *haveli*, arrived at Pondicherry. He carried letters and a phial of holy water from the Golden Temple, Amritsar, and C, and a *Pagri* from his master for Thakur Singh. He was about seven days at Pondicherry and returned with Kesar Singh. Letters secreted in the binding of a book were sent by these men for their adherents in the Punjab. If confronted to these men, he can make them give the names of the persons to whom the letters were addressed.

About a month after Hari Singh's departure, Mir Sahib, a servant of Umrao Singh of Kutesar, arrived at Pondicherry. Sohan Lal, a servant of Rani Kanwal Kaur, was also with him. Mir Sahib returned to his home after 10 days. He used to hold secret councils with Thakur Singh. Sohan Lal remained at Pondicherry for about a month or more. Sohan Lal in company with him was sent with letters to Hyderabad for Raja Narender Bahadur. They were instructed to send one letter first and in the case of his allowing them to have an interview with him they should personally deliver the letter. They were instructed to tell the Raja that Dalip Singh has arranged with Russia and that he should give them some money. On arrival at Hyderabad, they sent in the first letter, through Narender Bahadur's Jamedar, but he declined to see them, and said that as Thakur Singh was against the Govt. he will therefore, have nothing to do with him. At Hyderabad, they stayed with Hira goldsmith, a nephew or brother of Sohan Lal. They came back to Pondicherry and about a fortnight after their return, Sohan Lal went back to his home. Letters were sent secretly by this man.

From Paris Dalip Singh sent three proclamations in which he asked the Sikhs to join him and to tear railways, destroy bridges and cut telegraphs. These were translated into Gurmukhi and sent to the Punjab. Most probably they were sent by Kesar Singh, Hari Singh and Sohan Lal.

At Pondicherry Thakur Singh and his sons used to say that when the Maharaja will arrive at Pashawar, everyone in India will rise against the English and will destroy bridges and railways. Thakur Singh used to correspond with Nihal Singh and Ganda Singh of Raja Sansi, Jiwan Singh of Ajit Chowk, Gujranwala, Bhai Narang Singh, Pohlo Mal and Partap Singh, *Granthi* of Amritsar. In Pondicherry Thakur Singh and his sons used to see the French Governor. About 3 months ago Arur Singh arrived at Pondicherry from Moscow. He had new clothes made up for himself and after 10 days stay left for Hyderabad in company with Maghar Singh. He used to say that he will first go to Hyderabad and then to Calcutta to get some money. Arur Singh's boxes, etc. were in his charge but later on, on the arrival of a Bengali, they were forced open and some papers were taken out. After that, they were removed to Thakur Singh's room. A few days before Thakur Singh's death, Kishen Singh of Kohali and Godar Singh of Dhand Kasel arrived at Pondicherry. At the time of his departure, they were still there but since then have returned to their homes.

About 1½ months ago he left Pondicherry with Thakur Singh's bones. At the time of his departure Gurbachan Singh asked him that, after depositing the bones at Hardwar, he should go to Dadri and ask Sohan Lal as to whether he has done the work which they had asked him to do and also to ask him to send the money which he promised and then

to go to Bawa Budha Singh and ask him how far he has accomplished the Maharaja's work and also to get from the Golden Temple, Amritsar, an account of the funeral expenses of the late Shamsheer Singh Sindhanwalia and then return to Pondicherry.

He visited Dadri but could not see Sohan Lal. While at Dadri, he was overtaken by Maghar Singh, who, on arrival, asked him as to where Sohan Lal was, and said that he should at once destroy all the papers in his possession. They sent for Sohan Lal's mother, but she said she did not know anything about the letters. After only a four or five hours stay, Maghar Singh went on to Lahore and Amritsar to warn Thakur Singh's friends to destroy letters.

At Amritsar he saw Bawa Budh Singh and gave him Gurbachan Singh's message. He said that he had tried his best, but no one will listen to Thakur Singh's proposals. Maghar Singh also saw him. He arrived at Amritsar 24 hours before him. Dated 6th October, 1887.

The letters were written by Gurbachan Singh for his friends in the Punjab and were to be sent by him; but just at the last moment he decided not to send them by him, as he was carrying the bones and was liable to be searched. The letters most probably were brought by Maghar Singh, Kishan Singh and Godar Singh who followed him.

He thinks Bawa Budh Singh is and was the medium of communication between Kashmir and the other Sikhs and Gurbachan Singh and his father.

6th Oct. 1887.

N.M.S.

Recorded by Aziz-ud-din,
Attache, Foreign Deptt.

Jowala Singh on being further examined says that when Maghar Singh arrived at Dadri, he was laid up with fever. Maghar Singh told him that Sohan Lal should not keep with him any papers he might have received, brought with him from Pondicherry. The Govt. has got information about them and will soon search their houses.

At Amritsar he also informed Bawa Budh Singh that Gurbachan Singh requested him to carry on the work as before and not to consider that Thakur Singh's death will make any difference in future.

No person accompanied him from Pondicherry, but at Saharanpur or Purki one Attar Singh Jamader, whose Regiment is stationed at Ferozepore, travelled in the same carriage to Hardwar. He does not know the name of his village, but he appeared to be from Manjha somewhere near Tarn Taran. He carried with him his mother's bones, and deposited them in the Ganges through his own *Brahmin*.

He was with him for one night at Hardwar and the next day they returned to Saharanpur. Here he parted with him and went to his home via Ambala. From Hardwar to Saharanpur, two Muhammaden policemen from Amritsar travelled with him. They travelled with him in the same carriage and all the way were talking with the Jamedar.

One of the policemen, who was of a slight build, told them he was formerly in Sardar Dayal Singh's service, and at present has a shop in Hall bazaar, Amritser.

He knows nothing about Jamader Mastan Singh. He never heard his name before. He knows nothing about his having remitted money to Thakur Singh through Pohlo Mal.

7th October, 1887.

Recorded by Aziz-ud-din.
Certified and verified by
J. Manners Smith, Lieutt.

512. MEMO : INTRIGUES OF DULEEP SINGH*

ENCLOSURE IV TO VICEROY'S LETTER

10 10.87.

The following is the history of Dalip Singh's intrigues with India :—

About the year 1881 Thakur Singh, a relative of Dalip Singh, who was a great spendthrift, incurred debts, and finding it impossible to pay them off himself, he applied to the Government to help him out of the difficulty. This was at once refused, but to gain his ends, by creating difficulties for the Government, he opened correspondence with Dalip Singh, and informed him that his ancestral property worth millions has been wrongly confiscated in the year 1849, and that he should apply for its restoration. He further promised him every assistance in furnishing documentary and any other evidence which he might require in support of his claims. This correspondence was carried on for about four years, and in 1884, he was asked by Dalip Singh to visit England and have a consultation with him.

2. Thakur Singh after being detained for sometime by the Punjab Government eventually went to England, accompanied by his two sons Narinder Singh and Hardit Singh (Gurdit Singh) and three followers—Jowala Singh, Sant Singh, and Partab Singh. But prior to his departure he visited the four principal Sikh shrines at Amritsar, Patna, Anandpur and Nander and, by holding out promises of jagirs to the

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

priests in charge of the temples, obtained promises from them to co-operate with him for the re-establishment of Dalip Singh on the Punjab throne.

3. On their arrival in England they were well received by the Maharaja, and were made to stay with Hira Singh, who was at that time staying in England.

4. After giving information about his ancestral property Thakur Singh suggested to Dalip Singh that, instead of wasting his time in a fruitless litigation, he should try to return to the Punjab and if he succeeded in it he might rest assured that he would again get the Punjab throne. He informed him that all the Sikhs were devoted to him, and, in accordance with the prophecies contained in Guru Gobind Singh's *Sakhis*, were looking forward to a revolution and his restoration to the Punjab Raj.

5. This statement of Thakur Singh was received with suspicion by Dalip Singh, and he asked for some proof in its support. On this Thakur Singh wrote to his son, Gurbachan Singh, who obtained papers to that effect, sealed and signed by the principal Sikh priests, and had them sent to his father. When these papers reached England, Dalip Singh was fully convinced of the truth of Thakur Singh's assertions and the devotion of the Sikhs to his cause.

6. After this, under the guidance of Thakur Singh, he set to work to obtain the permission of Government for his return to his native land. When the permission was accorded, and everything was settled about Dalip Singh's journey to India, Thakur Singh returned to India. But before leaving England he promised that without Dalip Singh he would never live in the Punjab, that on his return he would spread far and wide the tidings of his return among his adherents, and that, on his arrival at Bombay, he would meet him with 20 servants, and would re-admit him to Sikh religion.

7. On landing at Bombay the first thing that Thakur Singh did was to visit Hyderabad and to intrigue with the Deccan Sikhs about the revival of Sikhism. Without making any progress whatever at this place, and getting a strong rebuff from Raja Narendar Bahadur, he went over to Nander to carry on the same thing. At this place he was called upon to undergo the punishment prescribed by the Sikh law for having crossed the high seas, but, on his representing that he undertook the journey at their request to bring back their king, he was allowed to forego the religious punishments. From this place he went to the Punjab and spread the news about the Maharaja's return and commenced making preparations for his reception.

8. In April 1886, he sent in advance to Bombay Parduman Singh and Thakur Singh of Vagha and Jowand Singh of Barki with 14 Sikhs to

await there the Maharaja's arrival. He himself too applied for permission to meet Dalip Singh at Bombay and to re-admit him to Sikh religion. No sanction was given to him and thus he had to wait for a long time at Delhi, but on learning of Dalip Singh's detention at Aden and of his being ordered not to visit India, he asked Thakur Singh of Vagha and Jowand Singh of Barki to go over to Aden and there baptize Dalip Singh according to the rites of Sikhism. He also sent the message through them advising him to go to any other part of Europe, but not to England.

9. Simultaneously with Dalip Singh's departure from Aden he left Delhi for Patna. From this place, with the greatest vigour he commenced intriguing with the Sikhs. Kishen Singh, son of Kesar Singh, a nephew of his, was the medium of carrying on communications between him and his friends in the Punjab. Later on he returned to his home, and finding the place too hot for him he moved on to Delhi. At this place, too, he found no rest, and being daily haunted by the fear of arrest, he, at the suggestion of Dalip Singh, left Delhi on the 27th October, 1886, and travelling via Jabalpure, Dhond and Madras, reached Pondicherry on the 6th November, 1886. As this was his preliminary step to join Dalip Singh later on in Europe, he took with himself his three sons, their families, and the following servants :—

Maghar Singh, *Jat*, of Raja Sansi
 Narain Singh, *Chimba*, of „
 Jowala Singh, *Jhiwar*, of „
 Hira Singh, *Jhiwar*, of „
 Bir Singh, *Rajput*, of Pathankot
 Hari Singh, *Jat*, of Ghorewah, Hushiarpur
 Mulraj, *Khatiri*, of Jhakri, Jhelum

Later on they were joined by Isar Singh, *Jhiwar*, of Raja Sansi.

10. The real object of their journey was kept a profound secret, and, with the exception of his two sons, Gurbachan Singh and Narinder Singh, was known to no one else. It was only on the pretext of pilgrimage to Nander that he managed to take his daughters-in-law and servants away from their homes and friends. Their horror can be well imagined when on arrival at Pondicherry they were informed that they would have to remain with him until Dalip Singh's arrival, and if they remained faithful, they would be rewarded with jagirs. All of the servants at present are dissatisfied, and their pay is two years in arrears. Since Thakur Singh's death they do not get even sufficient food and have become so dissatisfied and disheartened that, if they can get their passage money, they will quit the camp *en masse*.

11. Two days after his arrival, Thakur Singh had an interview with M. Menist, the French Governor, who took down his statement and

submitted it to Paris. Two months after this, orders were received from the Republican Government sanctioning an allowance of Fr. 1,000=Rs. 600 to Thakur Singh and his sons. This, according to the instructions received from Dalip Singh, they declined with thanks, and in lieu of this asked for their protection as long as they might stay in the French territory. This was readily accorded to them, and since then they have been living on friendly terms with the French. Among the residents of Pondicherry who are most intimate with them are M. Godard, Barrister-at-law, and the Burmese Prince Mingoan.

12. Since their arrival at Pondicherry they have carried on a regular correspondence with Dalip Singh through the French Post office. All their letters are sent under registered covers, but sometimes Dalip Singh's letters find their way to the British mail bag, and are delivered through the British Post Office at Pondicherry.

13. The letters To Dalip Singh were addressed :

H.M. Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur,
Sovereign of the Sikhs,
Care of Messrs Zenker & Co,
Moscow, Russia via Paris.

And the address on Thakur Singh's
letters from Moscow was :

Via Paris
Pondicherry,
French East India
His Excellency Sardar Thakur Singh
Primes Minister of the State of Lahore

14. Beside the printed proclamations, enclosures 1, 2, 3 and pieces of two letters, marked 4 and 5, there were with Thakur Singh's sons about 20 letters from Dalip Singh. The following are the abstracts of their contents :—

"I have deposited all my money and jewels to the value of Rs. 1,00,000 with Mallet and Farris, Paris.

"I am glad that you have come down to Pondicherry. Stay there and continue on intriguing with the Sikhs and the Native Princes.

"I have seen in the papers that Viceroy has been in Goa and Pondicherry. I do not know whether he sent for you or not. Perhaps he did not know that you were in Pondicherry. Please be careful in your doings, for if you act openly the English, who are at present on friendly terms with the French, will get you turned out of Pondicherry. I am very sorry I cannot render you any pecuniary assistance at present. Stay for the present at Pondicherry. From

that place you can further my cause by communicating with my loyal subjects. On the other hand, if you come to Europe, you will be of no use to me.

"Everything looks very dark, and I do not know I will be able to manage with the means at my disposal.

"A Punjabi has seen me at Paris and has promised on his return to send me Rs. one lakh and a half.

"I have returned my decorations including the Star of India to the Queen and have cut off connection with British.

"Ask the native Princes to help me with money with which I may be able to raise an army on the frontier and enter India via Kabul or Kashmir.

"I am afraid all the Sikh states are against me, and the same is the case with the Maharaja of Kashmir. Open negotiations with his brother and tell him that if he will join me, I will give him his brother's place. While at Aden, I received a letter from one of the Ministers of Kashmir, but was not allowed to answer it.

"Get some money from the Native Princes so that I may bribe the Ministers and Officials and thus get my work done. I will either live at Mashed or Tehran so that I may be near at hand when the Russians advance on India.

"There is no chance of war between England and Russia. Most probably I will have to join with you and live at Pondicherry, so that I may be near my loyal subjects.

"Be careful in communications with the Sikhs, for, when the telegram about the appearance of seditious proclamations was received in Paris, I was sent for by the Minister and was warned not to do anything of the sort.

"Send me some money as soon as you can. Without it I can not proceed any further. The Russian Minister at Paris has asked me for £1,00,000 without which he will not allow me to do anything with his government.

"I am now fully satisfied with your loyalty to my cause and fully believe that you are not doing it for the love of money.

"I have offered 3½ million as tribute to Russia. You should now try and ascertain from Nizam, Baroda, Holkar, and C, whether they will join me in paying this sum and thus driving away the English from India. But, as far as I am aware, they are puppets in the hands of the English and I cannot expect much from them. Tell them Russia cares very little for India and the Indians. She only cares for money.

"General Bagdanovitch has arrived here and has brought letters from Constantine, Bonodovozeff and Bagdanovitch ? Pobdenostsef ?* M. Katkoff is asking me to come over to Russia.

"I have appointed you my Prime Minister and you are at liberty to negotiate with the Native States in my name.

"Inform the Sikh army to remain in readiness for me and also the Sikhs in general. When the time comes, they should destroy railways, cut down telegraph wires and harass the English in every possible way. If this can be assured, Russia, without any further delay, will send me at the head of a Russian army.

"M. Notovitch, a journalist, is proceeding to India. At the request of his friends I have given him a letter of introduction to you. I am told he is a good Persian scholar, so you will have no difficulty in conversing with him.

"Inform editors of Bengali papers that I differ with them only on one point—they desire to have a republic and I want to have a monarchical government. After all their and my object is to drive away the English. I will rule India something like Germany by which the Native Chiefs will be independent kings. I will never allow any other nation with the exception of Indians to take part in the administration of the country. Ask them to arouse the feelings of the people in my favour and also to persuade the Native princes to supply me with money. You should also inform them that Russia cares very little for India and the Indians.

"There is an Afghan staying here who has offered
Djamal-un-din me every assistance. He will, after having an
interview with the Czar, shortly proceed to Afghan
frontier.

"Warn the *Pujaries* at Amrister, Anandpur, Patna and Nander to keep the arms in temples in serviceable order. They will be very shortly required by my loyal subjects. Get some money from the Native princes and have it sent to me, so that I may use it in bribing Russian officials—wicked as it may look, one can not get on in this world without it.

"You know I am unable to render you any assistance, so I should advise you to go and make your peace with the English and thus be among the Sikhs.

"Send an agent to Nepal and ask them to become neutral. Russia

* General Bagdanovitch was the man who smuggled Dalip Singh into Russia. Me. Pobdenostsef is regarded as the most trusted Councillor of the Czar and was a great friend of Katkoff. D.M.W.

is afraid that, in the case of war, Nepal will help England with troops.

"Send me some Indian newspapers, so that I may be able to keep the Russians informed as to what is going on in India. (In accordance with this, the *Times of India* and the *Madras Times* are sent by every mail to Dalip Singh.)

"Abdul Rasul of Amritsar who was so badly treated by the English in the Soudan has also joined me."

This man is a Kashmiri shawl merchant of Amritsar and prior to 1884 lived at Cairo in Egypt. In that year he joined the Nile Expeditionary Force as an interpreter. He was found intriguing with the Mehdi and was tried on the charge of high treason, but, for want of legal proof, was discharged and turned out of the British service. On his release he went to England and preferred claims against the Government, but getting no redress he joined Dalip Singh, and since then he has been living with him. According to Thakur Singh and Arur Singh he himself admitted having intrigued with the Mehdi.

15. Enclosure No. 4 is out of a letter from Dalip Singh written from Paris. In this he enumerates all the difficulties with which he will have to contend in driving away the English from India, and adds that anyhow before leaving Europe, he will see the Emperor of Russia.

16. Enclosure No. 5 is the first half of Dalip Singh's letter, dated Moscow, the 8th June, 1887. In this he gives the account of his interview with the Governor-General of Moscow, and goes on to say that he has informed the Governor-General that he wants to have an interview with the Czar, and that if His Majesty doubts his assertions as regards the Indians being devoted to him and prepared for an advance of Russian troops, His Majesty can send an officer with his (Dalip Singh's) letter to Pondicherry, where he (Thakur Singh) can show him the proof of all he has stated. He warns him not to give the names of Native Princes and his loyal subjects to any one else but to the officer who brings the letter.

17. In every letter Dalip Singh asks his cousin to warn the Sikh army to rise in his favour whenever he may advance on India and those left behind should destroy railways and cut down telegraphs and supplies, and adds that nothing but revenge will satisfy him for the way he was insulted at Aden. Besides this, in some of the letters he abuses Thakur Singh right and left, and tells him that to gain his own ends he has misled him and made him to quit his home and family.

18. Of the letters written by Thakur Singh there are no copies in existence, but, according to Arur Singh, who was with Dalip Singh, they all contained the names of the Rajas and the leading men of the Punjab as

being devoted to Dalip Singh and prepared to furnish him with any amount of money.

19. To circulate Dalip Singh's letters and to further his cause among the Sikhs, foremost are the *Granthies* of the four principal Sikh shrines, i.e.,

- (1) Bhagat Singh, *Granthi* of Golden Temple, Amritsar
- (2) Narang Singh, *Granthi* of Golden Temple, Amritsar.
- (3) Hira Singh, *Granthi* of Golden Temple, Amritsar.
- (4) Choti Sarkar Sodhi of Anandpur.
- (5) Majhli Sarkar Sodhi of Anandpur.
- (6) Gulab Singh, *Granthi* of Patna.
- (7) Bhagat Singh *Granthi* of Patna.
- (8) Nanu Singh, *Granthi* of Nanded, Deccan.
- (9) Gian Singh, Akali, *fakir* of Nanded.

Both these men are Punjabis from the Ferozpure district.

20. All the above priests, in hopes of large jagirs, have, at the suggestion of Thakur Singh, put a misconstruction on the passage of the Granth which to suit and further Dalip Singh's cause is now being so translated that, according to Nanak, Dalip Singh will be the second founder of the Sikh religion, that on his arrival at Amritsar he will get divine revelation, and that his rule will extend 3,000 miles north of India. This is being quietly preached to the Sikh soldiers in the British service. They are all exhorted to remain in readiness for the time for its fulfilment is near at hand. It is worthy of note that the above and all the other intrigues, at Thakur Singh's request, are kept secret from—

- (1) Sardar Man Singh, C.I.E., Manager of the Golden Temple, Amritsar,
- (2) Bhai Sumer Singh, Manager of the Sikh Temple at Patna, and
- (3) the Senior *Granthi* of the Golden Temple, Amritsar.

The reason for distrusting them is that they are suspected to be more friendly towards the English Government than towards their religion.

21. Besides the priests, the following persons were in correspondence with Thakur Singh and Gurbachan Singh and were furthering Dalip Singh's cause in India :

- (1) Kesar Singh of Kohali, brother-in-law of Thakur Singh.
- (2) Jowala Singh, Mokal.
- (3) Harkishen Brahmin of Lahore.
- (4) Thakur Singh and Purdaman Singh of Wagha, cousins of Dalip Singh.
- (5) Jawand Singh of Barki.

- (6) Pohlo Mal, servant of Thakur Singh.
- (7) Budh Singh Bawa of Gujranwala, formerly a captain in the Napal Army.
- (8) Pandit Joti Parshad astrologer, of Ludhiana.
- (9) Bawa Sujan Singh, a brother of Bawa Khem Singh.

(Note—Bawa Khem Singh himself has got nothing to do with these intrigues and is looked upon as a traitor by Thakur Singh and his friends.

- (10) Ajit Singh of Lalpur, Jullundur, son-in-law of Thakur Singh.
- (11) Hira Singh of Lidar, Jullundur, son-in-law of Thakur Singh.
- (12) Shamsheer Singh of Bharatpur, near Rupar, son-in-law of Thakur Singh.
- (13) Udham Singh of Kohali.
- (14) Zaman Ali of Jhelum.
- (15) Raja Hamidullah Khan of Jhelum.
- (16) Raja Muhammad Bakhsh of Chak Hamid, Jhelum.
- (17) Muhammad Bakhsh of Sahawal, Jhelum.
- (18) Raja Moti Singh of Punch.

Nos 15 to 17 are only mentioned in a letter from No. 14 to Gurbachan Singh's address, as being devoted to Dalip Singh and prepared to further his cause. Beyond this, there is nothing else to show that they have been actually intriguing on behalf of Dalip Singh.

No. 18 is intriguing with the brothers of the Maharaja of Kashmir to persuade them to join Dalip Singh.

22. Dalip Singh's adherents distrust every educated Sikh and even those who have any dealings with the British officers. Their mission at present is only confined to the Jats of Manjha.

23. There is also a centre of Dalip Singh's intrigues in Bengal, and the headman is Shashi Bhushan Mukerji, editor and proprietor of the extinct paper *Beaver*, at present residing at Kalighat, Calcutta. In September 1886, Dalip Singh, through a Frenchman at Paris, opened communications with him and by paying £1,000 induced him to publish his letters in the *Beaver* and also to influence the editors of the Bengali papers to further his cause. This man after carrying on a lengthy correspondence with Dalip Singh managed to get another £1,000 from him. With this and the money he swindled out of the *Beaver* lottery, he has now retired from business and has invested Rs. 60,000 in Government Promissory notes. Not being satisfied with the money he received from Dalip Singh on the 2nd April last, he wrote to Thakur Singh (Enclosure No. 6) soliciting some pecuniary help to start a newspaper to ventilate his cause.

24. In May last Inspector J.C. Mitter, of the Calcutta Police, on Shashi Bhushan's return to Kalighat, took him into confidence and through

him opened correspondence with Dalip Singh. It was mostly on his letter that Arur Singh was sent to Calcutta.

25. With a view of making a fortune, like the editor of the *Beaver*, Tin-cowri Banerji and Sarish Chander Bose, joint editors of *Projabandho* (Enclosure No. 7), a weekly paper published at Chandernagore, visited Pondicherry in February last. There they had an interview with Thakur Singh, and on undertaking to further Dalip Singh's cause received Rs. 1,000 from him. According to their letters in possession of Gurbachan Singh, on their return to Bengal, they say many native editors and named Surrendra Nath Banerjee and Norendro Nath Sen in particular, but all these men declined to change Russia for England. This was communicated to Dalip Singh, and it was only on this that he commenced to write to them "that Russia cares very little for India and the Indians", "He will employ the Indians in the administration of this country."

25. Tin-cowrie Banerjee and Srish Chunder Bose are French subjects, and employed as clerks in the offices of Inspector of Schools, Presidency Circle, and Superintendent of Stationery, respectively.

26. Following *Projabandho's* example, the *Dhumketu*, another weekly paper, also published in its issue of 1st July, 1887 (Enclosure No. 8), some seditious verses in favour of Dalip Singh, hoping that they will attract Dalip Singh's and Thakur Singh's attention, and thus would be the means of bringing some fortune to them. The dedication in the editor's own hand-writing on the last page of the Bengali magazine, *Shar Shangro* (Enclosure No. 9), will show how eager these people are to open communications with Dalip Singh. This *Shar Shangro* is published in Calcutta and has reproduced the seditious verses.

27. *Dhumketu* is owned and edited by Basanta Lal Mitter, Shib Krishna Mitter, Nita Krishna Mitter. They are French subjects, but hold a little piece of land in Pamdpur, district Hooghly.

28. The seditious verses were written by Dayal Chander Bose, joint editor of the paper. This man, too, is a French subject, and is employed in the office of Balmer Jawrie, & Co. (Clive Street), Calcutta.

29. Letters of ordinary nature between Pondicherry and the Punjab were sent by post, but important communications were always sent with special messengers.

30. Since Thakur Singh's arrival at Pondicherry, besides the editors of *Projabandhu*, the following persons visited him in French territory and carried communications between him and his friends in the Panjab :

- (1) Hari Singh of Nurpur, a servant of Bhagat Singh and Naurang Singh, *Granthis* of Amritsar.
- (2) Kesar Singh of Raja Sansi, a servant of Thakur Singh,

In April last they carried letters from the Punjab and after fortnight's stay in Pondicherry returned with Dalip Singh's and Thakur Singh's letters.

- (3) Mir Sahib of Kotesar in the Bulandshahar district, a servant of the Zamindar of Kotesar, whose daughter is betrothed to Thakur Singh's second son. This man in May last carried letters for Pondicherry camp, and after a month's stay at that place, brought back letters for Kotesar and the Punjab. Rao Umrao Singh, the Zamindar of Kotesar, is devoted to Dalip Singh, and is intriguing in his favour with the Zamindars around Kotesar.
- (4) Sohan Lal, goldsmith of Dadri, Charkhi, a servant of the mother-in-law of Thakur Singh. He was sent, in May last, by the old woman to bring information about the welfare of his grandson at Pondicherry. He remained there for about a month, and, in June last, was sent back with translations of Dalip Singh's proclamations and letters to the address of Kashmir, Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala and Faridkot. The purport of the letters was that Thakur Singh has been appointed Prime Minister to Dalip Singh, and they should trust and hear the bearer of the letter. The verbal messages were that they should remain in readiness to receive Dalip Singh who would soon advance at the head of a Russian army, and, on his arrival in Punjab, if they proved to be his friends, he would make every one of them an independent king. To elude detection these papers were stitched under the lining of a small portmantau he had with him. Besides the Punjab Rajas, he has been intriguing with the Thakurs around Dadri. This Sohan Lal belongs to an old intriguing family. His master, Nahar Singh of Balabgarh, was executed in the mutiny of 1857. The mother-in-law of Thakur Singh is related to the mother of the young Raja of Jind and enjoys a jagir of Rs.2,000 from the Jind State.
- (5) Maghar Singh of Raja Sansi, a servant of Thakur Singh, was in May last sent with letters from Pondicherry, and after a stay of 15 days at Amritsar, he returned with letters from Dalip Singh's adherents in the Punjab.
- (6) Kishen Singh, son of Kesar Singh, of Kohali, nephew of Thakur Singh.
- (7) Godar Singh, brother-in-law of No.6

They arrived at Pondicherry with Punjab letters on the 7th of August, 1887, and were to return with letters on the 31st August last. No. 5 was also to accompany them on their return journey to Amritsar. No. 6 and 7 were formerly troopers in the Bengal Cavalry.

- (8) Inspector J.C. Mitter of the Calcutta Police arrived at Pondicherry on the evening of 16th August, and after having an interview with Thakur Singh under the guise of a messenger from Arur Singh he returned to Calcutta by the morning train of the 17th August, 1887.
- (9) Jowala Singh, servant of Thakur Singh, left Pondicherry on the 21st August with Thakur Singh's bones for Hardwar. He was also the bearer of Gurbachan Singh's letters to the adherents of Dalip Singh. The purport of the letters and the verbal messages which were sent by this man was that they should not be disheartened by Thakur Singh's death and continue to further Dalip Singh's cause, that he like his late father will carry on correspondence with the Maharaja, who will advance on India by the beginning of this winter.
- (10) The other person of note who visited Thakur Singh's camp was Arur Singh of Kohali, who was with Dalip Singh at Moscow. He left Moscow in May last and travelling via Odessa, Constantinople, Alexandria, Colombo and Tuticorn, arrived at Pondicherry in the beginning of the July last. He stayed there for a fortnight and after having a Sikh's clothes made up for himself, he in company with Maghar Singh started for Hyderabad. On arrival at that place he tried to see the State officials through a goldsmith of Dadri. But seeing that it was impossible to intrigue with them he wrote to Dalip Singh through Mustafa Efendi of Constantinople that State was prepared to join him, but for the fear of the English they were unable to give anything in writing. From this place he sent back Maghar Singh and proceeded himself to Calcutta where on his arrival he was betrayed to the police by Shashi Bhushan Mukerji, the editor of the *Beaver*. The instructions given to him by Dalip Singh were :—

(a) To see Mustafa Efendi, a friend of Syad Jamal-ud-din and Abdul Rasul at Constantinople. To arrange with him to send to Moscow any native of India who may arrive at Constantinople.

This man is a Turkish priest in charge of the graves of Sultans and is in Russian pay.

(b) To visit all the Native States and to obtain in writing from them that they were all dissatisfied with the English and will rise against them on Russia's advance.

(c) To prepare ground to take round a Russian officer who will arrive in India in a month.

(d) To appoint agents,

(e) To obtain money from the Native States to bribe Russian Ministers and officials.

(f) To go to Jhinda Ram and ask for Rs. 1½ lakhs which he promised to Dalip Singh at the Grand Hotel, Paris, and also to exert himself in furthering Dalip Singh's cause by instructing the Punjabis to rise in Dalip Singh's favour.

(g) To see the *Pujaris* of Amritsar and to communicate with them Dalip Singh's instructions about cutting railway and telegraph lines and attacking the English in the rear.

(h) To deliver Dalip Singh's letter to the editor of the *Beaver*, and through him to see the ex-king of Oudh, and other Bengali adherents of Dalip Singh.

Besides the above, he gave the following information :

Jhinda Ram, pleader of Multan, Harkishen Brahmin of Lahore, Jowand Singh of Barki, Sardar Dyal Singh of Majitha, Sardar Ajit Singh of Attari, Gurbaksh Singh, brother of the late Resaldar Anup Singh, and Sardar Hira Singh of Kelawali, are greatly devoted to Dalip Singh. He brought a letter for Harkishen and sent it off by post from Pondicherry. According to the editor of the *Beaver*, all the Bengalis were ready to help Dalip Singh with funds. The ex-king of Oudh alone was prepared to give him a lakh.

£2,000 were sent to the editor of the *Beaver* through his agent in Paris. This *Beaver's* agent is a Frenchman and used to print papers, etc., for Dalip Singh.

Katkoff before his death introduced Dalip Singh to General Kuhlberg of the Boundary Commission and asked him to befriend the Maharaja. Katkoff's son-in-law, who is in the Imperial Council, and his two friends who are ministers of state are furthering Dalip Singh's cause in Russia. These men have informed Dalip Singh that after a year when thorough railway communications will be established to the Afghan frontier then they will advance on India. On conquering the country they will make it over to Dalip Singh for they have got more land than they can possibly rule. Their sole object is to drive away the English from India and thus weaken them in Europe.

The Russian Government offered an allowance to Dalip Singh, but he declined it with thanks, for, according to Thakur Singh's letters, he was daily expecting money from the Native princes.

31. The only remittance which Thakur Singh received was Rs. 2000/- from his relatives at Kohali and three small sums from Pohlo Mal, his servant at Amritsar. At present his sons are living on the sale proceeds of the jewellery of their wives. They expect some money from the Rani of Jind and their grandmother at Dādri.

32. They are living at No. 10 Law de Lauristan, near the house of the Governor, and the state of their camp is—Thakur Singh, the main spring of intrigues, is dead, all the servants dissatisfied and ready to desert them, and Thakur Singh's sons see everything gloomy around them.

In spite of all this they are persevering to further Dalip Singh's cause by sending cheerful letters to him every mail and encouraging his adherents to carry on the intrigues.

Dated 22nd September 1887

NO. 1

(See Enclosure A of No. 416)

NO. 2

37, rue d'Anjou Saint House, Paris

The Maharaja Dalip Singh presents his compliments to the editor of the *Beaver* and requests him kindly to insert the letter printed below in the above influential journal.

(See Enclosure B of No. 416)

NO. 3.

(See Enclosure C of No. 416)

NO. 4

All my English friends have written to me and also the Queen herself to return to my allegiance, but my answer is that it is too late to do so now, be the consequences what they may.

NO. 5

ZENKER, & CO.,
MOSCOW, JUNE 18TH, 1887.

My dear Cousin,

At last my position has been recognised here.

By the desire of the Governor-General of Moscow, I went to see him a week ago and he showed me a letter which had been sent to him through the Foreign office from St. Petersburg by command of the Emperor. He further adds that I was now at liberty to reside and travel anywhere in Russia I may please.

Some very important questions were asked me at the interview, but which it is not possible for me to write to you as this letter may be opened in passing through Germany and its contents read.

But be assured all is going on (up to the present) as well as could be wished.

PRIVATE

NO. 6

THE BEAVER OFFICE,
2ND APRIL 1887

Sir,

I have got your letters, but without replying them I sent the *Beaver* to you. I really wonder how they can be missing. I am however sorry to say that I have been compelled to stop issuing the paper notwithstanding all the earnestness of 50,000 subscribers. I need not say the reason that compelled me to stop the *Beaver*. I have, however, determined to start another paper in another name soon, which will be sent to you. I have come to a sudden grief, and my printing press and furnitures have consequently been sold. The sooner I could raise money I shall atonce start a more vigorous newspaper and buy presses, etc.

Sir, all my properties (movable and immovable) have been sold, and I am actually a pauper now, or else I should have kept my paper even at the risk of my fortune, if I had any.

I remain, my dear Prince,
Yours Obdt. Servant,
U. Gupta.

P.S.

I have literary connection with many other papers, you may depend upon if I am to ventilate your cause.

Will you give me a life history of yourself as well as the treatment you received at the hands of the British Government, and what makes you to leave your own country and live in French Settlement at Pondicherry. Wishing an early reply.

I remain always your obdt. servant,
U. Gupta, F.T.S.
Editor '*Beaver*', Chandernagore,
Bengal.

513. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON, C.S.I.;
TO B. COLVIN, ESQ.

(Demi-Official) Confidential

NO. 16.

SIMLA,
14TH OCTOBER, 1887.

In some trustworthy information recently received regarding Dalip Singh's intrigues in India, the head Mahant of the Sikh community of Patna is specially mentioned as having been actively concerned. Can you find out for me the name of this gentleman and any particulars regarding him?

I shall be very glad to get any information about Bhai Sumer Singh of Patna, who appears to be a prominent man among the Sikhs there. There is a split in the Punjab over the management of the Sikh Sabhas and he is an active member of the opposition.

514. LIEUT. GOVERNOR'S OPINION

NO 18.

The opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor is that the evidence against Bawa Budh Singh is not of a kind upon which it would be advisable to prosecute him under the Indian Penal Code. Nor does His Honour anticipate that his arrest or that of the other three men mentioned by Colonel Henderson is likely to lead to other evidence being obtained upon which such a prosecution could be based.

But Mr. Lyall thinks there is a sufficient evidence to make it practically certain that the Bawa is a disaffected person who has been corresponding with Sardar Thakur Singh and Gurbachan Singh and Maharaja Dalip Singh direct, with a reasonable object, and he sees no objection to their temporary arrest, and to see what information could be got out of them.

So far as Mr. Lyall can judge, the conspirators seem to have done so little and have got so little encouragement in the Punjab, that, if the matter ends with these arrests and the men are released after temporary confinement without further punishment, the conclusion will not be injuriously weak.

As to Gurbachan Singh and his brothers, they can be severally punished by the resumption of their father's jagir. The Lieutenant-Governor is not sure that this jagir ought not to have been already resumed during Sardar Thakur Singh's life time, as his attitude was clearly rebellious. Mr. Lyall thinks this should be done now as another way of forcing

the sons to return and surrender unconditionally. It is not necessary to decide to resume it permanently, but it might be attached and the Revenue credited to Government till the sons come in and justify their conduct.

515. FROM COLONEL P. D. HENDERSON,
TO W. M. YOUNG, ESQ.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 19.

SIMLA,

16TH OCTOBER, 1887.

With reference to your demi-official letter of the 14th instant from Patiala, communicating the views of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor with regard to the arrest of certain persons implicated by Jowala Singh as having been concerned in the Dalip Singh intrigues, I am requested by Durand to inform you that His Excellency the Viceroy has sanctioned the arrest of :—

- (i) Bawa Budh Singh Bedi,
- (ii) Maghar Singh,
- (iii) Hari Singh, and
- (iv) Kesar Singh.

The accompanying memorandum contains as full a description of these men as I have been able to obtain.

I am to say that His Excellency desires that their detention should be of no longer duration than is absolutely necessary for unveiling and counter-acting Dalip Singh's seditious intrigues, and that, while under arrest, they should be well treated, no unnecessary hardship or restriction being inflicted on them. Their reasonable wants should be supplied and the prisoners should not be treated as ordinary prisoners condemned according to the provisions of the Penal Code.

It will be well if all four men could be arrested simultaneously and atonce prevented from communicating with each other and with outside people until their examination has been concluded. I venture also to suggest that no attempt should be made to examine any of the men, until the arrival of Aziz-ud-din, attache to the Foreign Deptt. at Amritsar. He is intimately connected with them, and I hope that, by showing them the knowledge already acquired of those movements, they or some of them, at any rate, may be induced to make a statement which can be formally recorded by the magistrate of the district. Aziz-ud-din has been directed to report himself to the Magistrate and to place himself under his orders in all matters connected with these prisoners.

I hope that very early orders will be issued about McCracken in which case he will be directed, on being relieved at Lahore, to proceed to

Amritsar and see that all is going on well in connection with the enquiry, remaining there for a short time if his presence should appear necessary.

Jowala Singh, whose confession has been recorded up here, and who has been suffering severely from the climate, started yesterday for Amritsar with the police guard that brought him up here. It may be useful to confront him with the persons arrested.

Sohan Lal, the man under confinement at Delhi, may also be useful at Amritsar to assist in a thorough unravelling of all these intrigues and perhaps you will be so good as to issue orders for his being sent there and kept secluded until his presence may be required.

Will you ask the Magistrate of Amritsar to let me know by telegram when he is prepared to make the arrests in order that Aziz-ud din may start at once for that place so as to be on the spot at that time.

The warrants under Regulation III of 1818 are herewith enclosed.

II

No. 21 gives description of the persons, and Nos. 22, 23, 24 and 25 are the warrants under Regulation III of 1818 for Bawa Budh Singh, Kesar Singh of Dhariwal and Maghar Singh of Raja Sansi.

516. MEMORANDUM ON DULEEP SINGH'S INTRIGUES PREPARED BY P.D. HENDERSON

NO. 28.

(1) The following paragraphs summarise the information received and show the action taken with reference to Dalip Singh's intrigues in the Punjab and India generally since the 9th September, the date of Froeign Secretary's last demi-official letter to Sir E. Bradford on the subject.

(2) The man, Jowala Singh, mentioned in paragraph 6 of that letter, was arrested at Amritsar and has made what appears to be a full and frank confession of his share in these intrigues and a statement of all he knows on the subject. According to him, one Bawa Budh Singh Bedi, ostensibly in the Napal Military Service, sent an agent last March to Thakur Singh who, on the return of this man, entrusted him with letters to his adherents in the Punjab concealed in the binding of a book. (On this matter independent information confirming the truth of the statement has been received.) About a month after this, Sohan Lal with a companion arrived at Pondicherry and on their return were entrusted with letters for delivery to Raja Narinder Bahadur, the Peshkar at Hyderabad, whose acquaintance Thakur Singh had made during his stay in that city two years previously. The Raja, it appears, declined to see them and said that as Thakur Singh was opposed to the Government, he would

hold no communication with him. Sohan Lal returned to Pondicherry and shortly afterwards went to Punjab with letters. Jowala Singh also described truly the movements of Dalip Singh's emissary from Moscow, the man Arur Singh, who was arrested at Calcutta. In August last, Jowala Singh was sent to Hardwar with the bones of the late Sardar Thakur Singh. The object of his commission was also to inquire from Sohan Lal and Bawa Budh Singh Bedi whether they had accomplished the work entrusted to them and also to inform them and all other adherents in the Punjab that Sardar Gurbachan Singh would continue to carry on at Pondicherry the work in favour of Dalip Singh that had been entrusted to his late father.

(3) In the meantime, on information obtained by an agent sent to Pondicherry, the man Sohan Lal above mentioned had already been arrested at Dadri near Delhi. He also made what purported to be a full confession but it was evidently with reservations. He confessed to having been bearer of five letters entrusted to him by Sardar Thakur Singh for delivery to the Chiefs of Nabha, Patiala, Jind, Faridkot and a fifth whose name he has forgotten. He professed to be unaware of the contents of these letters which he had burnt without delivering them fearing that they would bring him into trouble. He admitted further having incited the Thakurs and leading men in the neighbourhood of Dadri to rise against the British Government when Dalip Singh should appear. Some letters were found sewn in the lining of Sohan Lal's portmanteau as ascertained by the detective at Pondicherry, who certainly succeeded in obtaining most accurate information but all compromising papers had been destroyed. It is pretty certain that the Pondicherry people either knew of or suspected Arur Singh's arrest at Calcutta and sent a messenger post haste to warn Sohan Lal and Jowala Singh to destroy their papers. This messenger is known.

(4) The information derived from Jowala Singh and from independent sources tends to show that Bawa Budh Singh Bedi is the principal agent in the Punjab through whom the Pondicherry party have been carrying on their intrigues, and after consultations with the Lieutenant-Governor it has been decided to arrest him and three subordinate agents who are known to have been employed as messengers between Pondicherry and the Punjab. There is good reason to believe that the latter at any rate will make a confession when they see that the game is up and that the whole of the intrigues will then be exposed.

(5) So far as is yet known, there is no reason to believe that the Sikh regiments have been in communication with the Pondicherry party. It is mentioned in the Post Script to Foreign Secretary's letter to Sir E. Bradford of the 9th ultimo that a native officer and several other men

from Sikh regiments were believed to have gone to Pondicherry. On enquiry it has been ascertained beyond doubt that the report was incorrect. Jowala Singh was cross-examined on this point and he declares that no representatives from Sikh regiments have visited Thakur Singh, and the Agent sent to Pondicherry is quite convinced from the enquiries made by him there that this statement is true. Measures are, however, being taken to watch visitors to Pondicherry both at that place and at a convenient station on the line.

(6) It is almost equally certain that none of the Punjab Native States have been implicated in the Dalip Singh intrigues. Sardar Thakur Singh may have addressed letters to the Chiefs, but even if they were delivered, which is doubtful, there is evidently no result.

(7) We may perhaps learn more on making the further arrests above alluded to, but the impression derived from an examination of all that has yet come to the knowledge of the Government is that very little real harm has been done, and that Thakur Singh and his son have received but little encouragement in the Punjab.

This is the opinion formed by the Lieutenant-Governor, who nevertheless considers it desirable that measures should be taken to put a stop to these intrigues and frighten others from dabbling in them.

(8) Sardar Gurbachan Singh and the rest of the party at Pondicherry are evidently in distressed circumstances, for he has made overtures to the Punjab Government with a view of returning under some sort of guaranty of provision and protection. It is not, however, considered desirable to give any such promise and, if the Sardar returns, it must be at his own risk, for he has seriously compromised himself in these intrigues.

Sd. P.D. Henderson, Colonel,
Genl. Supdt. Thuggee & Dacoity Deptt.
(Special Branch)

517. FROM COLONEL P.D.HENDERSON, C.S.I.,
TO W.M.YOUNG, ESQ.

(Demi-official) Confidential

NO. 29.

SIMLA,
25TH OCTOBER, 1887.

In continuation of my demi-official letter of the 18th instant regarding the arrest of Bawa Budh Singh Bedi and others, I hear from McCracken that he has been down to Amritsar and made the necessary

arrangements for the arrest of these persons. I have, therefore, instructed Aziz-ud-din to hold himself in readiness to start at once. The Magistrate has no doubt been instructed to allow him free access to the prisoners. He goes provided with a letter to Colonel Lang. There is another matter regarding which Durand desires me to address you. It seems that Jowala Singh is tired of serving the Sindhanwalia people without any pay as he has done for years. Aziz-ud-din believes that he can be utilised as an informer for some time on a small pay without creating any suspicion, and he wants him released on pretty heavy security for good behaviour which, it is believed, the man can produce. Durand sees no objection to this provided there is no legal obstacle. May the Deputy Commissioner be instructed to arrange this matter on Aziz-ud-din's application, provided it be found on comparison with any information that may be obtained at Amritsar that he has made a true confession and that his service will be useful.

518. FROM FREDERICK ROBERTS
TO THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.*

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY IN INDIA,
6TH NOVEMBER, 1887.

Dear Lord Northbrook,

Dulip Singh's proposed visit to India has caused some excitement amongst the restless spirits of the Punjab, but, on the whole, I believe, the Sikhs are loyal and contented.

519. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS**

PRIVATE

CAMP, KAPURTHALA,
NOVEMBER 6TH, 1887.

My dear Lord Cross,

Dalip Singh— His residence at Mashed	I do not think we shall care very much to have Dhulip Singh so close to our frontier as Mashed, but I suppose there is no help for it. Perhaps his presence there may be taken as a proof of his having been turned out of Russia.
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* From the Collection of Lady Roberts—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

** From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

520. THE *TRIBUNE*, dated November 9th, 1887, p. 4, col. 3.

Proclamation from Maharaja Dhulip Singh and Djemal-ud-din to the
Natives of British India

Brothers,

The all-important and long-expected crisis is drawing near at hand. The hour is approaching when you will be called upon by your excited chiefs to wipe out the wrongs and injuries inflicted on you by the myrmidons of England; and to that call we are sure you will heartily respond if yours be the spirit of true men and the devotion of heroes.

We, who have the honour of addressing you on this auspicious occasion are only the precursors of men who are pre-eminently fitted to be your leaders and who at the present moment are diplomatically engaged in winning to your cause the active sympathy of more than one of the European states in order that when the tocsin shall have sounded you will not be found either friendless or defenceless. Owing to the untiring exertions of these agents, the moral and material support of one of the great powers is already assured us and well founded hopes are entertained that we can secure assistance of a similar kind in other quarters as well.

Meanwhile, we of the advanced guard, who have been compelled, through fraud or force, by England to leave our native land, despoiled of our possessions and deprived of everything that was lawfully our own, have constituted ourselves into an executive committee, the object of which is your speedy deliverance from the British yoke. We do not propose, compromising the neutrality of the great and friendly Empire under whose flag we live by committing on its soil any overt acts on your behalf; but we are not the less resolved to do all in our power to come to your relief. For that purpose we are amply provided with the necessary financial need. With these means at our disposal, we will be enabled to despatch our emissaries very shortly to British India, with instructions to preach in secret a holy war against the invader and the embezzler. Our envoys, who have been promised the co-operation of several of the Sikhs among you, will organise clubs and spread over the country as large a network of disaffected associations as possible. Such a step as this is absolutely necessary, for if we must attain our ends we can only do so by organisation. When all these preliminary preparations shall have been completed and a proper provision of war material be supplied to you, your lawful chief will return, to work out your emancipation accompanied by several European officers of high rank, who have already laid their swords and services at our disposal. In addition to this, we have, as is already stated, one of the great powers of the continent at our

back and with the aid of that power we have no reason to doubt of the ultimate success of our movement.

Natives of British India, awake from your torpor and prove to the whole world that you shall no longer be the dupes of English merchants and the slaves of the English Governor. Remember the outrages and insults heaped on your own heads, as well as on those of your forefathers, by the Englishmen from the first moment when he set his foot on Hindu soil down to the present day. Remember that he reached his present post of superiority by wading through oceans of Indian blood! Remember that he laid hands on our country for his own selfish ends, that he went among you, not to ameliorate your position, but to crush you under his iron heel in order that he might more easily despoil you of your goods for his own comforts and aggrandisement. Remember the artificial famine he caused, the jugglery he adopted as his rule of conduct, the massacres he perpetrated and the all but intolerable insolence which characterises him in his every dealing with you and yours! Remember all these wrongs when the day of reckoning arrives! Remember them even now when you are appealed to hasten the inevitable combat which must end in his utter defeat and annihilation! Awaken then, for fatherland, and may Allah be defending the right!

Given under our hands at Moscow (Russia), on this the 29th day of September, 1887 (Christian Calendar).

The Executive of the Indian Liberation
Society

521. STATEMENT OF BUDH SINGH S/O FAUJDAR SINGH
KHATRI (BAWA) OF BATALA, DISTRICT GURDASPUR,
NOW RESIDENT OF MUZAFFARABAD IN KASHMIR
TERRITORY*

NOVEMBER 9TH, 1887.

I, Budh Singh, make the following statement under the following promise made to me by Aziz-ud-din now present on behalf of the Government of India, viz., if I make a full disclosure of all I know in regard to matters on which I am now questioned and conceal nothing within my knowledge, I shall be unconditionally released and exempted from all penalties in connection with this case. But until enquiries have been completed in this present case, I shall remain under restraint. If I fail in my part of this undertaking, these conditions shall be void. I

* Foreign Deptt. No. I, Secret I April. 1888 No. 1—3,

shall also do my best to induce other conspirators to confess and tell all they know.

Note : Budh Singh objected first to the condition that until enquiries were completed, he should remain under restraint, how long was this to be for ? Ultimately it was clearly explained to him that no period could be fixed but enquiry would be completed as soon as possible.

9-11-1887.

J.C. Brown,
Deputy Commissioner

I am 36 or 37, and am Captain in Kali Bahadur Regiment of the Nepal Army. I am a Sikh. I first took service in Kashmir Irregular force as Sardar 21 years ago. I served there for 17 years, took service in the Nepal Army.

I took leave on 15th *Kartik*, 1936 (1880), from Kashmir to marry my daughter. I did not get on well with Wazir Poonoo. On my way from Kashmir I was induced to accept service with Mian Nizammudin, agent of Raja Moti Singh of Punch. I stayed for two years; then left my family at Kothi and went to Nepal to seek service generally and happened to go to Nepal. I then became Captain in the Nepal Army. Ram Kishen, brother of my servant, Hari Singh, and Ram Saran of Kothi in Jammu went with me. I stayed two years and then got 6 month's leave in *Magh*, 18 months or two years ago (January 1886) and went to Calcutta for two months thence with the Maharaja of Betiah for four or five months. He kept me merely out of friendship. I had seen him on my way from Nepal to Calcutta. When I left Betiah he gave me Rs. 700/- and I came on to Patna. On the day after my arrival, I went to offer at the *Thakurdwara*. Thakur Singh of Raja Sansi came up, went once round the temple and the second time, Kishen Singh, his servant said, "He is Bawa Budh Singh", on which Thakur Singh clasped my feet. Kishen Singh had seen me at Kohali on my way from Kashmir to Nepal. I stayed 2 months at Kohali then, Kishen Singh was then a sowar in the XI B.L. which then was in Ambala.

For the next two or three days Thakur Singh kept urging me to stay with him and sending food to where I was. I did not change my quarters but I ate the food he sent and saw him daily. Later on I gave him Rs. 100/- as a loan. Thakur Singh talked constantly of Maharaja Dalip Singh whom he had seen in England as an incarnation of the deity and said he was coming soon to take his kingdom and the time of trouble for the Sikhs was over. At the Railway station Thakur Singh took my ticket to Railway station Ayudhya (near Fyzabad), (I paid for

it) and told me our bad time was over, that Maharaja Dalip Singh would come, he would be his Prime Minister and all powerful and that I should get a good jagir. He then asked if I would help him if he asked me to, and I said I would, so far as I could. Kishen Singh was present. I stayed a day at Ayudhya and then went back to Kothi. On my way I stopped at Mirpur in Jammu. Kishen Singh came to me there from Thakur Singh at Patna, and said Thakur Singh had heard he was suspected and wanted to know if I could get him into Nepal. I said that was not in my power, and Kishen Singh went back next day. This was in *Bhadon* (September 1886) when I went to Kothi, had to go round by Rewari as the North Western Railway was broken. Two months later, Bir Singh, Thakur Singh's servant came to me in Kothi and brought a letter in Gurmukhi. In it Thakur Singh asked me to meet him quickly in Amritsar. Before I could have got there, Thakur Singh and his family had gone to Pondicherry. Bir Singh left me at Gujrat and went to Raja Sansi and I stayed at Gujrat for 3 months and then on to Amritsar, arriving on 3rd *Holi*. I remained for two months in *Boongas* (Monsatrics) attached to the Golden Temple, and then at the request of Partab Singh *Granthi*, I moved to Thakur Singh's house. Partab Singh wrote to Thakur Singh who ordered Pohlo Mal to occupy it. In Gujrat I got a letter from Thakur Singh asking me to send my brother Churran Singh forthwith, as his presence was indispensable. He had gone to Nepal, so I sent Hari Singh, my servant with a letter saying Thakur Singh might use him but should send his own man with him on any duty. I provided funds for Hari Singh's journey and told him to take sweets and combs as a present to Thakur Singh. This was in *Phalgun* (February) 1887. In April, Hari Singh came back and brought with him Kesar Singh. They had a book on the pages of which were the alphabet and rules of arithmetic (*Muharani*). In the boards were letters to Raja Partab Singh of Kashmir, Ram Singh, his brothers, Amar Singh, Raja Moti Singh of Punch.

Besides this were two letters—one to me and one to Bawa Sujan Singh of Una in Hoshiarpur and one to Partab Singh *Granthi* of Amritsar. Partab Singh was called and opened his letter. In it he was asked to convey himself the letter to Sujan Singh and Kesar Singh had funds to pay Partab Singh's way to and from Una from Amritsar. In my letter I was told to take the letters to Kashmir and Punch and that in them the addressees were requested to tear the rail and break the bridges and make a mutiny when Dalip Singh arrived at a place beyond Kabul with the Russian army. On the four secret letters and on my letter was a seal said to be Dalip Singh's and in my letter Thakur Singh said he had been appointed Prime Minister and this seal had been sent from Europe by Dalip Singh. I was also to ask the Kashmir Rajas to send as much

money as they could through me to Thakur Singh. Keser Singh told me that when the seal and letters came, Thakur Singh was much rejoiced and gave feasts.

After three days I opened the book binding and found the four letters in it—foolscap size. I had been promised a jagir of one lakh verbally by Kesar Singh. I kept them for 20 days and then burnt them. I consulted with Partab Singh on his return from Una, and he told me I should either take the letter to Kashmir or send them. I said I could do neither, whereupon Partab Singh wrote against me to Thakur Singh and I burned the letters. They were all open sheets with the seal on them in red ink. I did not get them read, they were in Persian. After this Thakur Singh wrote and said to me that I had failed in the work entrusted to me. I too had written to Thakur Singh saying I could not do what he asked me and he replied saying I should have done it if I wanted funds, Pohlo Mal would give Kishan Singh Rs. 50 and me Rs. 100 and I was to go quickly to Raja Moti Singh of Punch and ask him as the son of the old Wazir to send as much money as he could for Dalip Singh as he was in great distress, and if he sent his man, Thakur Singh as Wazir would give receipt. I did nothing on this.

In July (*Har*) Kesar Singh got a letter from Pondicherry asking him to go to Dadri in Jind and receive something from Sohan Lal which he had brought from Pondicherry. He went and brought back two letters, one to me and one to Partab Singh and each containing a proclamation. He told me that he had been directed not to show my letter to Partab Singh or vice versa. Nevertheless he gave me both the letters. I sent for Partab Singh and he opened his letter in my presence. Both his and mine directed us to copy the proclamation in a feigned hand, and put it up in one night on the Taran Taran Hall and Darshani Gate of Amritsar. The proclamation was to the effect that Dalip Singh had gone to Russia, who had put him over all their army and told him he was their son and when he came to the Afghan frontier all Sikhs were to rise up to receive him, destroy the rail and bridges, and Sikhs in British service should go over to the Sikh ranks in the day of battle. I burned my copy of the proclamation four or five days later. I do not know what Partab Singh did with his. Partab Singh told me that he would think over the instructions. I did not go to the three gates nor see the proclamation affixed. In July, Thakur Singh wrote to me and upbraided me for having done nothing. I said his arrangements were futile. Then correspondence dropped. Kishan Singh went to Pondicherry in August. I sent no letter by him. Thakur Singh had before July been urging me to send Kishan Singh. Maghar Singh came in the end of September to Amritsar, servant of Thakur Singh. He said Gurbachan Singh, Thakur Singh's son, told us all

to burn any letters we had. We had heard before that of Thakur Singh's death. In October (I think) ten days after Maghar Singh had brought a message to me from Gurbachan Singh saying I had not helped properly. I said their plans would not work. He did not say who had to succeed Thakur Singh for two or three months. In Amritsar, Narang Singh *Granthi*, Partab Singh *Granthi*, and Pohlo Mal, servant of Thakur Singh, used to consult with me and I with them as letters came and went, from Thakur Singh. Partab Singh did not come after he got the proclamation in July. Narang Singh came to me up to about 20 days ago (19th October). (Budh Singh was arrested on 27th October and this is the 9th November. J.C.B.). The *granthis* said that the *Sakhis* prophesied Dalip Singh's return and kingdom.

The above contains a true and correct translation of the statement made before us this day by Bawa Budh Singh, 9th November, 1887.

J.C. Brown, Deputy Commissioner

Ambala City, Aziz-ud-din. A. J. Hamond, Dy. Superintendent Police
9th Nov. 1887.

ON 10TH NOVEMBER—

In *Har* last (July 1887) Partab Singh sent two men, Bhagoo Mal of Gujranwala and Makhan Singh (whom I can recognise) from Amritsar to Raja Moti Singh of Punch. He told them in my presence to raise a fund for Dalip Singh. He is about 50. I refused to give them a letter but I said they should go. Partab Singh selected them. I do not know who gave them funds. They asked for funds but I refused. They returned in a month and said Moti Singh refused to work without letters. They also said they had written to Thakur Singh and he had authorised them to work for them, i.e., to raise funds for Dalip Singh, but Naurang Singh, Partab Singh, Ganga Singh, a *Bhai* of Taran Taran, universally announced the *Sakhis* were true and said that on reaching Amritsar Dalip Singh would become an incarnation of the deity and would conquer the whole country.

Narang Singh is brother of Bhagat Singh, Chief *Granthi*. Partab Singh is a *Granthi* Preacher (*Gyani*) of Kaulsar temple. Ganga Singh is *ardasi* of the Golden Temple. The Taran Taran *Bhai* is a stout man and is well known. In *Bhadon*, Ganda Singh, servant of Thakur Singh, and Hem Singh Jemadar of *ardas* and *bhog* had been held simultaneously in Golden Temple and at Taran Taran. Pohlo Mal gave funds for the *Bhog*. At these times prayers were offered for Dalip Singh. I sent Naurang Singh to satisfy himself that the *path* or *bhog* had been properly carried out, and he said it had been. Naurang Singh, Partab Singh and Ganda Singh and the Taran Taran *Bhai*

said they knew all Sikhs were with Dalip Singh in heat and would rise in his favour and the English Raj would cease.

I presented horses and mules to Betiah for which I got Rs. 200 from him, and Rs. 500 was a present at about Rs. 80 a month for staying and salaaming to him. Churrun Singh came back long ago and is now in Batala. I sent him to ask the Nepal Maharaja if he would forgive my having overstayed my leave. And he refused.

Note. A question here arose of Budh Singh's willingness to undertake not to associate with Sikhs and to give bail if required for good conduct when released. Budh Singh appealed to me that this differed from the promise of yesterday. Aziz-ud-din: I misunderstood Budh Singh.

Q. What difference (*Farak*) did you refer to when you first began on entering the room today by saying "If my former acts are pardoned I will not again associate with Sikhs and if need be, I will give security. Between this and yesterday's promise, there is a considerable difference."

A. I feared lest though I had spoken the truth, I might be suspected of falsehood and banished after all.

Note. Notwithstanding above explanation offered when the question of bail was raised at the close of examination I believe the real *Farak* objected to by Budh Singh was that bail was not mentioned yesterday but was introduced today.

Q. What security did you refer to.

A. The bail to appear, when offence is pardoned what other bail can be wanted?

Aziz-ud-din said to Budh Singh this morning that his servant Hari Singh belonged to Jammu and we could not let him go without security for the future. Budh Singh then said he would be punished as a principal and why should he also not give bail. He would not believe that unconditional pardon would be given in that bail.

Budh Singh continued—When I was in arrest at Amritsar, no one questioned me, except that the Police Officer one day said to me when I got free pardon to speak the whole truth and not to tell any thing till the pardon was secured.

The above contains a true and correct translation of the statement before us this day by Bawa Budh Singh.

10th Nov. 1887.

A. J. Hammond
D, S. P.

J. C. Brown
D. C.

522. STATEMENT OF HARI SINGH, S/O KAUL SINGH,
BRAHMIN OF KOTHI IN JAMMU

NO. 2.

10TH NOVEMBER, 1887.

I accept the following conditions.

I shall make a full and true disclosure of all I know, all I heard, all I saw and all I did in connection with matters now enquired from me. And I shall give security for good behaviour on my release. If I fulfil these conditions I shall receive a free pardon for any thing I have done wrong in this matter.

I am a servant of Budh Singh and have been all my life. Last *Phalgun* he sent me from Gujrat to Pondicherry with a letter to Thakur Singh. He first gave me Rs. 25 and then sent me Rs.15. I lost Rs. 15 in Amritsar. He told me to take Rs. 5 loaves of sugar and some cloth. I did so. On reaching Pondicherry, Maghar Singh and another met me with a white beard (Jhiwar) at the station and took me home. I gave Thakur Singh the letter, the sugar and the cloth. He only asked me how all were. Afterwards he told me that Dalip Singh was in Russia and had got three lakhs of soldiers ready and would soon advance on India via Kabul and take the country from the British. Thakur Singh added that he had got letter from Dalip Singh making him Prime Minister and Budh Singh would get a jagir of one lakh. I stayed there for ten days. They used to say they would lay the roads with silver for Dalip Singh, and they said Russia would send funds, a lakh at first and out of that Budh Singh would be paid. No mention of mutiny was made. I got Rs. 39 for my journey back from Thakur Singh. Before starting I got a book containing letters they said for Kashmir and Punch which I was to ask Budh Singh to forward. I was not to show the book to any but our own men. Kesar Singh was with me, but he was not told about the book in my presence. I was to ask Budh Singh to send replies to Thakur Singh. I went back to Gujrat whence I had started and thence followed Budh Singh to Amritsar and gave him the letters and book and said he had ruined himself and wanted to ruin others too. Some four days after my return, Budh Singh burned the letters in my presence, but he said to me he had written to Thakur Singh that he had delivered the letters, but the Kashmiri people had burned them, and said Thakur Singh was mad and they would only act on a letter from Dalip Singh himself. Pohlo Mal came to see Budh Singh. I saw no other *Granthi* or *Bhai* come. About a month ago, Maghar Singh and Jowala Singh came and he told them to keep clean and not to implicate him. Thakur Singh said in two years Dalip Singh would rule the country. I know no more.

The above contains a true and correct translation of the statement made before us this day by Hari Singh.

J. C. Brown,
Deputy Commr.

A. J. Hammoud,
Supdt. Police
Aziz-ud-din

10-11-87.

523. STATEMENT OF KESAR SINGH, SON OF GOLAB
SINGH JAT, OF DHARUWALA IN AMRITSAR.

NO. 3.

11TH NOVEMBER, 1887.

I accept the following conditions (as Hari Singh). I am 36 or 37, and was first servant of Thakur Singh for two years, six or seven years ago. On his return from England, I again joined him at Dadri. Jowala Singh and Sant Singh were with him and his two sons. After leaving Dadri Thakur Singh moved about Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, etc. In 1886, hearing that Dalip Singh had started, a number of Sardars and others prepared to go and meet him. Thakur Singh stayed at Delhi. On hearing that Dalip Singh would be detained, Thakur Singh went to Patna and sent his son Gurbachan Singh back to Shahpur. I followed him to Patna after a month. The *Granthis* there used to come and visit him. Bawa Budh Singh also met us there; no other Punjabi was there. Thakur Singh fed him and they used to talk together. We stayed 1½ months after I went to Patna. We then went to Lucknow, Ambala and Amritsar. We met no one in Ambala. I stayed at Amritsar about a month after Thakur Singh went to Pondicherry. He wrote to say that his horses and carriage should be presented to Sujan Singh. A fortnight later he wrote to say that I, Jowala Singh, Bir Singh and Maghar Singh should go to Pondicherry and should receive our expenses from Ganda Singh and Pohlo Mal. We got Rs. 25 each for hire and Rs. 2 each for food=Rs. 108. Ten or twelve days after we arrived, Thakur Singh said that Dalip Singh had written making him the Prime Minister. I was to get a high office too. Thakur Singh said he had no money; if he had, he would have given us all presents. Thakur Singh said that in about two years Dalip Singh would come, and Russia would give him the country, and the Sikhs would leave England, join these fellows' side.

Hari Singh came to Pondicherry 20 days after me. I was warned to be ready to go back with him to Punjab. On arrival Hari Singh had a private interview with Thakur Singh and some six days later he and I came back to Amritsar. I got four letters, one to Thakur Singh's mother-in-law at Dadri, one to his step-mother at Mokal, one to Pohlo Mal, one to Partab Singh, with Rs. seven to let him take a letter to Sujan Singh at Una. Hari Singh also got a book said to contain letters in the boards, to keep

them from being seen on the way. I went to Rewari with Hari Singh and we parted there. I gave letter to a servant for Thakur Singh's mother-in-law, and she said Sohan Lal is not here ; when he comes, I will send money. I took the letter to Mokul and the step-mother said, "When I get my pension, I will send some." I stayed on with Hira Singh. I then took the other two letters to the addressees at Amritsar and then went home. Two months later, Jhanda Singh came and said Pohlo Mal wanted me to go to Dadri. Pohlo Mal gave me Rs. 7/8 and told me that Thakur Singh's mother-in-law had arranged for funds and I should go to Dadri. I went and at Dadri I met Sohan Lal, who told me there was nothing about funds, but I should take two letters one to Budh Singh, and one to Partab Singh. I was not to show Budh Singh's letter to Partab Singh, and vice versa, nor to any one on the road. I gave Budh Singh his letter and then Partab Singh was called and he got his in the presence of Budh Singh. All of us were turned out but I stood near the door and listened. Pratab Singh read the letters because he knew Persian. In them was written Maharaja would come with help of Russia and on his arrival the Sikhs should not fight with him but should destroy the Railway bridges. Many asked me how Thakur Singh was and when he would return.

At Patna, Kishan Singh, Maghar Singh, Sunder Singh, Lachhman Singh and I, and Vir Singh were with Sardar Thakur Singh.

The above contains a true and correct translation of the statement made before us this day by Kesar Singh.

J. C. Brown, Dy. Commr.
A. J. Hammond, Distt. Supdt. Police
Aziz-ud-din

S.N.A.

524. FROM R.B.D. MORIER, H.M.'S AMBASSADOR AT
ST. PETERSBURG, TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. 367.

ST. PETERSBURG,
14TH NOVEMBER, 1887.

Although it is not likely that Dalip Singh will be able at Moscow to do us any mischief, I have thought it advisable not to lose sight of him, and have instructed our Vice-Consul in that city to keep me informed from time to time of his proceedings.

Mr. Hornstedt reports in a private letter received today that Dalip Singh, now residing with 'Madame' (Whether his wife or a mistress is meant is not clear) at the Hotel Billow, a cheaper and more unpretending

establishment than Duseanx's where he formerly stayed. He visited a few Russian families but lives in a very quite way.

...

In a further letter from Moscow is mentioned :

"I may mention that my last news from Moscow establishes the fact that the lady who is living at Hotel Billow with Dalip Singh is not the Maharani according to this account. She is English, good looking, aged 20 and *enceinte*."

525. STATEMENT OF SOHAN LAL, SON OF CHAJJU,
OF CHARKHI DADRI IN JIND.

16TH NOVEMBER, 1887.

I am servant of Rani Kanwal Kaur of the Balabgarh family, and have been so for 10 or eleven years. Takhur Singh of Raja Sansi married Kanwal Kaur's daughter. I first saw Thakur Singh at Raja Sansi, eight or nine years ago, where I went on the death of Takhur Singh's wife. I heard nothing then about Dalip Singh. When Thakur Singh went to Delhi 18 months ago, he was reported dead, and Kanwal Kaur sent to see how he was. Again in *Asouj*, a year ago (October 1886), I saw him at Dadri and he said he was going to Patna. He told me this. Six weeks later Rani Kanwal Kaur got a letter from him from Pondicherry and after that letters came once a month or so. Corresponding was going on between Kanwal Kaur and Rao Umrao Singh of Kutesar, in connection with a betrothal or marriage. The Rani sent me to Pondicherry and I went via Kutesar, and stayed for 15 days there. The Rao gave his man Tasadduk Hosein a letter and sent him with me. At Pondicherry we found Thakur Singh ill and gave him the letter. Seven days later I and Tasadduk Hosein started for Rameshwara [Rameshwaram] but turned back after travelling two stations down the line because we heard the trip would take 20 days. We threw away our tickets for which we had paid Rs. 5-11 each or so out of our own pockets. On reaching Pondicherry again we stayed for six or seven days. Thakur Singh said he would see about the marriages when God brought him to his home again. He did not say in what way he expected to return. Tasadduk Hosein, Jowala Singh and I started together and went as far as Wadi. Tasadduk Hosein hence went towards the north and went to Hyderabad. Jowala Singh had a letter to the Peshkar of Nizam which he was to give to Peshkar in person. I saw it delivered by Thakur Singh to Jowala Singh but I did not see Jowala Singh give it the Peshkar. The Jamedar (Ratan Lal) told us to come after 4 or 5 days to Peshkar's house at 9 P. M. We went and he got us

to give up the letter, saying that the Peshkar was just behind the *Chick*. Afterwards he said we could not see the Peshkar and four or five days later we left Hyderabad, the Jemadar saying the Peshkar would send his own men to Thakur Singh. We put up with Hira goldsmith, my cousin, in Char Kaman Bazzar. Gurbachan Singh gave me money for this journey. We went back to Pondicherry and stayed 10 or 12 days. When we were about to start, Thakur Singh put five letters into the lining of my portmanteau and said if they were found, I should be in difficulty but he would escape.

I was for Patiala, I for Nabha, I for Jind, I for Faridkot and about one I forgot.

I was to show these to Kanwal Kaur for orders and take them to Rajas. I also got five other letters, two for Kesar Singh enclosed in a letter to Kanwal Kaur, and three for Kanwal Kaur from Gurbachan Singh; Narindar Singh and Gurbachan Singh's wife. I was to tell Kanwal Kaur that if it pleased God Thakur Singh would come soon. I was told to stir up the Ranghar villages near Dadri to fight when they fought, i. e., Thakur Singh and Maharaja. I do not know with whom they were to fight. I suppose with the British. I got Rs. 7 for my photograph being taken from Thakur Singh and Rs. 16 and a gold ornament *arsi*. They told me not to be afraid as they had sent letters for Maharaja of Kashmir. Similarly I gave the outside letters to Kanwal Kaur at Dadri in June 1887, but the five in my box lining I kept for 20 days and then burned them without showing them to Kanwal Kaur for she made me go and deliver them. Kesar Singh came to Dadri 10 or 12 days after I arrived, and Kanwal Kaur gave him the two that had been sent enclosed to her for him. I gave him the letters and Rs. 3 but no instructions. Thakur Singh told me he would make me a great man and give me a jagir, when he came to the Punjab. Elahi Bux, constable at Delhi, told me before Deputy Commissioner saw me, not to tell a little lie and say as to everything I was asked. Therefore, I said what I did.

The above contains a true and correct translation of the statement made before us this day by Sohan Lal.

J.C. Brown, D.C.

A.J. Hammoud, Deputy S.P.

Aziz-ud-din.

16th Nove. 1887.

526. The *Tribune* dated November 19, 1887, page 6, col. 3.

Dhulip Singh's letter to the *Standard*.

Following is the text of the letter of Dhulip Singh to the *Standard* alluded to in another column. We take it from the *Standard* newspaper.

Sir,

Might I request you to contradict the report of your Paris correspondent which appeared in the *Standard* of the 11th instant. It is quite true that I am a proud rebel against England but I have no connection whatever with Djamal-ud-deen (whom I know only by name) or his party; nor do I approve of their present action.

I am, Sir,

Hotel Billow, Moscow,
October 18.

your obedient servant,
Duleep Singh, Sovereign of the Sikh Nation,
and Implacable foe of England

537. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

(PRIVATE)

CAMP LAHORE,
DECEMBER 4TH, 1887.

My dear Lord Cross,

...

Dalip Singh
and Nizam

The Nizam at once sent the letter written to him by Dalip Singh on to us.

...

Dalip Singh-
Effects of his
intrigues

At Lahore I have made enquiries of a 'good many people, and I have no reason to believe that Dalip Singh's machinations have been more effective than we have already reported.

528. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS**

(PRIVATE)

CALCUTTA,
DECEMBER 27TH, 1887.

My dear Lord Cross,

...

In a previous letter you mentioned a report that Lala Jhinda Ram had sent money to Dalip Singh. The gentleman in question is a pleader at Mooltan. The moment he received a letter from Dalip Singh, he forwarded it to us, and further inquiries have led us to believe that he acted with good faith in the matter. He himself is a poor barrister, and certainly could not have sent a lakh and a half of rupees, or the tithe of such a sum, to any one. The other man, you mention, Delawar Jung, we

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

** From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

cannot identify. The only man in Hyderabad whose name approaches to the one you quote is Diler Jung, but neither he nor any Hyderabad noble is likely to back up Dhulip Singh. Our Intelligence Department, however, continues to be very active in tracing out that hero's machinations, and I have had one or two men arrested lately whom we had reason to suspect, with the view of getting them to tell us all they know, which some of them have already done though it has not come to much.

ii

No.5 is the warrant of arrest of Partab Singh under [Regulation III of 1818.

iii

No.6 is the warrant of Pohlo Mal under Regulation III of 1818 and No. 7 that of Sohan Lal.

529. STATEMENT OF PARTAB SINGH, SON OF BHAG SINGH, AN ARORA, AGE 30, OF AMRITSAR

NO. 8

31ST DECEMBER, 1887.

Some seven or eight years ago Sardar Thakur Singh, then an Extra Assistant Commissioner, engaged me to copy the *Granth* for him. I finished this for him in Hoshiarpur where he was stationed. The work took about eight or nine months.

Some three years ago, I went with Thakur Singh to London. My pay was only Rs. 8/- per mensem but he promised to give me much other money which he would get from the Maharaja Dalip Singh.

The Maharaja was staying in Holland Park in London and we also stayed there. I used to take care of the *Granth* and Thakur Singh used to read it. I remained there for five or six months. The Maharaja and Thakur Singh used to converse apart from me. I heard once Thakur Singh say to the Maharaja that he was his king and would be his king. The Maharaja told him not to use such language. I returned to Amritsar after being in England for five or six months. This was nearly three years ago. Hira Singh of Sialkot and Nihal Singh of Amritsar returned with me. Thakur Singh returned to India about six months after me.

About 1½ year ago, Thakur Singh sent for me to the Railway Station at Amritsar and borrowed Rs. 45/- from me, he said I would get much money hereafter but he made no promise about this Rs. 45/-.

About a month after this, he came and stayed at his home in Amritsar. I asked him to reply me and he asked me to wait saying the Maharaja was coming and would pay every one. He said he would make him Chief *Granthi*.

About June last, Budh Singh a friend of Thakur Singh, sent for me to Thakur Singh's house in Amritsar and showed me a paper about 2 feet long which he said he had received from Thakur Singh and asked me to make copies. I saw the matter was against the British Government and I refused to make the copies. Then Budh Singh said, if the cock won't crow, the sun will not rise."

The substance of the papers was that when Dalip Singh's army came into the Punjab, we were to assist them and to break down bridges and railways and telegraphs.

About the same time, Kesar Singh, a servant of Thakur Singh, brought me a letter from Thakur Singh and gave me Rs. 7/- and told me to take to Sujan Singh, Honorary Magistrate at Una. I said, I would but I saw the letter was opposed to the Government, and I burnt it. I kept Rs. 7/- and credited it to my debt from Thakur Singh.

Shortly after I told Budh Singh I had burnt the letter. He told Thakur Singh and Thakur Singh wrote and abused me for not having taken the letter.

Sujan Singh is Guru of Thakur Singh and Kishan Singh and Kesar Singh and a friend of Budh Singh. Other friends and associates of Budh Singh were Udeh Singh, Ganda Singh, Hira Singh and Bhagat Singh.

I do not know what they conversed about.

Bhagoo Mal has told me that Budh Singh used to receive letters from Thakur Singh to send to Punch. I heard Sikhs generally say that Bawa Khem Singh was with Thakur Singh. The uneducated Sikhs said that the Maharaja was an incarnation of the deity.

I have heard there is a committee at Amritsar, a branch of the Singh Sabha, and they are enquiring whether the *Sakhis* about the Maharaja are true or not. The members of this committee are Charan Singh, Bar Singh, Narang Singh, Bur Singh and Sardul Singh.

The Faridkot Raja subscribes to the Singh Sabha. Badan Singh is servant of Raja of Faridkot and he is a member of the Khalsa Dewan of which the Singh Sabha is a branch, he constitutes the Raja's subscriptions. In June last, I met one Jamiat Rai and he said he had been to Budh Singh who had told him he had received letters from Thakur Singh for Punch, and other places which he did not name.

Statement recorded before me

31st December, 1887.
S.N.A.

W.O.Clark
Distt. Magistrate, Lahore.

Statement of Partab Singh continued on 8th January, 1888.

"Under authority of Punjab Govt. I have offered Partab Singh a pardon in regard to anything done with reference to Sardar Thakur Singh

and Maharaja Dalip Singh's intrigues or plots on condition of full and unreserved confession.

I have also warned him against inventing stories against men of consequences".

Partab Singh states—when I was in London I constantly heard Thakur Singh ask the Maharaja to come to the Punjab and that he would make him friends *mila lena* with his *bradari* and that all the Punjab wanted him.

When Thakur Singh came back to India, he sent for Narang Singh and Ganga Singh and Pritpal Singh to Dadri. I did not go there. I went with Sardar Thakur Singh to Delhi when the Maharaja was coming to India. There was with him in Delhi his sons, Gurbachan Singh, Gurdit Singh and others, altogether some 15 or 20 men. Thakur Singh remained there a month and so did I. It was there arranged to make Dalip Singh a Sikh. Six Sikhs are necessary for that and Thakur Singh and his three sons and Sawal Singh and Kesra Singh were the six Sikhs who were to make him a Sikh.

We then heard that Dalip Singh had been stopped at Aden and then Thakur Singh went to Patna and I came back to Amritsar. Thakur Singh came back to Amritsar about after a month. I have often heard him say among Sikhs collected at his *Haveli* (House) that Dalip Singh would come and rule in the Punjab. Thakur Singh said he would make me Chief Priest (*gyani*). About February 1887, Kishan Singh introduced me to Budh Singh, whom I did not know before. Budh Singh stayed in Thakur Singh's house. Ganga Singh, Narang Singh, Hira Singh *Granthi*, Bhagat Singh *Granthi*, used to associate with Budh Singh. Budh Singh used to receive letters from Thakur Singh in Pondicherry. Budh Singh used to communicate the substance of the letters to us. They were to the effect that the Maharaja would rule in the Punjab and that the men who assisted him would receive jagirs and that the Maharaja would come with an army from Russia and that the Sikhs were to assist him.

Kesar Singh came from Pondicherry in the beginning of the last hot weather, and asked me to take a letter to Sujan Singh from Thakur Singh; the latter asked him to help Thakur Singh when his army arrived. I did not take the letters as I have stated in my statement on 31st December last.

Budh Singh wrote this to Thakur Singh and Thakur Singh wrote Budh Singh threatening me and saying I was not the only person who could carry the letter. Budh Singh told me of this and showed me the letter.

Sujan Singh came once or twice to Amritsar within the last year. I saw him with Budh Singh and 'salammed' them. Budh Singh abused me and said no one wanted me to *salam*. This was because I had offended

him about the letter. In Sawan last I got a letter in Gurmukhi from Thakur Singh in his own hand addressed to me through the post. He said in this as I had not done what Budh Singh had told me I would soon be killed by the Manjha Sikhs. I read and tore up the letter.

When Budh Singh was in Amritsar he had nothing to do except tell stories about Dalip Singh; he used to say he was employed by Nepal State.

Pohlo Mal and Badan Singh used to give Budh Singh money for his expenses. Pohlo Mal used to send the money by the hand of Nihal Singh. Badan Singh has no spare money of his own; he get money from the Raja of Faridkot.

Sardul Singh is a great preacher in Amritsar and collects great crowds of Sikhs around him. Narang Singh in Amritsar used to tell the people that Dalip Singh would rule in the Punjab and Jowala Singh of Taran Taran used to tell this to the Sikhs of Manjha. Bhagoo Mal of Gujranwala used to take Thakur Singh's letter to the Raja of Poonch. Bhagoo Mal has told me so.

Udeh Singh, associate of Budh Singh, is a servant of Raja Faridkot; his work is to write a commentary on the *Granth*; he lives in Faridkot. Kishan Singh and Kesar Singh are associates of Budh Singh. Kishan Singh is called Wazir Kishan Singh.

Sardar Aimehwala (he does not know this man's name but he comes from the village Aimha and is called Aimehwala), a first cousin of Dalip Singh, used to associate with Thakur Singh when he came to Amritsar. I have heard Thakur Singh say to Aimehwala that he must assist Dalip Singh when he came.

Sardul Singh is a Government teacher and he also receives pay from Bawa Khem Singh; he is a Secretary of the Singh Sabha in Amritsar. Kishan Singh was in the native army but I do not know whether he was in communication with the Sikhs in the army.

Budh Singh used to say the army would side with Dalip Singh.

8th January 1888.

W.C.Clark

Distt. Magistrate, Lahore

530. FROM R.W.HORNSTEDT, ESQ., VICE-CONSUL TO
J. MICHELL, ESQ., HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
CONSUL, AT ST. PETERSBURG

MOSCOW,

28TH JANUARY, 1888.

I have to inform you that the Maharaja Dalip Singh has applied for an audience to the Emperor and has been refused and I have reason to believe that he was then requested to leave the country. At all events

he told a friend of mine that the audience had been refused to him, that he found he could do nothing in Russia, that his mission was, therefore, at an end. He would leave in a couple of days.

This week he again saw my friend and told him that he had altered his mind and would remain in Moscow for a couple of months longer.

When the Maharaja first came to Moscow, it appears that M. Katkoff advised him to let it be known that he was not in want of funds, and Dalip Singh deposited Rs. 50,000 at the Moscow Branch of the Imperial Bank where the money is still lying, and Rs. 10,000 he placed with a private banking house here; of the latter amount about Rs. 2000 are still to his credit, the remainder he has successively drawn to cover his expenses.

The Maharaja continues to reside at the Hotel Billow where he contracts for the lodging and boarding of himself and his wife at Rs. 80 per month.

Dalip Singh told his bankers when he first arrived here that he expected to receive money from Vienna sent him by supporters in India but he has never received any such remittance nor any indeed from anywhere else.

ii

No. 14,* 15, 16, 17 and 18 are official letters regarding Dalip Singh's reported wishes to visit Austria for which there was said to be no objection.

531. FROM R.W. HORNSTEDT, ESQ., VICE-CONSUL, MOSCOW
TO J. MICHELL, ESQ., BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL,
ST. PETERSBURG

MOSCOW,

25TH FEBRUARY, 1888.

I hasten to report to you that the Maharaja Dalip Singh told a friend of mine the other day that as soon as the Maharani, who is very ill after *accouchement*, is sufficiently recovered to enable her to bear the fatigues of the journey, he will leave Russia for good and return to France for, he said, "I find I can do no good here".

Judging from the visits he has had of late, the rumours that have reached me, I have reason to believe that the authorities here have had instructions to request the Maharaja to leave the country. In a few days I expect to be able to report to you more fully and definitely on the subject.

II

No. 20 and 21 are forwarding letters about the movement of Dalip Singh in Russia.

* Foreign Secret, April 1888, No. 14 to 24.

532. FROM R.W.HORNSTEDT, ESQ., VICE-CONSUL, MOSCOW,
TO J. MICHELL, ESQ., HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
CONSUL, ST. PETERSBURG.

MOSCOW,
26-27TH FEBRUARY, 1888.

Referring to despatch No. 696 dated 28th January last, I beg to inform you that the Maharaja Dalip Singh has left Hotel Billow for a kind of private hotel or boarding house, called Paris, for sake of economy.

He also told his bankers that he intends staying in Moscow until next winter when he proposes leaving for the south of Russia, that he knows he is under espionage and that it will go hard with any spy that gets into their clutches.

It appears that Dalip Singh is a very talkative man, always full of threats as to what he can and will do.

533. The *Tribune* Dated March 7, 1888, p. 3, col.3, 4.

Partab Singh, Dhulip Singh's associate, escapes from Lahore District Jail

Partab Singh, the man who was imprisoned for having been intimately associated with Dhulip Singh's movement in India, made his escape from the District Jail, Lahore, on Saturday, though he had the honour of being guarded by a sergeant and two constables.

534. FROM S. GURBACHAN SINGH SINDHANWALIA TO THE
SECRETARY TO THE G.O.I., FOREIGN DEPARTMENT*

PONDICHERRY,
24TH MARCH. 1888.

I humbly beg to state that, as the Punjab Government has referred me to you in their last letter to me, I most respectfully beg to say as follows:—

In November 1886, I, father and brother, came here merely on account of fear of our debts but our enemies appear to have given very different colours to our movements and have thus prejudiced the minds of officers against us, notwithstanding that in reality we are most loyal to the British crown.

In July last I was informed by the Punjab Government that all what I can ask from the Government with propriety was the permission to

* Foreign Deptt. Secret I, April 1888, No. 49.

return to home and freedom from arrest and prosecution. Then my father died and I in my own name and that of my brothers asked the Punjab Government that we were really ready to go back if the Government would kindly arrange for us to live freely and respectably and even we asked for the jagir of our father to be continued to us in reply of which I was informed that the papers have been sent for and the decision of the Government would be communicated to me but now I am informed that all what the Government can say is that we can go home conditionally and after making our excuses for which we ought to write you first hand.

We are most humble and loyal servants of the British crown and we have no hesitation in making excuses for it is the duty of every loyal and obedient subject to obey the orders of the Government of India, and though we are really innocent yet for sake of shortness we begged pardon and clemency of the Government of India now too and even have nothing against doing so formally, but as the Punjab Government has not answered other parts of our request, that is, whether the Government would very kindly give us liberty and means of subsistence, we had to trouble you with these few lines. Pray do not think for a moment that we do not wish to yield to the wishes of the Government. No, we rather wish to obey you by all means. But we are afraid of our liberty as the Government informed us, as I have stated above that I should ask for freedom from arrest, etc., and therefore I most humbly beg the freedom from arrest and prosecution and pardon of the Government and then I and brothers will return and make our excuses as directed.

We commit our case in your hands and will obey your orders, and we are sure the clemency and pardon of the Government of India will be extended to us and freedom and means of maintenance will be allowed.

As our remaining more out of British India is giving much time to our opponents to injure us and we earnestly solicit the early and favourable consideration of my this letter.

II

No. 50. Reg. sanction of allowance of Rs. 40 p.m. in favour of Partab Singh, an emissary of Dalip Singh.

III

No. 51 to 60 are small letters regarding detention of Bawa Budh Singh Bedi and Pohlo Mal, emissaries of Dalip Singh, in the Chunar and Allahabad forts respectively.

IV

No. 70 to 83 concern the death of Sohan Lal after illness, a state prisoner, and sanction to expenditure incurred in connection with his detention.

V

8th lot. This concerns the revised arrangements for the maintenance of the family of Maharaja Dalip Singh in consequence of the death of Her Highness the Maharani. It contains nothing about Dalip Singh's movements.

535. FROM MUNSHI AZIZ-UD-DIN, ATTACHE TO THE
FOREIGN DEPARTMENT, G.O.I. (ON LEAVE),
TO SIR E. BARING, K.C.S.I., H.M.'S CONSUL GENERAL
IN EGYPT

CAIRO,
28TH MARCH, 1888.

You were kind enough to allow me to have an interview with you this morning but I think it will not be out of place my giving a full account of all I have learnt by attending all the secret meetings of Zober Pasha and Abdul Rasul at the former's house near Cairo Railway Station. You said that you were aware of Abdul Rasul's presence in Cairo and of his intriguing with the *Darvishes* but I now give you some information which I think will be quite new to you.

This Abdul Rasul is the right hand man of Dalip Singh and in November last was conspiring against the British rule with the Fenians at Paris, he was summoned to Moscow by the Russia Military Party through Dalip. The heads of this Party in Russia are at present General Ignatieff, Count Tolsloi and Leberzeff. During Abdul Rasul's absence in Paris they learnt from Dalip that he (A.R.) knew the Sudanese and more especially Zober Pasha. They therefore employed him to go and stir up the Sudanese again and to increase the difficulties of the British Government so that they must send an expeditionary force to Sudan and that in the case of there being a rising in India, he should instruct the Sudanese to blockade the Suez Canal. He was given a letter of introduction to Ivanoff, the Russian Consul in Cairo, through whom he was to communicate with them. He left Moscow in December last and, after travelling via Berlin, Paris and London, arrived here at the Hotel d'Alexandrie. It should be noted that he has been always in correspondence with Zober and during his imprisonment at Gibraltar had an interview with him. Since his arrival here, he and Zober have been working as hard as they could to make the Sudanese rise up. As far as the *Dervishes* and Osman Digna are concerned, they have gained their point. (Note. The rest is about his intrigue in Sudan).

536. Translation of a paper written in Turkish (which was sent to Sir E. Baring by Aziz-ud-din) found among the papers of one Abdul Rasul,

Kashmiri, son of Haig Abdul Karim and now residing at Cairo. The paper is apparently a rough copy of a letter or a rough idea of a letter to be written at a future period.

Report on Maharaja Dalip Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

Thirty five years ago, at the date of the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Maharaja Dalip Singh occupied the throne of his father at Lahore, which counts a population of 95 millions, during 2½ years but without benefit, because Dalip was a minor being only five years old. In these circumstances the English, his neighbours, having sown, by their treacherous intrigues, discord among his ministers and officials, even succeeded in exhibiting uneasiness in the mind of his mother. At length they manoeuvred so well that they succeeded in seizing Lahore without fighting and they took the young child to England. The English thereupon seized on all the jewels whose value was incalculable and amongst them was the famous jewel, the *Kohinoor*, which even to this day adorns the neck of the Queen of England. They then imprisoned his mother in a fortress at Allahabad.

The treaty concluded between the English and the Maharaja at the time of taking possession of Lahore stipulates :

(i) When the Maharaja arrives at his majority all his Lahore possessions and their dependencies shall be returned to him.

(ii) An annuity of £50,000 shall be paid to the Maharaja until his majority.

The second part of the treaty has been observed but as regards the first part, a deaf ear has been turned to all applications. For six years the Maharaja has been claiming the execution of the treaty without result. The engagement has remained a dead letter.

Besides this he has been deprived of the rents which had accrued to his ancestors and which amounted to a million pounds.

The allowance of £50,000 was insufficient in London for a man so distinguished as the Maharaja and he found himself compelled to resolve to live in India which the English Government permitted provided that he should not enter Lahore.

He went, therefore, to India but after staying three months at Aden they ordered him to return to London. He preferred to renounce the allowance which had been made to him and to go off to Paris.

This way of acting of the English provoked the indignation of the inhabitants of Lahore, both Hindus and Muslims, whom hatred and anger induced to seek a revenge and to this end the chiefs of Lahore wrote to the Maharaja some three months ago to come alone personally whether to Herat or Kandhar as quickly as possible. Amongst these chiefs is the old

Prime Minister of the Maharaja, actually Governor of Kashmir, has at his command 1,00,000 men well armed and organised and well organised 45,000 regular troops of Lahore whom England has now sent to Wadi Piochin. These men await the coming of the Maharaja impatiently at Boccus and they are the best soldiers in India for bravery and courage as has already been proved in the fighting, both by England and Afghanistan.

After the Maharaja had received the above mentioned petition, he called me from London to Paris and directed me to suggest him some ideas on this head. In the conversation he showed me his way of thinking and he said that it was in his power to raise the inhabitants of Lahore against the English who would certainly be driven out and beaten but that he was afraid that Russia, seeing the Lahore people enfeebled by war, would step in, molest them and finish by taking India without fighting. Therefore, it was necessary to come to an arrangement first of all with Russia.

Having reflected on this point, I considered that as this traitor England only possessed its spurious power and glory through its possessions in India, the day it should lose India, its power would be brought (to end). If then Turkey considered seriously this important consideration, allying herself ostensibly with Russia but secretly with the Maharaja, not only perhaps would great benefits result with regard to Egyptian and Bulgarian questions, but increased bonds of union would result between the Mussalmans of India and Central Asia. My feeling of devotion to Islam did not allow me to remain silent while such reflections passed through my mind, and I replied to the Maharaja that I regarded it as a duty of conscience of the utmost necessity to submit this case to H.I.M. the Sultan Khalifa of the Faithful.

The Maharaja having approved my proposal, we went together the following day to seek an interview with Assud Pasha, the Ambassador of Turkey in Paris, to whom I exposed the matter and who totally approved of my ideas. Finally we three decided that the case should be communicated to Constantinople.

In consequence, the Ambassador gave me a letter to the Private Secretary to His Majesty the Sultan conforming my mission and I left for Constantinople. There I explained the object of my mission to Souraya Pasha to whom I gave the letter of the Ambassador saying that I entrusted to him a sacred trust.

Since then I have had no reply, but I may affirm that I have done my duty in communicating what I have communicated.

II

No. 43. Telegram, April 1888, from Viceroy, Simla, to Secretary of State, London, stating "Have you arranged or can you arrange to watch Dalip Singh's movements. He may be contemplating something more than move to Kieff. We hear of a wild scheme of his coming to India.

III

No. 44 is a telegram about the possible visit of Abdul Rasul to India—information sought from Viceroy, Simla.

IV

No. 45 to 48 are small telegrams about the proposed visit of Abdul Rasul to India and to the fact that Dalip Singh and Zobar Pasha are still under surveillance.

537. FROM MUNSHI AZIZ-UD-DIN TO FOREIGN SECRETARY (Confidential)

ABHAT'S HOTEL, ALEXENDRIA,
2ND APRIL, 1888.

1. On the 25th March last, I gave some information to Sir Evelyn Baring at Cairo and asked him that after persual he should send it on to you. The way in which Abdul Rasul was carrying on his intrigues I was led to believe that his presence in Cairo was not known to the British authorities in Egypt and to avoid any loss of time I was obliged to communicate direct with Sir Evelyn.

2. The Abdul Rasul, referred to in my report dated 28th March, 1888, to Sir Evelyn Baring, is our friend Abdul Rasul who was with Dalip in Moscow and a short account of his antecedents is given in my report, dated the 22nd September last, which I submitted to you on my return from Pondicherry. From what I have learnt from his countrymen in Cairo and from himself it appears that he is a native of Srinagar in Kashmir and about 26 years ago came to Egypt via Amritsar and Calcutta. Here he earned his living by doing all sorts of works and, after a stay of 6 years in this country, he went to Constantinople, where he joined the service of the Turkish Government and remained there till the conclusion of Russo-Turkish war. After that he went to England and for many years was the companion of the late Mirza Pir Bakhsh, Russel Square, London. In 1882, he accompanied as an interpreter to Lord Welsely but on his arrival in this country he was found carrying on his intrigues with the rebels and was sent back to England.

3. As regards his intrigues with Dalip, you know well enough, but besides this, he is carrying on many other intrigues or, in other words, his only occupation is to serve as go-between to further intrigues of one Government against the other. The Russian intrigues with Sudan through Zuber Pasha are the one instance of his work, but I am to add that these intrigues are carried on by the Russian military party on their own account and that M. Giers, who is looked upon as England's friend, is

quite ignorant of it. (The rest is about his other intrigues in Sudan and Egypt).

...

13. Reg. Syed Jamul-ud-din, a native of Saidabad, Hamdan, in Perisa and his relations with Dalip. In about 1886 he left his motherland and came over to Russia and at Moscow joined with Dalip and Katkoff. Through his natural gift of speech he made a very good impression in Russian society and he was looked upon as a greatman and Dalip was quite overshadowed before him. On this, hot words were exchanged between them, Jamal and Dalip, and the result was irreparable separation between the two. When M. Giers questioned him about Dalip's influence in India, he told him that there was not a dog with him in India and the new generation knew nothing about him. Jamal-ud-din himself is now in St. Petersburg and in the Russian service.

14. Dalip himself is now at Moscow living with his mistress, a Cockney girl, on about ten shillings a day. All his money is gone and he is now selling his Maharaja's dresses. He is also the father of an illegitimate child since December last. In a letter dated 10th February, he wrote to Abdul Rasul that he has received no news from Arur and he suspects that he has either been arrested or has run away with the money which he got from his Bengali friends in Calcutta and that all his friends are being put into prison and as he can see no good coming from India. He is therefore going to wash his hands from India and the Indians. The only persons who are encouraging him to carry on intrigues with the Punjab are Katkoff party in Russia, an Irish Fenian in Paris, who was formerly a Major of the British army, Thakur Singh's sons, and the arch intriguer Abdul Rasul who styles himself as his secretary. If any measures are taken at this time, it is more than certain that he will go back to England and end his days quietly in his adopted home. The mischief makers who are his chief advisers have frightened him that if he goes out of Russia, the British Government will have him put to death. Even in Moscow too he sleeps with all the doors securely closed, a sword by his side and a revolver under his pillow and two dogs which he has imported from England watching his bed. His agents in Europe are (1) a French man in whose hotel he stopped at Baulvard, Paris, (2) the ex-Major an Irishman, (3) a retired Major in London who was formerly in Dalip's service, and (4) a Bengali Muhammadan who is studying law in England and will be called to the Bar this month. This young Bengali by associating with the Irish Fenians has become just like them. He is in Dalip's confidence and has rendered every assistance to him and on his arrival in India too he will carry out his cause. Dalip's letters from India and England are sent to the address of Kher Ullah Effendi in Moscow who sends them on to him. At present the Russian military party has asked him that he should

create disturbances in Kashmir in his favour, and if he can do that, in that case they can force the Czar to go against M. Giers and give him assistance to attack the English. To carry this out, Thakur Singh's sons are intriguing in India and Abdul Rasul, looking after his intrigues in Egypt, will go to India to carry it out. Their plan is first to try to win the Maharaja Kashmir on Dalip's side, and to ask him that he should rise against the British Government and should say that he is doing that for Dalip and in that case all the Sikhs would join with him. In the case of not winning the Maharaja on their side, they should try to win one of his brothers and if they fail in this too, then they should send large number of Sikhs to Kashmir and Jammu. These men should remain in hiding and when the Maharaja starts for Kashmir and is on the middle of the road, these men should simultaneously rise up and loot the treasure, etc., and thus they will have money and arms and will be in a position to arm the other Sikhs who will rise up against the British Government.

15. Hira Singh *Kalal*, a servant of Dalip, who left England in 1885, was the bearer of Dalip's letters to Kashmir, and Bawa Khem Singh is still in correspondence with Dalip. All his letters are sent through the London agency. After Hira Singh's departure, Dalip sent another batch of letters to Kashmir and Bawa Khem Singh through Jamiat Rai and he too is trying to win them on their side. Through this man, Kashmir and Bawa Khem Singh have sent favourable answers to Dalip, but he (Dalip) has now got quite sick of waiting and says that these men will never do anything against the British Government. There is another plan which Dalip Singh and his advisers are now planning to carry out, this is, that he should go in disguise to Amritsar and there should collect Sikhs and then could suddenly throw off his disguise and should proclaim himself that he is the true incarnation of the deity and rightful sovereign of the Sikhs. In this too the Russian military party supports him and they say in that case they will furnish him with any amount of officers to lead his men.

During the time Ayub was lurking on the Afghan frontier, Dalip was kept in a state of readiness, and had he (Ayub) succeeded in occupying Herat, the Russians would have sent Dalip to join with him.

16. In September last one of his Bengali friends who has been corresponding with him through Thakur Singh's sons and the Editor of the *Beaver*, wrote to him that he wants to see him and that he should arrange for his safe passage to Moscow. On receipt of this letter, he wrote to the Governor-General of Moscow who forwarded it to St. Petersburg. Their answer was that they will never allow anyone come from India without passport, and that they will make him over to the British Government. Being defeated in Russia, he then planned to meet this Bengali at Vienna and it was to meet this man that he gave out that he was going to the Austrian capital.

17. Had Katkoff lived, Dalip's fate would have been quite different. It was through his personal influence that Czar ordered to give him (Dalip) a personal guard and liberty to live where he liked and arrangements were quite completed to send a Russian officer in disguise with this Abdul Rasul to India to test Dalip's influence among his countrymen but after Katkoff's death everything fell to the ground.

18. Mian Lal-din of Jammu, who ran away from India in November last, is now in Medina and is making preparations to go and present the shawls, rice and *Koran*, which he has brought with himself from India, to the Sultan at Constantinople and then to ask the Sultan to intercede on his behalf and ask the British Government to write to the Maharaja of Kashmir to give him the same position which he held under the late Maharaja. There is one Syed Ased of Macca at Constantinople. This man exercises a great influence on the present Sultan and through this man Lal Din will see the Sultan. Abdul Rasul has opened correspondence with Lal Din and he will see him when he will pass through Egypt on his way to Constantinople and will then try to employ him to carry out Dalip's policy.

19. As Abdul Rasul will very shortly visit India to see how things stand there and to further Dalip's cause, I will give his descriptive roll.

Age about 45, height 5'—6", complexion fair, build medium, blind of right eye and uses a false one. Wears a clipped beard which is sprinkled with grey. Has got a scar on the left side on the chin on which the hair do not grow. Speaks English, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hindustani and Kashmiri fluently and knows a little of French too. During his sojourn in Moscow with Dalip, he travelled all over Russia, and in St. Petersburg had an interview with General Ignatieff who was summoned to the capital by the Czar during the last autumn. He is also on friendly terms with Musa Khan, a Muhammadan Prince of Kuzan, who is an Aide-de-Camp to the Czar.

20. The notorious Maulvi Rahmatulla, an Indian fanatic, who fled from India about 30 years ago and since then has been residing at Mecca, has just returned from Constantinople to Mecca where he went at the invitation of the Sultan.

21. The Indian Wahabi Maulvi Abdul Rehman and Ahsan, who were deported from Mecca to India in 1886 by Usman Pasha, the former Governor of Hejaz came back to Arabia last year. Abdul Rehman died in Jedda and Ahsan was sent back to India.

22. In October last, Dalip, through his Pondicherry agency, sent a letter to the young Holkar and received an answer from him to the effect that he fully sympathized with his cause.

23. Arur Singh, who is now at Chunar, was, in addition to the letters which were found on him, the bearer of Dalip's letters to Abdul

Huk of Hyderabad, Raja Rampal Singh of Oudh, the Maharaja of Kashmir and Bawa Khem Singh, and from Abdul Rasul to Abdul Majid, Bar-at-law at Allahabad, and his brother Abdul Hamid and Muhammad Mir, Pleader of Meerut, who visited England about six years ago.

24. Dalip is now living in a fool's paradise himself as a sovereign of the Sikhs, the Cockney girl as an empress of India, Thakur Singh's son as a Prime Minister of the Sikhs, Bengali Babu of Calcutta as a Prime Minister for the Hindus, and Abdul Rasul as a Prime Minister for Muhammadans.

P.S.

This Abdul is the same man who started an Arabic Persian paper *Alghirab* in London in 1884. This paper was chiefly devoted against the British rule and money for its publication was supplied by Sadik Husan of Bhopal.

Dalip Singh's friends are advising him to make his cause a religious one.

538. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO C.L. TUPPER*

(Demi-Official)

SIMLA,

14TH APRIL, 1888.

I am requested by the Foreign Secretary to send for the information of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, a memo containing the substance of a report received by me about Dalip Singh intrigues. The intelligence you will see was obtained at Hardwar and Patna. I have every reason to believe that it represents correctly what my agent heard at those places.

Memorandum

A trustworthy agent of mine visited recently Mangalan, the foster-mother (?) of Dalip Singh who is said, in Rani Chand Kaur's time, to have exercised great influence in the Lahore state.

Mangalan said that Jiwan Singh, Berki, when he went to Aden, took a letter from her to Dalip Singh. She commended Dewan Buta Singh for doing good service in the cause of Dalip Singh and said that he writes to her regularly all news from Punjab. Her account is that Jammu, Jind, Faridkot, Bhagwan Das Darhiwala (son of Rattan Chand), Sardar Dial Singh Majithia and she (Mangalan) have sent money to Dalip Singh through Dewan Buta Singh. When Mr. Talbot came to enquire about Dalip Singh's ancestral property, she was summoned by Sardar Thakur Singh to give information, and she said that Bhagwan Das above mentioned and Diwan Buta Singh also gave much information.

*Foreign Political May, 1889, No. 82.

She used to receive letters from Sardar Thakur Singh from Pondicherry but at his request tore them up. According to her, Pohlo Mal certainly brought letters from Pondicherry, and she received a letter brought by him through Bedi Sujan Singh of Una. A man named Bishan Singh took this letter from Pohlo Mal at Jullundur. (I heard this at the time and hence my enquiries from the Punjab special Branch.) She did not see Jowala Singh who brought the Sardar's bones to Hardwar, but she heard that he was the bearer of letters which he destroyed on observing that he was watched by the North Western Police. (There is good reason to believe this to be true. Jowala Singh mentions the policeman in his confession about which my informant knew nothing.)

Mangalan declared that there is a great friendship and unity of purpose between the Raja of Faridkot, Raja Amar Singh of Kashmir and Sardar Dial Singh Majithia.

According to Mangalan, Bawa Khem Singh Bedi was not originally mixed up with the Dalip Singh's intrigues but has since been persuaded to join the Maharaja's cause through the efforts of Bhai Sumer Singh of Patna.

The same agent went to Patna on the 22nd March and met Bawa Bir Singh Bedi, the deputy of Bhai Sumer Singh, and Bhai Gulab Singh. (Thakur Singh told Aziz-ud-din at Pondicherry that Gulab Singh was engaged in furthering Dalip Singh's cause. My informant knows nothing of Aziz-ud-din's report.)

Ardasi of Patna. From them he learnt that by a judicial order Bhai Sumer Singh has been awarded the *Gaddi* of Patna. He is at Faridkot, where for two years he has been employed by the Raja through influence (my informant is very positive about this connection and he looks on Sumer Singh as at the bottom of all the intrigues) of Bawa Khem Singh Bedi. My informant continues :—

"I learnt from the above two men that Budh Singh did not know much about the Dalip Singh's intrigues, having been employed only for distributing letters.

Sardar Thakur Singh got Budh Singh to ask Faridkot for money, which the latter refused to give. They told me that during the marriage festivities at Faridkot, a compact was made between the Raja, Bawa Khem Singh, Sardar Bir Singh of Mukerian (Hoshiarpur district), *motabir* of Shahzada Sheodeo Singh, and other persons to the effect that they would aid in bringing back Dalip Singh. This compact, they said, was made on day after that on which Bhag Mal had publicly alluded to Dalip Singh. In open darbar Bhagu had risen and said, on the previous day, "While we are all feasting here, Dalip Singh is in distress in Europe, get him back and put up some prayers for his sake." Khem Singh replied publicly—"He will come, we are with him."

Bhai Gulab Singh told me that when Thakur Singh first went to Pondicherry he was in frequent correspondence with him. He destroyed the letters on learning that the Kotwal of Dinapore was keeping a watch on his (G.S.'s) movements. Gulab Singh said that Diwan Buta Singh had done good work for Dalip Singh. He also said using these words that Jammu, Jind and Faridkot are one in this matter, and he quoted a prophesy from the *Sakhis* about Dalip Singh's coming.

"Gulab Singh said that Bhai Sumer Singh is only ostensibly employed in translating the *Granth* at Faridkot. There was not formerly an agreement between the Sindhanwalia people, the Faridkot Raja and Bawa Khem Singh about the matter of Dalip Singh. It was really Bhai Sumer Singh's business to bring about an agreement on this matter.

"Faridkot and Khem Singh wished to communicate directly with Dalip Singh and not through Sardar Thakur Singh. They eventually agreed to work through the latter.

Thakur Singh had been very generous to Sumer Singh in Patna and he had a very persuasive tongue."

According to my informant the *Sakhi* prophecies and the sayings of astrologers have caused a first belief in the public mind that Dhalip Singh will certainly come to rule over the Punjab, and this will not appear till his death.

P.D. Henderson.

539. FROM THE OFFICIATING JUNIOR SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB TO THE SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

Confidential

NO. 727

LAHORE,

27TH APRIL, 1888.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to submit, for the information of the Government of India the accompanying copy of a letter dated the 10th February last, with enclosures in original from Sardar Attar Singh, C.I.E., of Bhadaur regarding certain newly coined versions of the prophecies of Guru Govind Singh having reference to the return of Maharaja Dalip Singh to Punjab.

A.

no. 6. Copy of a letter from S. Attar Singh

I beg to send herewith two copies of a statement of prophecies relating to Maharaja Dalip Singh which you can please lay before His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor when you find it convenient to do so. Moreover, I beg to say that if considered proper, one copy may be forwarded to the Government of India, or I may be directed to do so, as I had already requested His Honour.

Evidently these prophecies are newly coined and as the ignorant can be easily led away by designing men through the means of these false prophecies, it is necessary that the Government should know them. As in the case of all miracles and prophecies, they are generally couched in ambiguous words and written after the occurrence.

I am endeavouring to collect information as to the places in which and the persons by whom these prophecies are now being tried to attract the attention and sympathy of the Sikhs. If I am successful in getting correct and true facts regarding them, I shall submit a report on the subject.

In the remarks columns of the accompanying statement, the pages of *Sakhi* book have been referred to with regard to them. I beg to say that it is the same *Sakhi* book in English which, being printed in 1873, was published and submitted by me to the Government. The translation there given is not correct, therefore, the correct one has been added in the statement.

In the letter of Maharaja Dalip Singh, dated the 28th October, 1887, to one of his Paris friends and published at page 5 of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of 2nd February, 1888, it has been stated that the prophecy relating to him was written by the last Sikh Guru in 1725. The year 1725 whether of the Christian or a Hindi era cannot be correct, for in Hindi *Sambat* 1723 (1666 A.D.) the last Guru Govind Singh was born. Thus in *Sambat* 1725 at the age of three years, he cannot be expected to write a prophecy while in the Christian year 1725 the Guru did not survive, as he died in *Sambat* 1765 or 1708 (A.D.).

II

No. 60 is the actual wording of the prophecy and says that Dalip will come and be the King of India. The Roman and English translation is given. The translation is given below :—

1. A Sikh martyr will be born and will reign fearlessly as far as Calcutta.
2. It will then happen that his glory will spread throughout world.
3. He will be accompanied with his Khalsa army.
4. He, Dalip Singh, will drive his elephant throughout the world.
5. Dallis Singh will shine among the Khalsa.
6. Dalip Singh will overcome all kings.
7. It will then see happen that there shall remain no Sikh ruler.
8. A Trader, who is my Sikh, will wander in anxiety for the sake of his religion....
9. Dissensions will arise at Calcutta and quarrels will be in every house.
10. Nothing will be known for 12 years.

11. Dalip Singh will be Lord since his birth.
12. When Dalip Singh will come, the *Vikrami Sambat* will be 1899.
13. Rising from the West, the Khalsa will predominate the East.
14. The wicked, the reserved (Englishmen) and the *Morji* (Muslims) irreligious men will all hide themselves in the Hills.
15. The Khalsa will meet together at sunset and will subdue Hindus and Muhamadens who are friends to each other, also the white faced.
16. The Khalsa will become powerful, the Turks will break their silence.
17. The villages will be plundered, the subjects will suffer and justice will depart.
18. The Sikh women will become unchaste and desire to abandon their husbands.
19. Then will rise the Khalsa, whom the people of four castes will like.
20. All here will rise in the 3rd year, the shamed will plunder the villages and bazars.
21. First some fear will be felt in Malwa then in other countries.
22. A faithful king will be born in a large town which will be well known in the country.
23. After conquering the country, he will rule it and defeating kings he will then drive them away.
24. Fighting will take place near Delhi—the *Bhujangis* will then meet.
25. And dressing themselves with arms will plunder the town of Panipat (of rail roads and steam boats.)
26. Everyone of you, my Khalsa, will be equally powerful...
27. Then my Sikh Dalip Singh will rise whose strength shall be like Teja Singh (or a lion)
28. The *Dekkanis*, the white, the silent, and the *ferangis* will be on one side.
29. But when the Khalsa Dalip Singh rises, there shall be no comfort for kings.
30. The manners and customs shall disappear and Dalip Singh will appear in a new fashion.
31. He will die in his native home and the Sikhs will wear arms (or leave Lahore)
32. He will no doubt rule at Lahore and Kashmir for some time.
33. He will rule over the Khalsa and will be helped by me.
34. The person of Ude Singh is for the Guru, the Khalsa *Dip* or lamp will be illuminated.
He will grind down the followers of Christ and of Musa(Moses) and the Hindus.
Dip will be the incarnation (of God) and will correct the wrong.
My Sikhs will remain for ever, their doings will shine.
Once the Guru said, out of my Sikhs of *Kaljug* who follow *Dharam* (religion), will be saved and those devoid of faith shall suffer. As new

pearls and diamonds shine so the glory of Dip will shine, as soon as Hira Singh dies, Dalip's glory shall rise.

The Guru said I have a great mind for Ramsar in Amritsar, I shall be incarnate for the eleventh time to make over the fields to the Khalsa. Nobody will be able to know.

Note : After this is mentioned that Dalip will sit on the throne and the people pay homage to him, the last lines being :

When Delhi remains 16 Kose away, the King will cease. Dalip Singh will sit on the throne and all people will pay him homage.

540. COPY OF A TELEGRAM RECEIVED IN COVERING LETTER FROM FOREIGN OFFICE

dated the 7th May, 1888*

Decypher Telegram from Sir R. Morier, St. Petersburg dated the 7th May, 1888.

Following from Consul General at Odessa :

Mr. Law has asked me to communicate the following Your Excellency. Dalip with lady and baby has been some ten days at Hotel de France, Kieff.

541. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM A.S. dated Cairo, the 20th May, 1881**

NO. 13.

I arrived on the 14th evening and in the first place beg to mention having lost Rs. 968 out of which Rs. 500 was my private money.

1. On the 17th May, I went to Zobair Pasha through Sheikh Muhammad Baksh Hindee. Abdul Rasul lives with Zobair Pasha. Sheikh Muhammad Baksh is the man who knows some of the secrets of Abdul Rasul. Abdul Rasul was not with Zobair Pasha when I went there but a carriage was sent for him. On arrival he was surprised at seeing a Punjabi and thought that I was the bearer of some money from Aziz-uddin which it seems the latter has promised to send. Zobair Pasha asked some questions in his own language and then mention was made of Dalip Singh. Abdul Rasul checked the general conversation on this subject and arranged to meet me again, giving his address at the Alexandria Hotel, Room No. 17.

2. On the 18th May, at my second interview with him, conversation took place of which the following notes are recorded :

3. Abdul Rasul first put me to the test but I pretended ignorance on every subject. He at last made me take an oath and spoke as follows:

*Foreign Political, April 1889, No. 42.

** Foreign Deptt. (Secret I), August 1889, No. 13.

4. He said that a short time ago Jamiat Rai had sent Aziz-ud-din with £150 contributed partly by himself and partly by some Raja near Firozepur and gave Aziz-ud-din three items of information by which his good faith could be known to A.R.

5. A.R. said that Dalip Singh is in great pecuniary difficulties and has not money even for food. He repents deeply what he has done at the instigation of Sardar Thakur Singh and remains night and day in solitude weeping. A.R. says that very little would induce him either to commit suicide or return to London. The hopes that Maharaja entertained from his native country have disappeared from a letter which came to Abdul Rasul after Aziz-ud-din's departure. It seems that he now entertains as unfavourable an opinion of his own countrymen, as he used to have in the days before he met Thakur Singh. And the Maharaja says that when the men like the Maharaja of Jammu and Baba Khem Singh and other chiefs, notwithstanding their assurance, have done nothing, who else can effect anything?

6. A.R. said that Arur Singh had collected Rs. 80,000 but since the police all over India had been furnished with his portrait in order to arrest him, he had remained hidden in Calcutta. The Maharaja is in great difficulty without him, and some times he thinks, with reference to Arur Singh and Jamiat Rai, that they have become faithless owing to the temptation offered by so much money. The Maharaja was sorry to part with Arur Singh and now has no one that he can speak to.

7. A.R. says that the Maharaja places no trust on Gurbachan Singh and the other sons of Thakur Singh and suspects them of joining the British Government and of showing all letters that come from himself and of writing with knowledge of the Government. The Maharaja's suspicions were aroused by the fact that so many messengers who had visited Pondicherry had been arrested. Aziz-ud-din deepened this suspicion by saying that Jamiat Rai and others believed Gurbachan Singh to have sided with the Government. A.R. said that Gurbachan Singh had asked the Maharaja for pecuniary support to which Dalip Singh replied that he had not enough to live on himself, but that G.S. might take one-third of Rs. 80,000 which Arur Singh had collected and remit the remaining two-thirds to him. It was perhaps owing to this request for money not being granted, or to his not being able to get any money from Arur Singh that G.S. has gone over to Government.

8. A.R. said that if the Punjab had done one-tenth of what he had done for the Maharaja, the British Government would have been dismayed. He professed to receive an allowance from Russia through a friend who is a *Musahib* of the Czar and he said that the reason for Russia creating difficulties about the Sudan in Egypt is that the British may become involved and an opportunity be afforded for a sudden invasion of India.

He said that he had been successful in his undertaking and in a short time there would be such difficulties in Sudan that the English would be unable to endure the position.

9. He had an idea of coming to India but is awaiting £100, which Aziz-ud-din said he was going to send from London. He would have gone to India were it not that after Aziz-ud-din's departure he received orders from Russia. As it is there is so much work to do in Egypt that he cannot leave for India.

I am going to see A.R. again and will report duly.

542. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM A.S.

dated Cairo, the 22nd May, 1888

I report the result of my second interview with Abdul Rasul.

1. I find that the amount of Rs. 80,000 mentioned in letters of 20th May is known to A.R. through Aziz-ud-din. A.R. and the Maharaja know only 30 or 40 thousands which is in the possession of a Babu in Calcutta. He does not know the Babu's manner but says that he lives in Chandernagore, is an enemy of the English, owns a newspaper and is a friend of the Maharaja. The Babu collected this amount privately from the states near Calcutta.

2. Arur Singh was given some letters to distribute in India, one being to the Babu. Although the Babu knew Arur Singh, he did not trust him and went personally to Pondicherry (This is evidently the excuse that Mr. Pal made when he went to Pondicherry after Arur Singh's arrest. Sd. P.D.H), and having satisfied himself about Arur Singh from Gurbachan Singh, he returned. This news was received at Moscow by letter from Gurbachan Singh.

The Maharaja thinks in regard to Arur Singh either that he has been killed or imprisoned by the English or has embezzled the money. A.R. suspects that he has either conspired with the Babu and Jamiat Rai to embezzle the money or has been killed. He said that Aziz-ud-din told him, Arur Singh was concealed in Babu's house and had no intention of making away with the money. The Maharaja wrote to A.R. that sending Arur Singh to India was like cutting off his right hand and that he was in great trouble without this man, being obliged to make his own purchases himself. A.R. does not believe in Arur Singh's honesty but thinks he deceived Aziz-ud-din.

A.R. says that it was against his advice that Arur Singh started for India, that Arur Singh is a man of bad character, he spent a month at Cairo, another at Constantinople before going to Calcutta, though he was told to go and return as quickly as possible.

3. If there is any hope in India, it is in Hyderabad where there

are some Sikhs and in Maharaja Holkar and Khem Singh (In reply to enquiries A.S. declared that the mention of Khem Singh by A.R. was entirely spontaneous but that the name of Faridkot had been suggested by Aziz-ud-din. P.D.H.). A.R. says that others have written letters but he personally hopes nothing from them and the Maharaja despairs of the people of Hindustan. A.R. states that he went on a mission in Dalip Singh's favour to several states such as Austria, France, Germany and Italy and where any reply was received, it was to the following effect, viz., that Dalip Singh was no doubt ex-sovereign at some previous time but is not so now being merely a detenue of England, because his countrymen do not support him or recognise him as their sovereign. If the people of whom he claims to be sovereign do not support him, how can aid be expected from elsewhere? According to Abdul Rasul, one of the ministers at Constantinople and the Sudanese through Zobair Pasha are ready to assist Dalip Singh. Zobair Pasha would have helped him with money, were it not that the English have confiscated all his wealth about 3 crores of rupees.

4. A.R. says that he intended to visit India merely to meet Khem Singh and Maharaja Holkar but he has been involved in such an undertaking that he is unable to carry out his intention. No one knows him in India personally except the family of Thakur Singh, Arur Singh, the Babu and Hira Singh. A.R. says that he told Aziz-ud-din exactly the business on which he is going to India and has arranged with him that all persons should be alluded to by an initial letter against their names in the lists of which each has a copy. (I have seen the copy in Aziz-ud-din's writing.) But not having heard from Aziz-ud-din since the first April he is very anxious and disturbed in mind.

5. A.R. says that letters have reached Maharaja Holkar through Pondicherry and through the Babu and he has promised to give help. The Babu wrote that he was going to meet Holkar but is not known whether he did or not. But there is no doubt that he gave an assurance that Holkar would help.

6. A.R. showed me pictures of Dalip Singh and of the woman that is with him, also a torn letter in English written by the Maharaja, and he told me that the Maharaja would have gone to the Punjab long ago but for this woman who insists on going wherever he goes. A.R. says that he advised the Maharaja to go to the Punjab in disguise but Dalip Singh was prevented from going by his affection for this woman who would not allow him to go. A.R. says that she was very anxious to see the letters that came from India and other countries to the Maharaja, but he would not show them and he says that on leaving the Maharaja in November he burnt all the letters.

7. A.R. says that no written reply was received from the Jammu

state. The substance of the letter which Dalip Singh wrote to Jammu was as follows :

"I was young when the English took me away from my country and the administration was left in the hands of your ancestors. They did not look to my interest and ruined the state. This was not a loyal act but I have forgiven the past. For the future I command that whatever Sardar Thakur Singh thinks best for myself and you shall be carried out so that the stain on your name be removed, otherwise no such opportunity will again occur."

The above letter was delivered in Jammu through Jamiat Rai and Hira Singh. The return of a written reply was postponed from day to day and none has yet been received. A verbal message agreeing to carry out any orders was sent but up to date nothing has been done nor has any money been sent.

8. Aziz-ud-din told A.R. that he was being sent by Jamiat Rai simply to inform the Maharaja that Gurbachan Singh had joined the English and showed all letters received by the Maharaja, in return for which he had been pardoned and his allowances restored. And that Gurbachan Singh had been told to remain at Pondicherry and continue in correspondence with Dalip Singh whose letters he was to show. Jamiat Rai was represented therefore by Aziz-ud-din to beg that no letter should be sent to Pondicherry, otherwise Gurbachan Singh would get all the other people arrested. A.R. said that he had written to tell the Maharaja the above. From no answer or money having come and especially from Arur Singh not having returned, both he (A.R.) and the Maharaja had suspicions previously but these were now confirmed.

9. A.R. asked me whether Khem Singh and the Raja of Faridkot are really prepared to help the Maharaja on which I enquired from him how he came to know anything about these two persons. He said that he knew well about Khem Singh's readiness to help the Maharaja and that some Raja whose name he did not know was associated with him. The actual name of Faridkot was told him by Aziz-ud-din. And A.R. said that according to Aziz-ud-din, it was the Raja of Faridkot who was paying the expenses of the latter's journey.

10. A.R. told me not to communicate to Jamiat Rai or Aziz-ud-din the result of any interview I might have with Khem Singh or Raja of Faridkot but to write direct on the subject to him. (A.R.)

I am to meet A. R. for the last time today and will leave tomorrow or next day.

543. TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM A. S.

No. 15.

CAIRO, 23RD MAY, 1888.

Today I had my last interview with Abdul Rasul and report the result. There is nothing more to be got from him.

1. Aziz-ud-din gave three items of information to Abdul Rasul in order to assure the latter of good health.

(a) That A. R. had written a letter to the Sultan's brother-in-law, through Arur Singh. He probably heard this from Arur Singh. This is what Aziz-ud-din means when he said that he got the information out of A. R. by using secret watch word. Sd. P.D.H.

(b) That Arur Singh was the bearer of letter from Abdul Rasul to the guardian of the burying place of the Sultans.

(c) That A.R. gave Arur Singh envelopes addressed to some friends of his (A. R.) at Constantinople.

2. A.R. then gave the following information to Aziz-ud-din in order that he might assure Arur Singh on meeting him that he (Aziz-ud-din) had really seen A.R. Aziz-ud-din was to tell him that the Maharaja Dalip Singh knew no one in Moscow before A.R. arrived there. On A.R.'s arrival, the Muhammadans of Moscow gave him an entertainment and sent a carriage for him. The Maharaja did not go but A.R. and Abdul Rasul went and the latter attended prayers in the mosque with A.R.

A.R. says that when Arur Singh left Moscow, he was the bearer of only 2 letters from Dalip Singh, viz., one to the king of Oudh and another to all the princes of Hindustan and the following letters from Abdul Rasul, viz., one to the Sultan's brother-in-law and the other to the guardians of the Sultans' graves, also one to Shams-ud-daula (Diler Jang) of Hyderabad who went to England to buy materials for a railway and get money for mining in Hyderabad—also a letter to Babu whose name A. R. did not remember. A letter came from Arur Singh at Calcutta to say he could not obtain an interview with the king of Oudh. A.R. said a great mistake had been made in not giving Arur Singh a letter from a school-fellow of 15 years of one of the sons of King of Oudh; this gentleman was also a mutual friend of Abdul Rasul.

Regarding the letter to Shams-ud-daula, A. R. said that the former had agreed to give some money but the son of Asman Jah (He probably means the son of Khurshid Jah who was in Europe. I don't think Asman Jah has a son. P. D. H.) being somewhat slighted in France and Turkey and the latter had resented the slight in this manner. The great fault lay in Arur Singh's dress (This means that he was dressed too well. A.R. recommended that he should go poorly dressed. P. D. H.) by which he

was spotted in Hyderabad. Shams-ud-daula was a friend of Maharaja in England and had promised him assistance. Dalip Singh was vexed at not getting any money from Hyderabad. Hearing that the Nizam had offered to give 60 lakhs to the British Government, he sent the telegram to the Nizam.

3. About the Babu, A. R. says that, when Thakur Singh was alive, he wrote a letter to the Maharaja telling him that he had without permission promised the Babu to appoint him a wazir and asked that this promise should be confirmed. The Babu, Thakur Singh said, wanted to go to Moscow to meet the Maharaja and bring with him Rs. 30,000. D.S. confirmed that Babu could get to Moscow. A. R. recommended that the Babu should come to Austria and D.P. should meet him there because no one could enter Russia without a passport and the Foreign Minister, who was opposed to D.S., would never permit the Babu to enter Russia. A. R. said that the Maharaja did not approve of his plan and wrote to the Russian Foreign Minister applying for a passport on behalf of a friend of his who was coming from India with some money for himself. A. R. said that the Foreign Minister replied that the Czar had given permission only for Dalip Singh himself to reside in Russia and this leave did not apply to other people, and that the Maharaja should be careful that no improper act should take place. A.R. said that Dalip Singh showed him this reply and expressed his regret that he had ever written.

4. A.R. said that the Czar would never help Dalip Singh because of the influence of the Foreign Minister. The Military officers are favourable to the Maharaja and have assured him that one day he will certainly receive aid from Russia, but the Foreign Minister would not consent and said that the Czar had aided the king of Bulgaria and the Amir of Kabul but the English had turned both against the Czar and no good result has been attained by aiding them. How then aid be given to Dalip? The Foreign Minister also said that his spies had travelled over India and ascertained beyond doubt that no one wanted Dalip Singh there and that D.S. could be of no use even if there is any intention of invading India.

A. R. said that Alikhanoff, Governor of Panjdeh, is very favourable to the Maharaja and had assured him of assistance.

5. A. R. said that some time ago on his advice it was the Maharaja's idea to go to India via Persia and plans were laid but the lady with the Maharaja has become a fetter to his feet; she refused to go herself and would not allow him to go alone. She was *enceinte*, and it was agreed her mother should be summoned from London and she has probably arrived by this time, when Dalip Singh gave out in Moscow that she was his Maharani, but when the news came of the Maharani's death in England, the secret came out and Dalip Singh fell into bad repute on account of this woman.

6. A. R. says that at his suggestion the Maharaja sent her photo and presents and letters to Constantinople ; the Maharaja's letter to Zobair Pasha, Ahmad Mukhtar Pasha and other nobles of Constantinople. The Maharaja's letter to Zobair Pasha mentioned that he now had given all hopes of his own countrymen and looked for aid only to God and Zobair and for such aid would be grateful for life.

I saw Zobair Pasha today and A. R. explained in Arabic that I am a fellow countrymen of the Maharaja. When I took leave Zobair said (in Arabic translated by A. R.) that being of the same complexion, he had a great regard for the people of Hindustan and was ready to assist the Maharaja with person, wealth and men ; he could not publish his plans but would do everything. He regretted that of the 50 crores of people in India nothing can be done against the English. He said that he always understood the Sikhs are brave but unfortunately had no hopes from them ; his own people though few in number but are ready to fight.

I represented that the Sikhs are unarmed but he replied this was the case of the Sudanese but they possessed themselves of the arms of the Englishmen. He told me to give *Salam* to the Raja of Faridkot and Bawa Khem Singh, and bid them to raise a revolt in the Punjab when he gave a signal by a hostile attack on the English.

A.R. told me afterwards that Zobair's plan is to close the Suez Canal and that until this is done, the English power in India cannot be shaken. The Sultan's ministers who are favourable to the English are not concerned in this plan but only some of them who are favourable to Russia and also to Dalip Singh. The plan will be carried out soon and and the Canal will be entirely closed.

A.R. says that Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha is favourable to Dalip Singh and has promised to aid him and induce other powers also to assist him.

7. A.R. said that he had sent the following message through Aziz-ud-din :

- (i) To induce people to send money to the Maharaja who is in great difficulties;
- (ii) To exhort the people of India to forget all differences and unite against the English;
- (iii) To send a trustworthy messenger to the Maharaja of Kashmir calling upon him to aid the movement, failing which he would be deprived of his kingdom.

Aziz-ud-din told A.R. (So the letter said) that the family of Thakur Singh have turned against the Maharaja and become spies of the British Government. A.R. had informed the Maharaja of this without giving the name of his informant, simply says that he is son of an old artillery officer

in Ranjit's army. Aziz also told A.R. that some money would soon come from India.

8. A.R. says that Sikander Khan, Governor of Herat, and Alikhanoff, Governor of Panjdeh, are favourable to the Maharaja owing to his (A.R.'s) influence. That the Maharaja had sent a letter to Sikander Khan through a friend of his, the Governor of Tiflis; the Maharaja had an intention of going to Tiflis to stay with this Governor, but the woman again interfered with his plans. He intended to communicate with India from there.

A.R. says that he has certain information that the first attack on India by the Russians will be made by way of Kashmir by the Russian force which is 60 miles from Gilgit.

544. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM A.S.

NO. 6.

DATED CAIRO, 24TH MAY, 1888.

Today I left Cairo and reached Suez on my way to India. I will now write that appears to be the result on my visit and will represent further in person.

1. Up to the present time, Dalip Singh has received no pecuniary aid from India. Whatever news of India he has received has come through Thakur Singh and his sons. For 16 months he has not been able to leave Moscow on account of the continually deferred hopes and promises held out by Gurbachan Singh and the Babu at Calcutta previously mentioned. He is now quite hopeless of aid from India and is angry with the Maharaja of Kashmir for not having created some disturbance. But he has still hopes from Bawa Khem Singh. I clearly ascertained from Abdul Rasul that Aziz-ud-din pretended entire ignorance of Bawa Khem Singh and that Abdul Rasul mentioned the Bawa of his own accord. Communications from Khem Singh did not reach the Maharaja via Pondicherry but reach him direct. Zobair Pasha knew of Khem Singh or else he would not have sent a message to Khem Singh through me. The state of things is not all what I heard in India. Except Bawa Khem Singh, no persons in India are in direct communication with Dalip Singh. Pondicherry is the medium for all others. Gurbachan Singh and his brothers are in great straits and 20 days ago the Maharaja wrote to A.R. that his cousin was dying of hunger at Pondicherry and begged him to arrange somehow £100 to be supplied to him. A.R. did nothing as Aziz-ud-din had made him doubt the honesty of Gurbachan Singh. Arur Singh first raised this doubt in Thakur Singh's lifetime saying that Thakur Singh had not left India for Maharaja's interests but on account of his debts and that if Government were to give him any money he would turn against

the Maharaja. Since then further doubt has been caused, because every messenger who left Pondicherry for India has been caught and because not a single promise had been fulfilled, Azid-ud-din increased his doubt.

I told A.R. that Sikhs are not in favour of Sindhanwalia family and consider that they caused the downfall of the Sikh Empire, that they have not been honest and they have no influence. Regarding Jamiat Rai, I said that the Sikhs consider him a traitor and hate him for his improper conduct.

2. A.R. is now the only person who influences Dalip Singh. A.R.'s plans are intrigues against the British Government in Constantinople and Egypt and to close the Suez Canal which he says will be done shortly. He declared that the French with Turkey and Sudanese will cause some trouble shortly. What he wants to do now with Dalip Singh is to send him some money and for this purpose is working Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha and Zobair Pasha. He calls himself the Private Secretary of Dalip Singh.

3. A.R. said that when he returns from Moscow, he will go with Dalip to Alikhanoff and then the action as regards the Suez will be taken. A great idea of his is to cause some trouble in Kashmir and get Dalip Singh there.

A.R. says that D.S. is much displeased with Kashmir. The Maharaja of Kashmir fears that if Dalip Singh becomes successful, his country will be taken away from him. On this point, many verbal assurances have been sent to Kashmir through Jamiat Rai, and the verbal replies brought back by the latter have been that Kashmir is a dependant of D.S. and that if he should appear will be ready to perform service, but is unable to take any step till then. Kashmir has been chosen on account of the difficulty of the country and the idea of going to Alikhanoff is to work the Russian Governor who is supposed to be near Gilgit.

Dalip has also an idea of going to Tiflis as the Governor of that place is a great friend of his. Something will be done in consultation with this Governor and Alikhanoff but the Maharaja will probably never go on account of his mistress.

4. A.R. promised me that if Bawa Khem Singh wishes to meet him, he will come to India simply to meet Bawa and Maharaja Holkar. He wants Khem Singh to come to Bombay but must have first Rs. 50 to pay his expenses. I promised to send the money if his presence in India is necessary.

5. I have stated in my different letters all I heard from A.R. without taking any heed of contradictions.

VISITS OF SIKHS TO MOSCOW VIA MASHED IN
SEACRH OF MAHARAJA DULEP SINGH545. FROM GENERAL MacLEAN VIA MASHED TO
FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 58

HASHTADAN,

TELEGRAM DATED 15TH JUNE, 1888.

It is reported from Mashed that Sikhs recently arrived there in search of Dalip Singh, forwarded letter to Moscow through Russian agent and afterwards left for Askabad. They said they had letters from Kashmir and Nepal. Informing a respectable merchant.

546. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*
(PRIVATE)

SIMLA,

JUNE 18TH, 1888

...

From the report of a secret Agent whom we sent to visit Abdul Rasul, a confidant of Dalip Singh's now living in Egypt, it seems as though the latter was beginning to understand the folly of his proceedings and that he might be inclined to submit himself to the English Government. The Agent's report will be sent to you in due course.

...

547. FROM FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA,
TO GENERAL MacLEAN, MASHED

TELEGRAM NO. 2636,

DATED 29TH JUNE, 1888.

Your telegram of 18th instant. Please endeavour to obtain further information regarding number, names and movements of Sikhs. If they return, inform us of their names, route and destination with view to their being intercepted if possible. The matter is important.

548 FROM GENERAL MacLEAN, HASHTADAN,
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

TELEGRAM NO. 63,

DATED 6TH JULY, 1888.

Sikhs being watched for. Owing to carelessness of Abbas Khan, information regarding them very meagre. According to other information,

*From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

party consisted of one Hindu, thin middle sized, with a short beard, about fifty years old, accompanied by an Indian Muhammdan interpreter and an Afghan Hindu calling himself Massu and interpreter. Some one of the party certainly went to Assisbad about the beginning June, another is said by Abbas Khan to have left for Khaf, but he has not turned up there and may have gone to Bander Abbas to India. Hindu living in Russian Agent's house for some days and dressed grandly indoors.

549. FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN,
HASHTADAN, TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 6.

TELEGRAM NO. 65,

DATED 9TH JULY, 1888.

My No. 63. The two Hindus traced to Askabad. One still there. When their mule-driver left, other had disappeared, having gone perhaps to Russia.

550. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

(PRIVATE)

SIMLA,

JULY 13TH, 1888.

Dalip Singh.

Desertions from
the 36th Sikh
Regiment.

Dalip Singh's
eldest son.

Nothing new about Dalip Singh has come to our notice in India though there have been some desertions from the 36th Sikhs Regiment, which our Intelligence Department is inclined to attribute to the influence of his agents. The Commander-in-Chief and the Punjab Government, on the contrary, do not agree in this opinion, and put the incident down to the score of caprice and other ordinary motives. Whata you say, however, about the mis-conduct of his son is very provoking, for there is no doubt that were this young gentleman to follow his father's example, it would add to our difficulties.

551. FROM HENRY F. PONSONBY TO LADY LOGIN**

OSBORNE,

JULY 27TH, 1888.

"It has been suggested to the Queen to ask whether you do not think that in the present state of affairs, the publication of these letters will scarcely do the good you hope for, but may more probably excite Prince Victor, who has promised to be less extravagant in future ?

*From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

***Lady Logins Recollections*, p. 267.

552. FROM BRIGADIER MacLEAN TO FOREIGN SECRETARY,
SIMLA

NO. 10.

TELEGRAM NO. 65,
DATED 28TH JULY, 1888.

My No. 65. One of the Sikhs is at Khaf. I am sending for him. Shall I send him to India by Herat if I catch him ?

553. FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN ON SPECIAL
DUTY, KHORASSAN FRONTIER, TO H.M. DURAND,
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
FOREIGN DEPTT.

NO. 11.

CAMP HASHTADAN,
1ST AUGUST, 1888.

In continuation of my telegram No. 77, dated the 29th of July, 1888, I have the honour to submit, for information of the Government of India, a copy of the correspondence which contains all the information available regarding the native of Hindustan who committed suicide at Khaf on the 28th ultimo.

2. Knowing the importance of tracing the movements of the Hindus who some time ago arrived in Mashed for the purpose of communicating with Dalip Singh I made arrangements with one of the most respectable of the Khaf Hindus to be on the look out for any of the party, who should turn in that city.

3. On the evening of the 27th July, I received a letter from Marwarid informing of the arrival of a native of Hindustan at his home and I immediately despatched my orderly, *Duffadar* Ramzan Ali Khan, to fetch him there, pending orders as to his disposal from India.

4. The man apparently suspected the *duffadar's* errand, and to prevent his falling alive into his hands, committed suicide, apparently with opium, which he must have kept secret about his person for such an emergency. The *duffadar* had thus, unfortunately, no opportunity of conversing with the deceased or of learning anything of his history from himself.

5. It will be seen from Marwarid's letter dated 27th July, that the man stated he came from either the Gurdaspur or Kartarpur district and that his village was Dera Sahib. He also told the Hindus he was a *bhishti*.

6. The deceased appeared to me more like a down country Muhammadan such as may seem about Dinapur or Patna than a native of the Punjab. It is just possible that he may have been an emissary from the Hindustani colony of fanatics, north of the Yusafzai border or he

must have committed some very serious offence in India, which so terrified him with the prospect of falling into the hands of the British officials as to cause him to commit suicide. Or he may have been the bearer of a letter from people in India to the Russian Agent in Mashed, but in that case he would hardly have been allowed to wander about Persia, in the destitute condition in which he was when he made his appearance at the Hindu's house at Khaf.

7. I am not at all satisfied that he had any connection with the Hindus whose movements have already been reported, although he certainly said he was desirous of joining Dalip Singh. I hope, before long, to be able to learn further particulars from the Hindu Fakir who accompanied him from Kirman to Turbet-i-Haideri, on his return from Herat.

554. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM MALIK MARWARID
TO GENERAL MacLEAN, 27th July, 1888

Enclosures

A.

After compliments:—Sometime back you wrote to say that a person has come from the Punjab to Mashed and, should he turn up at Khaf, to let you know.

On the 12th *Zikada* (21st July, 1888) that person came to Khaf. I brought him to my room, but in Indian languages he said that he has come from the Punjab. I asked him where his home was? He said in the town of Dera Sahib. I asked him by what route he had come and by what stages. He said he did not come by the sea but had travelled by an out of the way route of Quetta, thence to Mastuj, Mushki Kandesh, Same, Sanghan, Buzhina, Samapur, Tarkasar, Bahbah, Kirman, Bemah, Takpuchta, Turbat-i-Isa Khan and Mashed. In Mashed he stayed one month and then he came on slowly to Khaf.

I asked him where he was going now and he said he was going to Bokhara in Russia. I asked him his object in going there. He said that the son of Ranjit Singh, Dalip Singh, had been a prisoner in London with the English but that two years ago he had escaped to Russia and that he was going to join him in Russia.

Then he asked me to show him some out-of-the-way route to Bokhara, by which the Englishmen would not see him. I asked why he was afraid and he said that he has made his escape from India and has come all the way by out-of-the-way route so that he might not be seen.

Now send me an active *Sowar* who knows Hindustani, that I may speak to this man (the Indian) while the *Sowar* secretly listens. If it is

necessary that he should be taken to Hashtadan, send another *Sowar* also to take him away.

I am entertaining him well during these few days. He is now ill.

I did not report before (in the last five or six days), thinking that he might have a friend who would turn up.

Now let me know what you think advisable to be done.

He says it is eight months that he left his country.

555. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM BRIGADIER C.S. MacLEAN TO MALIK MARWARID, dated the 27th July, 1888.

B.

After compliments. Your letter has been received about the Hindu. I now send Ramzan Ali Khan to Khaf that you may give the man into his charge to bring him here to me.

556. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM MALIK MARWARID TO BRIGADIER GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN, dated 28th July, 1888.

C.

After compliments :—I recieved your letter by Ramzan Ali Khan. That Hindustani man told me yesterday that he had been robbed of his things on the other side of Kirman by an Afghan friend of his, who had run away and disappeared. When your letter came today, the man apparently became suspicious and told me not to show him to Ramzan Ali Khan. I told him he was on a march out and was going to Bokhara and that I was going Bokhara and that I was going to entrust him to Ramzan Ali Khan's charge who would take him.

He kissed my feet and hands and begged me not to show him to the *Duffadar* and then I made his mind easy. After an hour he asked for water and drank it. He was then quite well. Little by little I saw that he was ill and would not give clear answers to my questions. I poured water with salt and as a fact tried into his mouth, in case he might have taken something, but with no effect. Then I thought he was feigning illness to effect his escape, so I took him upstairs but every moment he became worse. After night-fall I saw blood forthcoming out of his mouth and nose. He brought up froth three times. Then I knew he had taken opium. I could not cure him and then he died. In that condition his corpse was taken to you. If he had been alive, it would have been better. He was frightened and caused affliction to his own life and ate opium. I made great efforts in this business but God's will was otherwise.

557. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN TO MALIK MARWARID, KHAF, dated 30th July, 1888.

After compliments : I have received your letter of the 28th July, informing me of Duffadar Ramzan Ali Khan's arrival at your house and of the supposed Hindu having poisoned himself with opium. The man's body arrived here safely and was shown to the Doctor yesterday morning.

I now write to inform you that when the Hindu, who accompanied the deceased from Kirman to Turbut-i-Haideri, returns from Herat, you should question him on the following points or send him to me in order that I may question him myself.

1st. What account did the deceased give to him of himself and of the reason why he left India and came to Persia.

2nd. What part of India he said he had come from and of what amount of money, and of what other articles he was robbed by the Afghan who accompanied him from Quetta.

3rd. What was the name of this Pathan and what was his appearance. When did he first join the deceased and is it known where he now is.

4th. Did the deceased state he had any letters in his possession, if so for whom were they and what became of them ?

558. STATEMENT OF DAFFADAR RAMZAN ALI KHAN
Q. O. CORPS OF GUIDES, ORDERLY OF BRIGADIER
GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN the 28th July, 1888.

E

I was sent to Khaf by Brigadier General MacLean to bring the deceased to him and if possible to find out all about him quietly. I left Kahabad on the night of the 27th July. I sent the guide in advance to Malik Marwarid's house to ask him where I was to put up. Malik Marwarid came to his door and told me to enter his premises as many people were in the habit of coming to his house and he would say I was a merchant, so as not to excite the deceased's suspicions.

I asked Malik Marwarid what sort of looking man the deceased was ; if he was a Sikh or not. He replied that he was a puny looking Hindustani who was very anxious to remain concealed as he feared to fall into the hands of the English and was desirous of escaping to the Russian territory. Dr. Woolbert says "muscular and well nourished". He said that he desired to go to take service with Dalip Singh as he could no longer remain in India, Persia or Afghanistan as in all these countries there were

English agents. When asked why he was so frightened he told Malik Marwarid that if the English once saw him, they would seize him at once. He was desirous of obtaining service in some great man's house where he might remain concealed and not have to go out to the bazaar. He was also afraid of the Herat authorities recognising a bearing of him as the English had agents there. I learned all this from Malik Marwarid while sitting in his upper room. The deceased was below in an out-house used for storing hay, where he was concealed and I had not seen him up to this time. I told Malik Marwarid, went down to the deceased's room and in about a quarter of an hour returned and said that the deceased begged not to be made over to me as he was much afraid of Pathans who had already deceived and robbed him of all that he had.

I again sent Malik Marwarid to him to bring him up, so that I might cease his fears and talk to him. Malik Marwarid returned to say that the deceased was asleep. Not feeling satisfied and fearing lest the deceased was deceiving and is preparing to escape, I again sent Malik Marwarid to bring him up. Malik Marwarid returned and told me that he found the man lying crouched up in his *numdah*, with his limbs stiffed and contorted and froth and saliva coming from his mouth. I then myself went down and with the assistance of some other Hindus who were in Marwarid's house brought the deceased outside. Some of the people said that a *Jin* had taken possession of him, others said that he was shamming and some said that he had taken opium. Hot water and salt were given to him to cause vomiting, but he resolutely kept his mouth closed and our efforts to make him swallow the emetic were unavailing. We tried pepper and asafoetida also but failed to administer them. We continued our efforts from about 9 A.M. till about 6 P. M., when his body became very warm and he seemed to be in a fever. We then carried him into an upper room and placed him on a ramie, with a postin over him in hopes that he would perspire. His limbs, which up till then had been rigid, became relaxed. I was then preparing to send notice of the man's state to General MacLean by a special messenger and to say that he was too weak to be brought on horse back and that I was thinking of bringing him in a *Kajawa*. This was about 7 P. m. A man was stationed near the deceased with a light, who was ordered to give him soup to keep up his strength. Half an hour had not elapsed when the watcher ran to tell me that there was a rattle in the man's throat and that blood and froth was issuing from his mouth. I went at once to see him with the other people and found that blood and froth were issuing from the deceased's mouth and in about a quarter of an hour life was extinct. When he was dead, I prepared to return and putting the body in a *namdah*, I carried it to General MacLean's camp where I arrived about 9 a.m. on the 29th July, 1888. The body was then shown to General MacLean and the Nawab. Dr. Woolbert was sent for to examine the body which during

the course of the day was buried. The Hindus informed me that a Kirman Hindu had travelled with the deceased as far as Turbat-i-Haidri. The deceased had gone on to Mashad from Turbat and the Hindu came to Khaf and thence went to Herat. The Hindu was a fakir, who travels about Persia and is well known to the Khaf Hindus. The deceased had informed the Hindu fakir that he had been robbed on the journey to Persia by his companion, an Afghan, of all his money and property. The Kirman Hindus collected thirty rupees amongst them and they gave the amount to him in charity. The deceased informed the Hindus that he had gone to *Mashed*, had remained there a month in concealment and then had come to Khaf in hopes that he might find an opportunity of escaping from thence to Russian territory. When he first arrived in Khaf, he was clothed in rags and was first found in Malik Marwarid's garden eating mulberries. Malik Marwarid remembering that he had been written to by General MacLean about the Hindu, who had lately appeared in Mashed, took him into house and immediately reported the circumstances to General MacLean. If he had merely committed theft, he would not have been so frightened as he was. He must in my opinion have committed a murder and, perhaps, the Pathan, who accompanied him from Quetta was an accomplice. He was robbed, he said, at a stage from Kirman, while absent in the bazaar for the purchase of food. He also told the Khaf Hindus that he was a *Bhishti*, his name Moti and his house either at Gurdaspur or Kartarpur. This is all I know about the case.

This evidence given in my presence on mornig of 30th July, 1888.

Camp Hashtadan
1st August, 1888.

C. S. MacLean,
Brigadier General

559. EXTERNAL EXAMINATION OF THE BODY OF A MALE, NATIVE OF INDIA, SAID TO BE A PUNJABEE, NAMED MOTI

F.

NO. 17.

KOHABAD, KHORASSAN, JULY 29TH, 1888, 9 A.M.

Weather cool. Deceased said to have been dead twelve hours. Body cold "Rigor Mortis" marked, hands being firmly clenched.

Commencing signs of decomposition on back and flanks. Abdomen somewhat distended with gas.

Height five feet four inches. Age apparently forty or forty five years. Body muscular and well nourished. Hair black, turning grey abundant, unshaven, moustache and full beard. Features well formed. Face livid, mouth, eyes and ears normal. Bloody and frothy mucus about nose and mouth. A circular puckered sear (small poinoculation mark) on back of left hand, rather to the inner side, about the size of a shilling. No other

distinctive mark. Deceased had been circumcised imperfectly, sphincter and relaxed. No signs of external violence. There being no instruments, an internal examination was not conducted.

2. History from the statements of *Duffadar* Ramzan Ali Khan in attendance, it appears that deceased was quite well thirteen hours before death, after which he lost into a somnolent state, with suffusion of the eyes. This state passed rapidly into stupor and ultimately into coma, with blowing respiration, the breath smelling strongly of opium. It was found impossible to rouse him and after having several convulsions he died. There was no vomiting or diarrhoea.

No opium or other poison was found about him before or after death.

There was nothing revealed in the external examination of the body to negative the diagnosis of the death by opium poisoning.

Kohabad,
July 29th, 1888.

H. R. Wooler, M.D.,
Medical Officer, Mashed.

560. FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN, MASHED TO
FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

G.

TELEGRAM DATED 1ST AUGUST, 1888.

No. 77.

Hastadan, 29th July.

The body of a supposed Sikh was brought there from Khaf today. He saw my man and fearing capture killed himself with opium. He was a short dark man with a little grey beard and hair, about 40 years old, called himself Moti, and said he was from either Gurdaspur or Kartarpur. He was Muhammadan and a *bhishti* by trade. He said he came to Persia by Quetta, Nushki and Kirman with an Afghan who robbed him. He remained one month at Mashed concealed. Was much afraid of falling into the hands of the English and wanted to join Dalip Singh. He may have carried letter. Nothing positive known about his companion from Kirman. Deceased had appearance of a Patna Muhammadan.

561. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT
COLONEL ATA-ULA KHAN SARDAR BHADUR, BRITISH
AGENT AT PAGHMAN, 3rd August, 1888.

After compliments :—

I have received and understood the contents of your letter of 23rd July, 1888, making enquiries regarding an Afghan Hindu named Massu who has been at Askabad. I made enquiries, as desired, in the town of

Kabul as to whether there was a man named Massu and about his antecedents. It appears that there is no man called Massu in Kabul amongst the Hindus of the place but that there is a Hindu whose name is Besu and who came here from Bokhara and Smarkand a year ago. He now goes by the name of Nanak and keeps a shop. I have written what I have come to know of him. Please communicate to the Secretary in the above manner.

562. FROM SIR P.W. CURRIE, UNDER-SECRETARY OF
STATE, INDIA OFFICE

NO. 44.

FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON,
23RD AUGUST, 1888.

With reference to your previous correspondence, I am directed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to transmit to you to be laid before the Secretary of State for India, copy of an extract of Mr. Hardinge's report relating to Dalip Singh's proceedings in Russia.

A

563. EXTRACT FROM MR. A. HARDINGE'S REPORT
dated the 29th July, 1888.

Another person of whom I heard something at Kieff was Dalip Singh. He is living at a villa near Bojarka about 13 miles southwest of Kieff and within the last six weeks has been twice officially visited there by General Dtenteln.

The English girl with whom he lives, and who last winter had a child by him, is apparently recognised as his wife and he himself is known in Kieff as the 'Indian Prince'. He has a Russian German somewhat vaguely attached to him as a kind of Secretary, interpreter and general factotum and his financial affairs would appear to have improved.

I may add while on this subject that one of my Pan Slavist acquaintances, a Russian official, who has seen Jamal-ud-din during his visit to this country, seemed much impressed by the prospect which that imposter had held out of a general rising in India, whenever the Russians chose to give the signal.

Note :—Since writing the above, I have learnt that Jamal-ud-din is still in St. Petersburg.

He was seen the other day dining at a restaurant there with General Annenkoff.

B

564. EXTRACT FROM HYDERABAD SPECIAL BRANCH
ABSTRACTS OF INTELLIGENCE
dated the 22nd September, 1888.

1. One Karam Singh alias Jiwan Singh, by caste a Khatri, supposed to belong to the Rawalpindi district, has arrived at Hyderabad and is putting up at the Nirbaid Akara, a *Serai* near the old bridge. This individual belongs to the Pondicherry Sikhs and was with Sardar Gurbachan Singh, the late Sardar Thakur Singh's son. He is 30 years of age, slightly pitted with small pox, fair, straight nose and about 5 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 10 inches in height. He proposes going first to the Nanded *Gurdwara* and thence to Jammu. He had some little time back £500, £300 of which he spent. On his way here he was dragged in railway train and relieved of the remaining £200. He leaves this very shortly. His movements are being watched.

2. Partab Singh *Giani*, a Sikh, said to have been arrested in connection with the Sikh movement, and who escaped from custody at Amritsar, is reported to have left Nanded and to be on his way to Hyderabad.

3. Nanu Singh, the Pujari at the Nanded *Gurdwara*, is reported to have sent two men, one Narain Singh of the Patiala State and the other a pensioned trooper of the first cavalry, Hyderabad contingent, of which Sadhu Singh, Sikh, was the Rissaldar Major, to the Punjab. They were away for some months and returned to Nanded about four months ago. One of these two men has returned to Nanded. He passes under the name of Atter Singh which is supposed to be a false name. The other man's name is not known. He is now at Pondicherry.

4. Sham Singh, the late *Mohamim* of the Nanded *Gurdwara*, is a great friend of Nanu Singh and they used to have long conversation in private. Colonel Ludlow is personally acquainted with Sham Singh and he believes him to be a very dangerous character. Sham Singh is in correspondence with the Pondicherry Sikhs. Sham Singh neither receives letters from Dalip Singh nor does he address him by letters, but messages pass between them through the Pondicherry Sikhs.

565. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON
TO THE RESIDENT, HYDERABAD

NO. 85.

TELEGRAM DATED 3RD OCTOBER, 1888.

Your abstract 22nd ultimo. Foreign Secretary considers arrest of man named in paragraph 2 very important. The same of man mentioned in paragraph 1 either before or after going Nanded as you think proper.

Very important to secure papers. Please wire result when any. More by post. Following is description of man mentioned in paragraph 2. Age 30, average height and built ; light complexion; black eyes; abundant dark hair; beard turned upwards to ears; talks fast; habits active; if possible make certain of both men.

566. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO A.P. HOWELL
(Demi-official)

NO. 86.

SIMLA,
3RD OCTOBER, 1888.

Your abstract for week ending 22nd September contains some very curious information. With regard to the man mentioned in paragraph 2, I wired today by orders of the Foreign Secretary that his arrest is important and sent a personal description such as is available. This man has been a prominent mover in the Sikh movements in favour of Dalip Singh and escaped last February from Lahore. No trace of him has been heard of up to this time, the idea was that he had gone to Kashmir and would eventually try to join Dalip Singh through Central Asia. But he is very likely to have made for Nanded, with the view of joining the Pondicherry people.

If Ludlow's information had not been so good hitherto, one would be inclined to doubt the story about the man mentioned in paragraph 1, who is represented as having had so large a sum as £500. Uptill quite recently the Pondicherry Sardars have, I know, been almost destitute, but a few days ago the *Civil and Millitary Gazette* had a telegram, reporting their presence at a reception given by the French Governor, who hitherto had neglected them. The news from home about Dalip Singh shows that he has been taken up lately by the Panslavist party and it is possible that they have been supplying him with money. But why the Pondicherry Sardars should send a man with £ 500 to Jammu is most unintelligible. If the large sum of money with which he is entrusted is any indication, his mission must be of some importance and he would probably be provided with papers of some sort. It will be easier to arrest him at Hyderabad than in British territory and probably it will be better to wait till he has visited Nander whence he may get some further papers to take on, as there seems to be a correspondence between Punjab and Pondicherry via that place. But this the Foreign Secretary leaves to you entirely.

The really important thing is to get hold of his papers and find out with whom he is in correspondence. We know that Karam Singh alias Jiwan Singh was in Pondicherry and that he was in the confidence of

the Sikh Sardar there. His arrest will probably lead to useful results.

When he is arrested, will you be good enough to telegraph to me in cypher telling me what papers are found on him and whether he is likely to give any information? I would go down to Hyderabad at once, for it looks very much as if a fresh movement is on foot.

I send here with a fuller description than that contained in the telegram of Partab Singh *Giani*, the escaped prisoner. He may of course be disguised. P.S. It may of course be as well not to arrest Karam Singh until you can make sure of Partab Singh also, in case of alarming the latter.

A.

Description of Partab Singh *Giani* supplied by Punjab Special Branch.

"Light complexion, black eyes; small beard and whiskers, wears the *Kes* long hair after the Sikh fashion; average height and built, age about 30 years; is a good Punjabi scholar and a fair poet; knows a little Urdu and English; talks fast; is of active habits; has a plausible manner; is an adept at disguise and a good mimic. Is likely to set up as a *Granthi* wherever there be any Sikhs. Description by Partab Singh's mother:

"A short lean man, with light complexion, hair in abundance but not turning grey; wears his beared turned upwards on each side of the cheeks curled up to the ears; has no marks; age 30 years.

567. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO COL. TUPPER

NO. 88.

SIMLA,
3RD OCTOBER, 1888.

I am requested by the Foreign Secretary to send you, for information, an extract from the Hyderabad Special Branch Abstract, dated 22nd ultimo, regarding Dalip Singh propaganda. You will see that Partab Singh *Giani*, the man who escaped from Lahore, is reported to be on his way from Nander to Hyderabad. Orders have been sent to have him arrested, if he turns up there.

About Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh we know from the confessions recorded by Aziz-ud-din in January last, and from other sources that this man was in Pondicherry and deep in the confidence of Sardar Gurbachan Singh. Orders have been issued for his arrest also, and some light may be thrown on his mission and the fact of his being in possession of so large a sum as £500.

Of Nanu Singh *Pujari* of Abchal Nagar (Nander), you will find some mention in the memorandum about the restoration of the *Khalsa Raj* sent to you under my docket No. 712, dated 7th September last. Your Karnal report of the 19th May last mentioned him as being in

communication with Dalip Singh and inducing the Sikhs to join the Maharaja. And another Karnal report of the 14th July mentions him as assisting the Maharaja of Jhalawar and Shahzada Shahdeo Singh in their endeavours to help Dalip Singh.

This independent account mentions, you will see, Nanu Singh as being, and on the other side with the Sardars, at Pondicherry—the latter apparently after return of his messengers to the Punjab.

About Sham Singh, the Hyderabad Special Branch reported on the 30th June that a Sardar Sham Singh of Raja Sansi had returned from Europe where he had met Dalip Singh. He was, it was said, formerly with Bawa Khem Singh. Your Special Branch was informed, but could not trace any such man. They told us later that a wandering Kuka named Bhai Gurditta Rababi, who had just returned from Hyderabad, stated that he met there a man who gave himself out to be a Sardar Sham Singh, but he knew no particulars about him.

There seems to be some sort of a fresh movement going on in favour of Dalip Singh and I hope we shall get to the bottom of it. In the meantime, the Foreign Secretary desires me to suggest that a careful watch should be kept in the Punjab for any indication of such a movement.

568. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO THE RESIDENT,
HYDERABAD

NO. 89.

TELEGRAM DATED 9TH OCTOBER, 1888.

My telegram and letter 3rd. Independent information has been received of man answering description of Jiwan Singh having been to Moscow and returned to India with important papers. Please wire for Foreign Secretary's information what measures being taken.

569. FROM RESIDENT, BOLARAM, TO THUGGEE, SIMLA

TELEGRAM DATED 9TH OCTOBER, 1880.

Your telegram and letter third. Every hope securing men after visit, but please send warrants under the regulation to validate detention if taken out of native state.

570. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO A.P. HOWELL
(Demi-official)

NO. 90.

SIMLA.

9TH OCTOBER, 1888.

In continuation of my letter of the 3rd instant, I sent you a cypher

telegram today about Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh. I received a letter this morning from a trusty Sikh Sardar in the Punjab, telling me that a Sikh agent has come back from Dalip Singh with messages and papers and is travelling somewhere between Patna and Nander. His personal description is as follows: Age about 35; tall and well proportioned, olive coloured, slightly marked with small pox, thin nose, small eyes, beard twisted up after the Sikh fashion. This description tallies remarkably with that of Jiwan Singh given in your S.B. Abstract of the 2nd September, 1888. And if the man has been to Moscow, this would account for his being in possession of a large sum of English money.

My informant does not know what name the man, that he alluded to, passes under, though he has been able to get the above description. The man is said not to keep himself the important papers of which he is the bearer but no information is given as to who has the custody of these papers.

I hope you will succeed in bagging the man and his papers, and so enabling us to get to the bottom of this new movement. When Dalip Singh moved from Moscow to Kieff, I was perfectly certain that some new game was on.

571. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO A.P. HOWELL
(Demi-Official)

NO. 93.

SIMLA,
13TH OCTOBER, 1888.

In continuation of previous letters regarding the Sikh emissary, Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh. I think it worthwhile to give the following information which he gave regarding himself to a person at Hyderabad from whom my Punjab informant heard it. There is no doubt that it refers to the same man whom you have under observation. If he is arrested, it may be useful to the officer who examines the man to show that he knows something about him.

Jiwan Singh said that he went to Russia to see Dalip Singh. On arrival he was arrested by the Russian authorities, but was released in a few days after Dalip Singh had communicated with. This occurred at Kieff. He went to Moscow where Dalip Singh is living. The Maharaja lives in a fine house guarded by Russian sentries. He does not receive money from the Russian government, but from some bank which supplies him with funds. Two Sikhs and one one-eyed Muhammadan are with Dalip Singh. The Maharaja intends to move to Merv in November.

Jiwan Singh left Dalip Singh about three months ago and has been to Pondicherry where he saw Sardar Gurbachan Singh. He intends going first to Nander and then to Mian Mir. Is afraid of going to Lahore

where he will be recognised but will go over there after dark from Mian Mir. He then intends proceeding to Jammu with letters. He has sent on all papers ahead of him under registered covers, so that if arrested, nothing compromising may be found on him. Says that there are many supporters of Dalip Singh at Lahore. There are two or three other men employed on the same work as himself but he does not know where they are.

Jiwan Singh went to England with the late Thakur Singh, who, says he, was poisoned by the English. Sardar Gurbachan Singh is surrounded by English spies at Pondicherry and is obliged to be very cautious in his actions as regards despatch of emissaries to India, etc. Three emissaries have been caught and imprisoned at Allahabad.

If it is true that Jiwan Singh has sent on all his papers by registered covers and has nothing compromising with him, it is rather unfortunate, but will no doubt get accurate information on the subject. Should you think it advisable to let the man go on to the Punjab in order to make certain of securing him with papers, I can arrange to have him taken care of, if only I can get sufficient warning to enable one of my men to meet him on this side of Lahore. If time will admit, I can make straight for Hyderabad to convey plans on receipt of a telegram from you after you receive this letter. The important thing is, of course, not so much to secure the man himself as to find out with whom he is in communication in the Punjab.

572. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO A.P. HOWELL,
RESIDENT, HYDERABAD DECCAN
(Demi-Official)

NO. 94.

SIMLA,

15TH OCTOBER, 1888.

With reference to your telegram of the 9th and my reply of the following day, I am requested to send you warrants for the detention of the two Sikhs at Allahabad, but am to ask that the men should not be despatched without further reference to the special Branch of Foreign Office.

A

Warrant dated Simla October 1888, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh shall be placed under personal restraint at Allahabad, you are hereby

required and commanded in pursuance of that determination to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

On the death or release of Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh or when this warrant otherwise ceases to be operative, this warrant is to be returned to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, with a memorandum endorsed thereon to explain the reasons of its return.

It is further ordered that the special orders of the Governor-General in Council regarding this warrant be asked on the first day of January in each year, in the event of this warrant not having been returned to this office before the above date.

Sd. H.M. Durand,
Secretary to the Government of India,
in the Foreign Department

ii

NO. 96.

WARRANT DATED SIMLA, OCTOBER 1888.

Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department issued another warrant for the arrest of Partab Singh *Giani*.

573. FROM THE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT THUGGEE,
SIMLA, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE BOMBAY
GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

NO. 97.

TELEGRAM DATED 20TH OCTOBER, 1888.

Can you accommodate in Asirgarh fort at once two state prisoners ? One or two rooms for each sufficient. Should be separated. Please reply for information of Foreign Secretary.

574. FROM THE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT THUGGEE
AND DACOITY SPECIAL BRNACH TO THE POLITICAL
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
MAHABLESHWAR

NO. 102

TELEGRAM DATED 24TH OCTOBER, 1888.

Your telegram 23rd. Foreign desires me say that two state prisoners may be sent very shortly for detention in Asirgarh Fort under instructions from Resident Hyderabad. Please instruct commandant to be ready to receive and confine them separately whenever sent.

575. FROM D. McCracken to A.P. HOWELL
(Demi-official)

NO. 103.

24TH OCTOBER, 1888.

In Colonel Henderson's absence on tour I telegraphed to you today, under Mr. Durand's instructions, to let you know that there is no accommodation for state prisoners at Allahabad, but that arrangements have been made with the Bombay Government for detention in Asirgarh Fort.

I also asked you to instruct the Deputy Commissioner at Akola accordingly and to inform the Bombay Government whenever the prisoners may be sent to Asirgarh.

I am also desired by the Foreign Secretary to send you the enclosed fresh warrants under Regulation III of 1818 for the detention of Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh and Partab Singh *Giani* at Asirgarh and to say that when arrested, it is considered advisable that these men should be sent away sharp from Akola (which is too close to Nander) to Asirgarh. If their destination can be unknown so much the better.

I am also to request you to be so good as to send me back the original warrants addressed to the commandant of Fort Allahabad for return to the Foreign Department.

576. FROM D. McCracken to W. LEE WARNER*
(Demi-official)

24TH OCTOBER, 1888.

Colonel Henderson telegraphed to you on the 20th instant to ask if you could arrange to accommodate two state prisoners and confine them separately in Asirgarh fort.

You replied yesterday that the Commandant could arrange for the new arrivals. As Colonel Henderson left meanwhile on tour, Mr. Durand desired me to write to you today and say that two state prisoners might be expected to be sent shortly for detention at Asirgarh and to ask you, with the permission of the Bombay Government, to be good enough to instruct the Commandant to receive them whenever sent.

I am to say for the information of His Excellency the Governor that the men in question are two adherents of Maharaja Dalip Singh named Jiwan Singh, alias Karam Singh and Partab Singh, *Granthi*, respectively whose arrest under Regulation III of 1818 has been determined on. They are said to be on their way to the Sikh shrine at Nander and the

* Foreign Political, May 1889, No. 106

Resident of Hyderabad is arranging to arrest them on their way back to Akola. Mr. Howell has been told to instruct the Deputy Commissioner of Akola to send these men directly after their arrest to Asirgarh, as Akola is too near to Nander and to inform you. If their destination can remain unknown so much the better.

577. FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

SIMLA,

NOVEMBER 4TH, 1888.

My dear Lord Cross,

Until Your telegram arrived this morning, I had not heard Dalip Singh's rumoured return to Paris, but I suppose we shall learn more of the matter in due course.

578. FROM GENERAL MacLEAN, MASHED,
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA, NO. 106.

NO. 18.

TELEGRAM DATED 7TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

Three Hindustanis arrived at Mashed last month, were lodged very secretly by Russian Agent and sent to Askabad with two cossacks.

They started for Moscow 30th October. Special Agent, who watched and accompanied them to Kuchran, gleaned following information. Their names are Maha Singh, Sawal Singh and Wadu Singh. The first is a Sikh of importance, tall and stout, between forty and fifty years old, long black beard partly twisted with moustaches behind ears in one with small plain ear rings. Second, tall and slender, age about thirtyfive, short beard and hair, servant to first. Third, with short hair and longish beard, age about thirtyfive.

They gave out they had come from Gilgit by Wazirabad, Ferozepur, Dera Ismail Khan and Las-Beyala, thence by sea to Chababar, then to Kirman.

Their correspondence goes through Mohammed Shah and Saifudin, merchants, Amritsar. Their agent at Bander Abbas is Gulab and at Kirman Marwarid. Both Hindustanis. They are carrying letters and presents from friends in India to Dalip Singh and probably return by Bokhara. Maha Singh selected for his thorough acquaintance with routes from Samarkand and Eastern Turkistan to Kashmir and Nepal.

579. FROM SIR R. MORIER TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY
NO. 51.

I have the honour to report that the *Kiers Koe Slovo*, a Russian

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

newspeper, published in Kieff, states that the Maharaja Dalip Singh left Kieff for Odessa on the 10th—22nd instant.

580. MEMORANDUM ON JIWAN SINGH ALIAS KARAM SINGH, A SUPPOSED EMISSARY OF DALIP SINGH AT HYDERABAD*

Forwarded by the Viceroy's Private Secretary (in his letter dated November 12, 88.)

With the mail of October 19th was sent home a letter from Colonel Henderson, General Superintendent of Operations for the Suppression of Thagi and Dakaiti, regarding one Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh, said to have been with the Sikh Sardars at Pondicherry, and to have arrived at Hyderabad enroute for Nander (a Sikh colony in the Hyderabad state) and Jammu. The man was said to have recently been in possession of £500, £300 of which he had spent, while the rest had been stolen. Colonel Henderson hinted at the possibility of this man being an emissary of Dalip Singh who had arrived from Russia. Further inquiry has cast doubts on the truth of this report. It appears that neither Dalip Singh nor the Pondicherry Sardars are just now actively engaged in mischief. Dalip Singh is reported not to have recieved pecuniary assistance from India, and has not got much out of the Russians except vague encouragement. He is believed to be living on the proceeds of the sale of his jewellery, and the funds of the people at Pondicherry are also at a very low ebb. They would, therefore, not have been able to afford to send Jiwan Singh to Russia, and if he had returned with £500, they would have got some of it, which, from the fact of their being in good straits, seems impossible. Jiwan Singh was with the Pondicherry people for a time, and was, it is believed, cognizant of Dalip Singh's intrigues. He is reported to be a very clever fellow, but extravagant and given to drink, and he may have invented his story to raise funds in order to pay his way back to Punjab or for some similar purpose.

581. FROM E.J. STEPHENSON TO COLONEL E.S. LUDLOW
(Demi official)

NO. 121.

AKOLA,

12TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

I have been putting off writing to you from day to day in the hope

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

of being able to telegraph some good news to you, but as I find a delay of another few days will take place, I write to inform you that our friend is now at Hingoli on his way here and is only detained on account of there being no room in the mail *tonga*, the late rains having caused a rush of passengers. I have written and telegraphed to the mail contractor at Hingoli, who is an old friend of mine, to try his best to get the party off as soon as possible even by special *tonga*, so I hope everything will go well by the day after tomorrow. I have spent an anxious time of it here and am still very uneasy in mind.

582. FROM GENERAL MacLEAN TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIMLA

NO. 108. TELEGRAM NO. 108, DATED 14TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

Your telegram 12th November. Names given were Maha Singh, Sawal Singh, and Wadu Singh. Last sentence was "Maha Singh selected from his thorough acquaintance with routes from Samarkand and Eastern Turkistan to Kashmir and Nepal."

583. FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON,
TO THE VICEROY, CAMP

NO. 47. TELEGRAM DATED 14TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

Your secret telegram of 12th November. Dalip Singh left Kieff 10th of October, arrived at Paris 3rd of November; intends to sell Jewellery and remain some months in Paris.

584. FROM E.J. STEPHENSON TO COLONEL E.S. LUDLOW
(Demi-official)

NO. 122. AKOLA,
16TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

I have just returned from Bassin. The person or rather persons (as I arrested a *Sadhu*, named Narain Dass, whom I found with our friend, this the same *Sadhu* who was with him at Hyderabad) will arrive here tomorrow, when I shall try and see the Deputy Commissioner and arrange about them.

The *Ressaldar's* name is Sadhu Singh. He belongs to first H.C. Cavalry now posted at Hingoli. Our friend Karam Singh put up while at Hingoli with *Ressaldar* at his house, so did Narain Dass the *Sadhu*, I have arrested. I was watched while I was at Hingoli by a *Sowar* (a Sikh) of the same regiment, and on my arrival here this morning, my

people tell me that a *Sowar* of the same regiment of which Sadhu Singh is Rissaldar came to the bungalow and was making particular enquiries regarding myself. He wanted to know who I was, where I came from and where I was going to, etc. Of course he got very little out of my people. This *Sowar's* name is Hira Singh. He said he was on seven day's leave. He has returned to Hingoli.

Another fact worthy of note is that Shadhu Singh Rissaldar is related to one of our Rissaldars, the old man, of whom I often suspected. We will have to look after Sukhet Singh as he will be polished off; he is worth much to us at present and we cannot afford to lose him. I have not had the time to push Karam Singh, but If I was left to work him, I could get him to confess I am sure.

I have got the name of the agent at Madras who receives the correspondence, etc., of the D.S.'s agents.

I have a lot to say, but feel too done up for want of sleep to say more and am afraid of this not reaching you.

585. FROM E.J. STEPHENSON TO COLONEL E.S. LUDLOW
(Demi-official)

NO. 123.

AKOLA,

19TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

I have received both your registered letters dated the 5th and the 13th November and herewith return the enclosures received with them. Jiwan Singh is all safe at Akola; I arrested a *Sadhu* I found with him. This is the same man who was with him at Hyderabad and have very little doubt that he is an agent of his.

I went to see Jiwan Singh (the prisoner) this morning. He made a half confession and says that, if Government wish, he will give every information required. Confesses to have been at Pondicherry and to have seen Sardar Thakur Singh's sons; he gives other useful information which if worked would throw much light on the subject. When arrested and even now he is very violent in his manner, refusing food and saying he is a political prisoner and should not be put into a lock up, etc. I saw Colonel Grant and asked him to keep the prisoner here a few days to allow of my getting some information out of him which he has kindly allowed, so I hope to be able to get something good before I am done with him.

586. FROM MAHARAJA, DALIP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN*

NOVEMBER, 1888.

"...It would be mockery on my part to address you as 'My dear Lady

* *Lady Login's Recollections*, pp. 264-265

Login', and sign myself 'Your affectionate', simply because I would shoot down on the battlefield any of your relations without the slightest hesitation, as I would any other Englishman! No, my Lady, I cannot sacrifice my honour for the sake of acquiring money ... and cannot subject myself to be placed between two stools; therefore, from this day forth close correspondence with your Ladyship. Once more good bye! I remain, your most obliged, Duleep Singh."

587. FROM E.J. STEPHENSON TO COLONEL E.S. LUDLOW
(Demi-official)

NO. 124.

AKOLA,
20TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

I beg to forward the following statement, given to me by Jiwan Singh prisoner this morning :—

"I was at Pondicherry from the 31st September, 1887, to the end of September 1888. I met Sardar Thakur Singh's sons there and was employed by them as a *Pujari* and did other work also. If I am pardoned and allowed to work, I will agree to do the following :

1. I can get hold of all the correspondence which has taken place between Dalip Singh and the Sardars at Pondicherry.

"This correspondence is in a box in a room where the *Granth*s are kept and read—the box is placed under the *Granth*s. When I was at Pondi, I had free access to this room. The keys of the box of papers and of all other boxes are looked up in one box. If I were supplied with a lot of keys, I could open this box and then get the keys of the other box and abstract all the correspondence without any one knowing anything about it.

"Among these papers, there is, I think a copy of a treaty which has been made between Dalip Singh and the Russian Government, but I am certain several of the letters refer to this treaty.

"Gurbachan Singh, Sardar Thakur Singh's son, told me that Dalip Singh had made a treaty with Russia. There are several copies of letters which were sent to Dalip Singh by the Sardars to Russia among the papers. There is also the order of Dalip Singh appointing one of Sardar Thakur Singh's sons as Dalip Singh's minister. All these letters were sent from Pondi via Paris to Dalip Singh. They were sent to the care of a certain company at Moscow.

2. "There is a *granth* which is written by Guru Govind Singh, in which there are many things foretold about Dalip Singh, some of which says that Dalip Singh will be king of the Punjab.

"There are 11 things foretold in this book, all of which refer to Dalip Singh, none of them have come to pass and there are only two to

take place. One is that Dalip Singh will come to Ghazni in Afghanistan and will either by force of arms or treaty get back the Punjab; he will be assisted by a strange king, who this king is, is not mentioned. The other is after two years after coming to Ghazni Dalip Singh will mount the throne of Delhi and be the king of Punjab. The original and a copy of this *granth* is now at Pondicherry. I could hand it over to one who comes with me.

3. "Gurbachan Singh, Narinder Singh and Gurdit Singh, all sons of Thakur Singh, are in the habit of going out for drives towards the English boundaries of the Pondicherry. If arrangements were made, I could drive them over the boarder and the entrap them.

"Sardar Thakur Singh's sons often told me that all the *Shias* of the Punjab were with them.

"I also think that many of the *Shias* in the native army are mixed up with this matter. This I do not know from my own knowledge but from what I heard.

"I will go to Nander and take an oath by the Guru that I will not fail to do what I have referred within three months; the letters and *granths* I will give up in a month. The seizing of the Sardars will take some time, but not more than three months. I will also give information of the whereabouts of Partab Singh. I am not certain where he is now, but would soon find him out at Pondi."

The above I got from my friend this morning. He says he never went to Russia and can prove where he was and that he never left India. He says that there is a Muhammadan named Inhodeen, or some such name, with Dalip Singh; this man came to Afghanistan and about 300 *Shias* from the Punjab have joined him; this information, he says, he got at Pondicherry. Jiwan Singh is a very smart youngman, and, if only well worked, a deal could be got out of him; he gives every detail of how he will get the correspondence and only asks that Government will, after he has done all which he agrees to do, give him a good place. His plan is that I should come with him to Pondicherry, remain in one of the hotels there, and that he will visit me at night and give up all the correspondence he has referred to.

When I asked him about native army being mixed up in the matter, a great change came over him and he would not reply till he made me promise that I would not report it. When I asked him about the native Chiefs of India and the Punjab, he said you will find it all out when you get hold of the correspondence; all the letters will show you who are the friends of the Sardars and who supply them with money.

I have got my friend well in hand and if government wish I am willing to go to Pondi with Jiwan Singh, taking Sukhet Singh with me and work the whole case out.

My friend seems to be telling the truth and really in earnest. All I want is money.

588. FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, CALCUTTA,
TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY, MADRAS

NO. 48.

TELEGRAM DATED 28TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

Reported Sikh Sardars at Pondicherry intend going Paris. Please watch and report anything ascertainable, and, if they start, telegraph here.

589. WARRANT FROM W.J. CUNNINGHAM, OFFICIATING
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN,
TO THE COMMANDANT OF FORT AT ALLAHABAD

NO. 47.

LAHORE,

6TH DECEMBER, 1888.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has been fit to determine that Pholo Mal, *sonar* of Raja Sansi, shall be placed under personal restraint at Allahabad, you are thereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

On the death or release of Pholo Mal or when this warrant otherwise expires, this warrant is to be returned to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

590. FROM W.J. CUNNINGHAM TO LIEUT.-COL. E.P. NISBET
(Demi-Official)

NO. 21.

CALCUTTA,

12TH DECEMBER, 1888.

We recently received information from Mashed of the arrival there in October last of three Hindustanis enroute to Moscow with letters and presents for Maharaja Dalip Singh.

The names are Maha Singh, Sawal Singh and Wadu Singh. The first is said to be a Sikh of importance, tall, stout between 40 and 50 years old, long black beard, partly twisted up with moustaches behind his ears in which he wears small plain ear rings. The second is tall and slender, age about thirty five, short beard and hair and is said to be a servant of Maha

Singh. The third is short with short hair and longish beard, about thirty five years of age.

It is reported that their correspondence goes through Mohammed Shah and Saifudin, merchants of Amritsar and that their agents at Bunder Abbas and Kirman are respectively Gulab and Marwarid, both Hindustanis. Mah Singh and his companions gave out that they came from Gilgit via Wazirabad, Ferozepur, Dera Ismail Khan and Kharan to Las Beyla, whence they went on by sea to Chababar. Maha Singh is said to be thoroughly acquainted with routes from Samarkand and eastern Turkistan to Kashmir, Nepal and they are expected to intend returing via Bokhara.

Can you secretly ascertain anything as to who they are and by whom they were sent.

I am also writing to Jamadar Rab Nawaz Khan enquiring if he can obtain any information about the men.

A

591. EXTRACT FROM A DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM NAWAB HASSAN ALI KHAN, C.I.E., TO BRIGADIER GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN

5TH OCTOBER, 1888.

Yesterday morning I was informed by Mahedi Hassan that he had seen two Sikhs in disguise accompanied by two Cossacks riding. I at once put my emissary on their track, but nothing yet about them.

6th October. My emissary reports this morning that it is true that two Indians have arrived in disguise in Mashed. These two Indians have travelled via Kelat-i-Nazir Khan, through Baluchistan, to Kirman where they have joined Haji Abdulla, a Peshawari, and came to Mashed. This man is a resident of Bokhara and arrived few days ago from Peshawar. He is a man of about 43 years of age and my emissary believes he is a Russian spy going backwards and forwards to Peshawar. He has been at Peshawar for one year, has returned now with tea for sale and is shortly to start for Askabad. The two Indians above mentioned are in Turkoman clothes and have visited the Russian agent twice. The Russian agent has provided them with a house and his men are looking after them and do not let any one near them. They know a little Persian, but not enough to explain themselves, so when they visited the Russian agent, Haji Abdulla Peshawari was acting as interpreter. It is reported that they have to leave for Askabad this evening, accompanied by Russian agent's men. I have a man on the watch near their house. By the description of their types they do not appear to be Sikhs, but there is no doubt they are Hindus.

B

592. EXTRACT FROM A DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER
FROM NAWAB HASSAN ALI KHAN*

8TH OCTOBER, 1886.

With reference to the two Hindus that I mentioned in my last letter, I further found, through my emissary whom I sent by pretext to their house, that they are apparently natives of Punjab by their conversation. I put my emissary in a house next to theirs overlooking their compound. In the early morning, he had seen one of them with his brass *lota* going through their customary ablution and prayers. My emissary had gone with the pretext of purchasing either rupees or bank notes; they told him that they had neither of those currencies, but they had about ten gold mohars. I sent my emissary yesterday again and made him buy one from them and when he bought it he had asked them that they better write their name on it, in case it should not be gold. They had refused but have marked the coin which I enclose for you to see. The coin cost me 51½ *krans*. They are to leave Mashed tomorrow morning escorted by three Cossacks. I am sending my emissary with them, as far as Kuchan, to find more from them on the way, where they are not so much perhaps guarded as they are now. So far as I infer these two Hindus are also going to join Dalip Singh.

C

*Information Regarding the Two Hindus at Mashed*593. EXTRACT FROM A DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM
NAWAB HASSAN ALI KHAN TO BRIGADIER GENERAL
C.S. MacLEAN, C.B.

15TH OCTOBER, 1888,

The two Hindus have not left yet, but my emissary is watching them closely. They received a letter from Askabad last Saturday evening and were to have left this morning, but again their departure is postponed till tomorrow. My emissary tells me they are leaving tonight and he will accompany them to Kuchan or beyond to find out, on the way, their names, if possible. They never leave their house, and a servant of the Russian agent is constantly with them. My emissary has so far been successful that he talked with them over the wall and by their request bought a brass plate for them to eat their food off. They both have beards, and have not long hair on their heads.

* Foreign Political, July 1889 No. 24.

My emissary has arranged to go to Kuchan as a merchant and I have arranged and allowed him two mules.

D.

594. EXTRACT FROM A DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM
NAWAB HASSAN ALI KHAN TO BRIGADIER
GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN

17TH OCTOBER, 1888.

The Hindus were on the point of starting yesterday when suddenly they unloaded their things. Their muleteer mentioned to my emissary that they were expecting some one from Sharifabad twenty four miles from Mashhad on Tehran road and will start after his arrival.

E.

595. EXTRACT FROM A DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM
NAWAB HASSAN ALI KHAN TO BRIGADIER
GENERAL C.S. MacLEAN

20TH OCTOBER, 1888.

The man, the Hindus were waiting for, arrived the day before yesterday. My emissary says he was lodged in garden of the Russian agent. The same night he came to the house, where the other two Hindus were and had his dinner alone there. My emissary saw him from the roof of the house, sitting in a room with a light before him. A sturdy long man, with a beard and twisted moustaches turned round his ears and long hair on his head. After he had his dinner, the Russian Agent's men came to him and took him to the quarters. Next morning, *i.e.*, yesterday, my emissary again had a chat over the wall with the Hindus. They told him that their Chief had arrived and they were leaving at once. He asked them casually the name of the Chief, but they evaded the question and told him they called him 'Maharaja'. My emissary did not press them, because there were men from the Russian agent with them. They left last night for Askabad and my emissary left this morning to join them. I have instructed him to accompany them to the Russian frontier and also to write to his friend at Askabad to be on the alert. I also told him to tell the muleteer to see what becomes of them at Askabad. My emissary said that while the new man was dining, one of the other Hindus was standing before him, with a tumbler of water. The two Hindus paid great respect to him.

The new man was telling the others in Punjabi that the Russian had informed him of the defeat of Sardar Ishak Khan who has retired to

Kerki. My emissary is certain, they are Hindus and Sikhs. He was born and lived in Multan and knows Punjabi well. The Russian agent's men have been with them, night and day, so it was impossible to find out anything more.

596. EXTRACT FROM ABSTRACT TRANSLATION OF NEWS-
REPORTS FROM CENTRAL ASIA RECEIVED BY GENERAL
MacLEAN DURING NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1888.

Three Sikhs from the Punjab about three months ago turned up at Katta Kurgan, a place situated at eighteen *Farsakhs* from Bokhara in search of Dalip Singh. They applied to the Russian authorities for permission and expenses to enable them to go and join their 'lost Maharaja' where upon they were sent to Bokhara to be indentified by us. We recognised them as being natives of the Punjab, but been unable to give any other information about them, the permission asked for was not granted to them. In a few days they spent all the money they had with them and became destitute. The Hindus at Bokhara raised a subscription among themselves and gave them about fifty one *tangas* (17 *Urans*), having received which they went to Tashkand where they now are, living as fakirs and beggars.

One of these men, a tall man with dark complexion is carpenter by profession and calls himself a native of the Amritsar district.

The other two men who are both short, one fat and the other a thin man, have 'Wheatish complexion' and appear to be a servant and master, i.e., the fat man servant and the thin man the master. The fat man states that he is a native of Majitha in the Amritsar district but the thin man always kept quite when questioned about his native country. He does not, however, bear the appearance of an influential or well-to-do man, but seems to be an ordinary man, probably one of the followers of Ram Singh Kuka. The name of Dalip Singh is unknown to the people in Bokhara territory.

597. FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, CALCUTTA,
TO SIR EVELYN BARING, CAIRO

NO. 52.

TELEGRAM DATED 18TH DECEMBER, 1888.

If Abdul Rasul shows any intention of joining Dalip Singh in Paris, please warn us and Bradford.

598. FROM COLONEL E.S. LUDLOW TO G.S. FORBES
(Demi-official)

NO. 126.

HYDERABAD,
7TH JANUARY, 1889.

With reference to your enquiries regarding the *Sadhu*, I beg to report as follows :

When Jiwan Singh, the Sikh, who was arrested at Bassin, came to Hyderabad, he put up at the Mirban Akadah in the city; he was met by the *Sadhu* and they used to have long quiet chats between themselves. When Jiwan Singh made his mind to go to Nander, the *Sadhu* arranged to go with him. They were to go by rail to Akola and from there to Nander. This plan was changed and the *Sadhu* went on foot from Hyderabad to Nander and Jiwan Singh went by rail.

When Jiwan Singh reached Nander, he made enquiries about the *Sadhu* and met him there; they used to be together all the time they were at Nander. When Jiwan Singh came to Hingoli intending to come to Akola and take rail there, the *Sadu* accompanied him.

At Hingoli Jiwan Singh tried to get a *tonga* to take the *Sadhu*, his *Chela* and himself to Akola but did not succeed.

Jiwan Singh remained several days at Hingoli with the *Sadhu* and then they started on foot towards Akola. On the way Jiwan Singh hired a cart paying Rs. 3 for it. The *Sadhu*, his *Chela* and Jiwan Singh all sat together in the cart. Jiwan Singh borrowed Rs. 10 from the *Sadhu* at Nander promising to pay him at Akola. The *Sadhu* has been at Pondicherry and has met Sardar Thakur Singh's sons and seems to know them well.

When Jiwan Singh was put into the lock-up at Bassin, he said—"Where is the old *Sadhu*, I hope he has not gone", and was particularly anxious about him. On the above grounds I arrested the *Shadhu* whom I found with Jiwan Singh at Bassin.

Hyderabad,
5th Jan., 1889.

Sd. E.J. Stephenson,
Detective Assistant.

599. FROM QUEEN VICTORIA TO LADY LOGIN*

JANUARY 12TH, 1889.

"Her Majesty would, in ordinary circumstances, have willingly complied with your request; but she fears that in the present unfortunate state of affairs, Her acceptance of the dedication of a book which will contain so much about the Maharaja would be misunderstood, and therefore Her Majesty regards that She is unable to accede to your wish."

* *Lady Login's Recollections*, p. 267-268.

600. FROM D. McCracken TO A.P. HOWELL
(Demi-official)

NO. 118.

12TH JANUARY, 1889.

In continuation of the previous correspondence regarding Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh, for whose detention a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 was issued by the Government of India, Foreign Department, and who is now under detention at Akola, I am desired by the Foreign Secretary to inform you that the reports of Colonel Henderson and of his agent, who was sent to interview Jiwan Singh at Akola, show conclusively that this individual has not been to Russia at all, invented the story in order to gain importance among the Hyderabad Sikhs and to obtain money from them for his own purposes.

As there seems to be no sufficient reason for keeping Jiwan Singh any longer under restraint, Mr. Durand desires me to request that you will cause him to be released on his furnishing adequate security of the following nature, viz.,

- (i) not to visit Pondicherry;
- (ii) to have nothing whatever to do with the sons of the late Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia and their party; and
- (iii) not to be disloyal to our government.

After his release on the above conditions, I am to ask you to be good enough to send me back the original warrants under Regulation III of 1818 for this man's detention (first at Allahabad and afterwards at Asirgarh) duly endorsed for return to the Foreign Department).

As no information of reliable character has been received regarding the whereabouts of Partab Singh *Granthi*, for whose detention a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 was also issued by the Government of India Foreign Department and there seems to be no likelihood of his arrest, I am to request that the original warrants for this individual also may be returned together with those of Jiwan Singh.

Mr. Durand will be obliged by your informing the Bombay Government that the accomodation which was arranged at Fort Asirgarh for the detention of these two men will not now be required.

601. FROM G.S. FORBES, FIRST ASSISTANT RESIDENT,
HYDERABAD TO THE OFFICIATING GENERAL
SUPERINTENDENT THUGGEE AND DACOITY
SPECIAL DEPARTMENT BRANCH, CALCUTTA
Confidential

NO. 119.

HYDERABAD RESIDENCY,
12TH JANUARY, 1889.

In the month of September last, it was reported that a man named Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh, connected with the Pondicherry Sikhs

was in Hyderabad enroute to Nander. His description was given and a statement of his was added to the effect that he had been robbed in a railway carriage of £100, remaining out of a sum of £500 which he had possessed.

A report was at the same time received regarding the rumoured visit to Hyderabad of a Sikh, named Partab Singh *Granthi*, from Nander. This man, it was said, had been arrested in the Punjab on account of his connection with the Dalip Singh movement, but had escaped. The facts reported regarding these two men were duly included in the Special Branch Abstract for the week ending the 22nd September, on receipt of which Colonel Henderson telegraphed on the 3rd October regarding the importance of arresting the two men and securing their papers. Further information about the men was detailed in Colonel Henderson's letter of the same date, it being left to the Resident to determine whether the arrest of Jiwan Singh should be effected before or after his visit to Nander.

2. Arrangements were at once established for the apprehension of the two Sikhs and an application was made to the Foreign Office for warrants under Regulation III of 1818 to authorise their detention if apprehended—an application which was in due course complied with.

On the 10th October, Karam Singh left Hyderabad for Nander followed by a detective. On the 16th October we were informed that Jiwan Singh before leaving Hyderabad had visited one of the Sikh Officers of the Golconda Brigade to whom he described Dalip Singh. He also met Colonel Ludlow's Sikh Ressaldars, none of whom mentioned the fact to that officer.

On the 20th October, a telegram was despatched to Colonel Henderson intimating that it has been decided to take action in respect of Jiwan Singh at Akola in the Berars, after he should leave Nander. Later on orders were issued regarding the detention of the men at Akola on arrest, arrangement being made in conformity with Colonel Henderson's instructions for their subsequent custody.

Jiwan Singh's arrest was not effected till the 14th November.

Mr. Stephenson's confidential reports dated 29th October, 12th, 16th and 19th and 20th November describe the details of the capture and give Jiwan Singh's statements. They do not appear to contain much information of value. No trace was found at Nander of Partap Singh *Giani*.

Karam Singh stated, as reported in our telegram of the 17th November to Colonel Henderson that he was at Ranigunj, Patna, or Indore and that he had heard from him from Ranigunj two months previously.

Jiwan Singh is still in custody at Akola, awaiting the instructions of

the Government of India which Colonel Henderson promised to communicate as soon as his agent had interviewed the prisoner.

With Jiwan Singh was arrested a *Sadhu* who was in his company. This *Sadhu* was brought to Hyderabad and is under detention there. The circumstances under which the arrest was made are detailed in the letter of the 5th instant accompanying Colonel Ludlow's of the 7th idem. I am to enquire whether the *Sadhu* should be longer detained, and on the point a reply by telegraph is solicited.

602. EXTRACT FROM THE DETECTIVE ASSISTANT'S DIARY

NO. 120.

HINGOLI,

29TH OCTOBER, 1888.

Sukhet Singh arrived from Nander this morning. He reports as follows :—Karam Singh alias Jiwan Singh is still at Nander; he wished to start from Nander for Charkhi Dadri and Jammu in the Punjab, but Nanu Singh *Pujari* of Nander, would not allow him to do so till after the Diwali.

Karam Singh says he is at Raniganj or Patna or Indore and that he got a letter from him (Partab Singh) about two months ago. Karam Singh also says that a Sikh named Rude Singh, who is now with the Deputy Commissioner, had told him that he had come to Hyderabad, Nander, etc., etc., and had talks with a great number of Sikhs. This was about 12 months ago; he took ship at Calcutta and joined the Deputy Commissioner (Doubtless the Thakur's son, who was an Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab is meant). The Deputy Commissioner gave Karam Singh Rs. 1500 to be given as an offering at Nander, Patna and Amritsar Gurdwaras—this was the money he has been robbed of. In case Partab Singh Agent No. 2 turns up at Nander, I will receive a telegram from Hingoli.

Before leaving Hingoli I met a Sikh Ressaldar of the H.C. He was very anxious to find out why I came to Hingoli; this men is a relative of an old Ressaldar; there are about 60 Sikh *Sowars* in the Regiment and from all I can gather I think the Sikhs in the H.C. are as much mixed up with the movement as our own men.

Sd. E.J. Stephenson.

603. FROM THE RESIDENT, HYDERABAD DECCAN, TO THUGGEE, CALCUTTA

NO. 128.

TELEGRAM DATED 7TH FEBRUARY, 1889.

Your demi-official 28 of the twelfth January. Conditions communicated. Sikh who being unknown here unable to furnish security except personal bond. His transmission Punjab suggested, where father lives at Chutwal, Jhelum district. Orders requested.

604. FROM THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, CALCUTTA,
TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY, MADRAS

TELEGRAM DATED 12TH FEBRUARY, 1889.

We have ascertained that Dalip Singh is again in communication with Pondicherry Sardars and is sending money. Please ascertain whether there are still any signs of their moving.

605. FROM SIR MORTIMER DURAND TO G.S. FORBES
(Demi-official)

NO. 131.

CALCUTTA,
18TH MARCH, 1889.

With reference to your telegram of the 19th ultimo and in continuation of Mr. McCracken's demi-official letter No. 28, dated the 12th January last, to Mr. Howell, regarding the disposal of Jiwan Singh alias Karam Singh, I wrote to inform you that, as this man cannot furnish the security required of him, it has been decided for the present to remand him to Fort Asirgarh for detention there under the warrant under Regulation III of 1818, which is endorsed to the Commandant, Fort Asirgarh.

Please be so good as to arrange, in communication with the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, for Jiwan Singh's reception and detention at Fort Asirgarh as expeditiously as possible. He should not be allowed to hold communication with any one on his removal from Akola and should be confined separately at Asirgarh. If his detention can remain unknown, so much the better.

When this has been done, please report to me and submit proposals for Jiwan Singh's maintenance. As he was only a petition-writer in the Punjab, Rs. 10 per mensem will probably be ample,

The warrant for the detention of Partab Singh *Granthi* should at the same time be returned to the Foreign office with endorsement that he has not been traced.

606. FROM SIR MORTIMER DURAND TO C.L. TUPPER
(Demi-official)

NO. 132.

CALCUTTA
11TH MARCH, 1889,

In continuation of my demi-official letter of the 1st instant, I write to let you know that I have heard that Diwan Lachhman Dass, after consulting Baba Khem Singh, Sardar Dyal Singh, Diwan Buta Singh and others, intends on the pretence of visiting England, to go to France on purpose to interview Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Raja Moti Singh of Poonch is also said to be secretly mixed up in this affair.

Lachhman Das who is said to be going to Russia, also is reported to have the intention of taking money to Dalip Singh and it is believed that sum of money is now being collected for this purpose, with the assistance of Diwan Buta Singh, Sardar Dyal Singh and Baba Khem Singh and the recent religious quarrel between the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabha has, it is said, given the Sikhs an excuse for conferring together and reviving the flagging interest in Dalip Singh.

I am afraid there is little room for doubt that all the persons I have mentioned are mixed up in these intrigues and that with Dalip Singh's resumption of correspondence with Sardar Gurbachan Singh at Pondicherry, there is a revival of interest in Maharaja's affairs among his adherents in the Punjab, which would seem to require your attention.

Please wire when it appears certain that Lachhman Dass is leaving the Punjab for Europe.

S.N.A.

607. FROM H.M. DURAND TO COLONEL SIR E.R.C. BRANDFORD
(Demi-official)

NO. 133.

CALCUTTA,
11TH MARCH, 1889,

For a long time past, we have had suspicions regarding the loyalty of Diwan Lachhman Dass, the late minister of the Kashmir, who was dismissed by the Maharaja in March last.

In December 1887, we heard of a private servant of his, named Ghulam Husen, going to Pondicherry and back and afterwards obtaining a good post under the Diwan in January 1888, he was reported to be in secret correspondence with Russia.

In October last Henderson sent a man of his (who is known as A.S.) to Pondicherry to find out how things were going with the Sikh Sardars there. A.S. succeeded in gaining the confidence of Sardar Gurbachan Singh who told him that he depended a great deal on Lachhman Dass and that the latter had promised to send him Rs. 30,000 or more for the Maharaja. Since Dalip Singh resumed correspondence with Gurbachan Singh, there have been signs of renewal of activity among the leading adherents of the Maharaja in the Punjab and we now hear that Diwan Lachhman Dass, after consulting Baba Khem Shingh, Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, Diwan Buta Singh and others, intends (on pretence of visiting England) to go to France on purpose to see Dalip Singh and also to Russia.

Lachhman Dass will, it is said, take a sum of money with him which is now being collected with the help of the persons named above.

The Punjab Government has been warned of this and requested to be careful and I think it will let you know in good time of Lachhman Dass's intention, so that the Foreign Office may be warned before hand and be on the look out for him should he really go to Paris.

I will wire to you when Lachhman Dass leaves India and let you know by what route he is travelling.

I may add that Parry Nisbet professes to have discussed a number of letters written by the Maharaja of Kashmir which convict him of intriguing with Russia and Dalip Singh and with attempts to murder Plowden.

I can't say I wonder at his doing any of the three.

Nisbet is telegraphing on the subject with his usual volcanic energy and is coming here to show us his letters. But Powell's case is a warning. They are offered to us for Rs. 40,000.

The whole thing is rather a bac (?) just now, but it may come in usefully.

608. FROM LORD LANSDOWNE TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

CALCUTTA,
MARCH 20TH, 1889.

I gather from the telegrams that Sir John Gorst was able to reassure the House of Commons in regard to the rumours of the Maharaja of Kashmir's treasonable correspondence with the Russians and with Dhulip Singh. The Maharaja is a miserable creature and quite unfit to govern his state. I do not think his letters, of the genuineness of which the Resident has no doubt, have any serious importance. The Maharaja is a man of weak mind, takes opium immoderately, and is in the hands of intriguers of worst description. He may have written any quantity of these letters at moments when he was irritated and wished to get rid either of his wife, or his ministers, or of the British Government. A year ago, before the present Resident went to Kashmir, the Government of India obtained possession of another series of letters almost as objectionable, though not so treasonable in tone. We are as yet without evidence to show that any of his letters reached the Russians or Dhulip Singh.

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

609. FROM C.L. TUPPER TO SIR MORTIMER DURAND

(Demi-Official)

NO. 136.

LAHORE,
28TH MARCH, 1889.

I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 10th January and the 1st and 11th March, giving certain of Dalip Singh's intrigues.

In reply, I am to say that we have taken the action that seems necessary with him referred to in your letter of the 11th March and if we find that Diwan Lachhman Dass is leaving for Europe, will wire immediately.

As regards Baba Khem Singh, the Lieutenant-Governor sees no reason to believe that he is mixed up with persons named, and his Honour hopes that no... (?) agreed to, according to which Colonel Henderson was to withdraw the secret agents whom he was employing in the Punjab to watch the actions of the Friends of Dalip Singh. His Honour presumes that the information you have communicated to us has been got from outside the province and is much obliged for it, but he hopes that Colonel Henderson's agents will not be used in the province again except in case of urgent necessity and with due warning to this Government, as he thinks their use formerly had a disquieting effect.

610. FROM A.P. HOWELL TO SIR H.M. DURAND

(Demi-Official)

HYDERABAD RESIDENCY,
8TH APRIL, 1889.

Our telegram of the 30th March will have informed you with reference to your letter of the 11th idem of Jiwan Singh's despatch to Asirgarh fort.

Regarding a maintenance allowance for the detainee Mr. Plowden thinks Rs. 10 a month ample, as the circumstances of Asirgarh are not special so far as I am aware and I have often been there. At Akola the Deputy Commissioner allowed him annas four a day or Rs. 8 a month.

The warrant for Partab Singh *Giani* is returned together with the first warrants issued for the detention of the men at Allahabad.

611. FROM FREDERICK ROBERTS TO THE DUKE
OF CAMBRIDGE*

(PRIVATE)

CAMP IN KASHMIR,
28TH APRIL, 1889.

Sir,

I promised in my last letter to give Your Royal Highness some information about Kashmir affairs. On my first arrival in the valley I spent three days with Colonel Parry Nisbet. The usual ceremonial visits took place between myself and the Durbar, and, in addition, I had private interviews with the Maharaja and his two brothers, Raja Ram Singh and Raja Amar Singh. I met them also at dinner and on other occasions. The Maharaja strikes me as being a weak, unreliable man but with a fair amount of intelligence. Had he been given a proper education and brought up as heir to the throne, he might, perhaps, have done well, but the father wished to make the youngest son his heir, and during the old man's life, the present Maharaja was kept in the background and fell into the hands of evil companions, the curse of all Native courts, whose aim and object are to ruin young princes and render them unfit to be rulers, that thereby may monopolise all the power. These men gained such an influence over Pratap Singh that when he became the Maharaja, they particularly governed the country, and, with the help of *Brahmins* and astrologers, so worked on the Maharaja that he did anything they told him. They squeezed fabulous sums of money out of him, and when he was suffering from the effects of opium, they made him sign whatever they pleased. This is generally believed to be the origin of letters which came into Colonel Nisbet's hands about poisoning the Resident and intriguing with Dhulip Singh; with these in their possession the Maharaja's companions were able to do as they liked with him under threat of exposure whenever he refused to meet their demands.

With my respectful duty,

I am, Sir, Your Royal Highness'
most obedient, humble servant.
Sd. Fred Roberts.

612. FROM G.R. IRWIN TO C.L. TUPPER**

(Demi-Official)

NO. 117.

With his demi-official letter No. 273 of the 14th April last, Colonel Henderson sent you a memorandum containing the substance of

* From the Collection of Lady Roberts—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

** Foreign Political, May 1889.

a report received by him about Dalip Singh intrigues.

I am now desired to communicate, for the information of Sir James Lyall, the following further particulars regarding Diwan Buta Singh, proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Punjab* Press and newspaper at Lahore. His Honour will observe that the former suspicion against these persons of being intimately connected with the Dalip Singh intrigues is much strengthened by the present information.

An emissary of Colonel Henderson visited Pondicherry in October last and succeeded completely in gaining the confidence of Sardar Gurbachan Singh who showed him all his correspondence with Maharaja Dalip Singh. The Sardar was in great anxiety in consequence of his receiving nothing, but vague promises of assistance from India, and told Colonel Henderson's man that Dewan Buta Singh is the only man who communicates to them the real state of affairs in the Punjab and it is to him that they look for funds to carry on intrigues with Russia. Their correspondence with him is carried on through the French Post Office at Chandernagar.

The Sardar said that Diwan Buta Singh had written that Lachhman Das had promised to send pecuniary assistance, but that no remittances had actually received, though promises of help from the Jammu State continued to be mentioned in Buta Singh's letter.

Pandit Gopi Nath, who never neglects an opportunity of keeping Dalip Singh's name before the public, visited Pondicherry in December 1887, at the time the National Congress was sitting at Madras, had his interviews with Sardar Gurbachan Singh, who showed his correspondence with Maharaja Dalip Singh. Gurbachan Singh said that Gopi Nath undertook on his return personally to visit Raja Moti Singh of Poonch and the Jammu Princes in the Maharaja's behalf. Gopi Nath, as you know, accompanied Mian Baldev Singh, son of Raja of Poonch, in his trip towards Bombay in September last, and in October visited Jammu and immediately afterwards went to Hardwar, where *Mussamat* Mangalan, Dalip Singh's foster mother, lives. Later on in the end of October 1888, Gopi Nath went to Poonch on a visit to Mian Baldev Singh.

It certainly seems advisable, seeing the strong suspicion that rests on these two individuals, that their proceedings should be quietly watched and reported.

613. FROM SIR H.M. DURAND TO C.L. TUPPER*
(Demi-Official)

NO. 140.

Your confidential demi-official of the 28th March, which acknowledged three letters of mine giving information regarding Dalip Singh

* Foreign Political, May 1889.

intrigues seems to imply some doubt whether the arrangements made in the beginning of 1888, regarding the cessation of direct enquiries in the Punjab by the Central Special Branch have been strictly carried out.

This arrangement has not been in any way altered. You will see that my letter of the 10th January distinctly mentions that the information contained in it was derived from Pondicherry. There is every reason to believe this information to be correct. Some further information has been since received from other sources which I will mention later on in this letter. My next letter of the 1st March contained further news from a source which I am precluded from mentioning but I may say that it did not come from any place in India and that there is no question as to the authenticity of the communication addressed by Sardar Gurbachan Singh to Dalip Singh, whether the information given in that letter is correct or not.

The information in regard to Diwan Lachhman Dass' proposed visit to France contained in my letter of the 11th March was received from several sources, but was not the result of any enquiries made in the Punjab. It has been confirmed in a manner which places it almost beyond a doubt that Lachhman Dass has contemplated, or has let out, that he contemplates a visit to Dalip Singh in Paris.

I have mentioned that there is further information of some of the news contained in my letter of the 10th January. This comes from Colonel Nisbet, who heard from what he considers reliable sources, that Mian Baldev Singh of Poonch went to see Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia of Lahore, through whom a visit by the former to Pondicherry was arranged. Baldev Singh got as far as Bombay, where the proposed visit broke down on a point of etiquette on which Gurbachan Singh insists in virtue of his position as the accredited representative of Maharaja Dalip Singh. Colonel Nisbet quite believes in the abortive attempt to open personal communication with Gurbachan Singh and that Sardar Dyal Singh was the medium.

Again from a source which I am not at liberty to specify, we know beyond all doubt that communications have been passing since the beginning of the present year between Dalip Singh and Gurbachan Singh and that some movement is on foot. I will tell you further particulars when you come up to Simla.

From the previous information acknowledged by you and the intelligence now communicated, I think that attempts, whether successful or otherwise, have certainly been, and are now probably being, made to arouse fresh interest in Dalip Singh and there is no doubt that certain persons in the Punjab are still in correspondence with Pondicherry. Whether this is carried on by special messengers or not we don't exactly

know, but there is every reason to believe that this is the case and that the British post is distrusted.

I have told you that the arrangement made for the withdrawal of direct enquiries by the Special Branch has been strictly maintained. This, however, renders it the more necessary that a careful watch should be kept up by the local police and other authorities for messengers passing to and fro and that the persons who have been mentioned as the media of communication should be kept under quiet observation. Even if it should prove impossible to keep entirely secret the fact that such a watch is kept up, I can not think any evil result will follow from its being known that seditious correspondence can not be carried on with impunity.

In regard to Khem Singh, I may take this opportunity of sending you some further information received since the date of Henderson's letter No. 778 of 3rd October last about Nanu Singh, the *Pujari* of Nander, who was reported from Hyderabad to be in correspondence with Khem Singh and the Pondicherry Sardars.

In October last, a man named Charan Das Bedi was at Nander, where he said that he had been sent by Khem Singh to await a letter and proceed to Pondicherry. We have heard lately that he actually has gone there. Your Special Branch reported of this man that he is given to seditious talk about Dalip Singh with one of whose well known adherents he had been staying and further that he is known to have visited Khem Singh last year.

In February last, two men named Gurdit Singh and Gurmukh Singh appeared at Nander and the Hyderabad Special Branch reported that both had come from Bawa Khem Singh and appeared to have been sent by him on special mission. They were treated with great consideration by the *Pujari* Nanu Singh above alluded to. Gurdit Singh, according to a later account from Hyderabad, stated that he is the son of Khazan Singh, resident of Kallar, Khem Singh's Jagir in the Rawalpindi district where he is known to Bawa Khem Singh who is his preceptor. These two men managed to slip through the hands of the Hyderabad police and all traces of them have been lost.

It is, to say the least of it, rather curious that Bawa Khem Singh's name should be so often associated with very suspicious characters.

614. FROM LORD LANSDOWNE TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
MAY 6TH, 1889.

I will not fail to note what you have said in regard to Dhulip Singh's

* From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

proceedings. I do not attach much importance to them, but we ought certainly to keep a strict watch upon his adherents in India.

615. FROM COLONEL R. P. NISBET TO H. S. BARNES.

(Demi-Official)

NO. 30.

KASHMIR RESIDENCY,
15TH MAY, 1889.

In continuation of my demi-official dated 28th March, 1889, I send herewith copy of Raja Amar Singh's reply and its enclosure from which it will be seen that no trace can be found of three Hindustanis referred to in Cunningham's demi-official of the 12th December last.

A.

616. FROM RAJA AMAR SINGH TO THE RESIDENT IN KASHMIR

NO. 31.

In reply to your letter dated 17th December last giving the descriptive details of three Sikhs required to be traced, I beg to enclose copy of a letter from the Wazir-Wazarat, Gilgit, stating that notwithstanding his best efforts through Raja Akbar and Wazir Gholam Hyder in a confidential manner, no trace has been discovered of either of these travellers. Should you like me to take any further action in the matter, I will be glad to do so.

B.

617. EXTRACT FROM A TRANSLATION OF A LETTER
FROM JAMADAR RAB NAWAZ KHAN TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE FOREIGN SECRETARY

NO. 32.

23RD MAY, 1889.

After compliments :—In obedience to the orders conveyed in your letter, I made enquires both in Chitral and the country extending as far as Gilgit in regard to the three Hindu Sikhs who passed through Mashed and othes places, but could not collect any information. From what a Hindu Sikh, who now keeps a shop at Chitral and who is originally a native of Mian in Bajaur, said it appears that two years ago, four Punjabis, Sikhs, came in the guise of mendicants to Baba Sunder Singh—Baba Sunder Singh and Baba Bandhari, inhabitants of Jullundur and other places in the Punjab, the first named two persons now living at Mian and Baba Bandhari at Pashed in Bajaur and told them that they were trying to go to Maharaja Dalip Singh who was with the Tsar of Russia and they should arrange for their passage through Afghanistan, The above named Babas collected

some money, gave it to the mendicants and advised them—as they are to assist their brethren in religion according to the inculcations in the *Granth Sahib*—not to pass through the Amir of Kabul's territory and told them “it will be very difficult for you to travel through that territory, but if you go through Yaghistan, Shunear, Baluchistan and Persia, you may reach your destination.” The mendicants left the Babas upon this and do not appear to have come back. It also appears that those four men went with letters, etc., at the instance of Baba Khem Singh of the Rawalpindi district and of other Sikhs. I tried my best to find out the names of the persons who had deputed them but the shopkeeper denied all knowledge of the matter.

618. TRANSLATION OF THE PETITION OF PHOLO
MALL, STATE PRISONER IN THE ALLAHABAD
FORT, TO THE ADDRESS OF THE MAJOR,
COMMANDING THE FORT*

NO. 43.

Consequent on the report of some Police Officer, I am in imprisonment. Since 14 months without any guilt and without any knowledge, I am locked up under the watch of military officers. No officer has up to this time made enquiry into the false complaint. I was detained in a *kothi* at Lahore for 2 months and 15 days. Being tired, I submitted one or two applications to you and three to the officer commanding the fort. These were forwarded to the Commissioner at Allahabad. Although a long time since has passed, yet no reply has been given. I do not know what is my fault under which I am considered liable to so hard an imprisonment without enquiry. The legislatures of the British Government have framed laws and regulations under which men of higher and lower rank are equally treated in the administration of justice and lion and goat drink water at the same place. But unfortunately, contrary to law and without enquiry, I am in solitary confinement since one and half years. My house is ruined, my children and relations are every moment crying of starvation. Their means of subsistence was only the pay which was granted from the Government. I, therefore, most humbly and respectfully and in a suppliant posture pray that enquiry may be made into the complaint laid against me by the police, in a formal way in the court of some competent European Officer or 2 or 3 European Officers may be allowed to sit as a court and hear the complaint and my objections. If the supreme government is not pleased to make an enquiry and I am to be detained here for any longer time, I pray I may be kept in the city as a political prisoner under the watch of

*Foreign Political August, 1889.

the police so long as the Government deems it fit to keep me so and that my relations may be allowed to come here or some means may be provided for their subsistence. If this my application be disallowed, I may be furnished with a copy of the order and permitted to represent my circumstances, through Mr. Godfray, Barrister-at-law of the Punjab Chief Court, to the Government of India or the Secretary of State for India and then secure redress.

For this reason I humbly pray that you will be pleased to call for a report of my character from the Major, the officer in charge of Police station, Kidganj and the court Inspector and then send my application with that report to the Commissioner for suitable orders. A copy of my petition may be kept in your office and I may be informed of the order.

Copy forwarded for the information to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, with a request that Pholo Mall may be kept under observation by the district authorities of Amritsar. The state prisoner has been ordered to be released by the Viceroy and a railway ticket for his town of Amritsar was also to be given.

S. S. W.

619. FROM LORD LANSDOWNE TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
JUNE 21st, 1889.

Thanks for your letter of the 31st May.

Maharaja Dhulip Singh I believe there is no doubt that Dhulip Singh is, as you have been told, very short of money, and this will effectually prevent him from doing much mischief here. Sir Mortimer Durand tells me that he doubts whether Dhulip Singh's marriage will injure his credit. Native chiefs are not very particular as to the matrimonial alliances which they contract.

620. FROM MALAN, WIFE OF MUNSHI PHOLO MALL,
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

RAJA SANI, DISTRICT AMRITSAR,
24TH JUNE, 1889.

May it please Your Excellency.

1. That Munshi Pholo Mal, husband of your humble petitioner, a clerk of court of wards in the Amritsar district and Munshi of the state of

*From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

the late Sardar Thakur Singh of Sindhanwalia, had gone to Pondicherry to see the sons of late Sardar, with permission of the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar dated the 25th October 1887.

2. That the husband of your petitioner returned back within the time allowed by the Deputy Commissioner, but was subsequently, for reasons unknown, apprehended by the District Superintendent of Police of Amritsar at Raja Sansi and since then kept in confinement at several places unknown to your petitioner. Your petitioner now have learnt that the husband of your petitioner is now confined at Allahabad.

3. The Munshi Pholo Mal has a large family consisting of your petitioner herself, a son, a daughter, both minors and two widows, brothers' wives, one of the latter with a widow daughter all dependent upon your petitioner's husband and now left entirely helpless and destitute of means of living, owing to the imprisonment of your humble petitioner's husband.

4. That the petitioner's husband has all along been loyal and faithful to the British Crown and even now seems to have committed no act of disloyalty towards the Government for which he has been imprisoned and compelled to live separately from his family whom he has left in a deplorable condition.

5. In conclusion, your humblest petitioner earnestly prays that her husband, who is quite innocent, may be released from confinement and until his release your petitioner may be allowed a suitable maintenance to support the family or your petitioner's husband may be allowed to partake his confinement, because your humblest petitioner cannot bear the separation from her husband and is in a very miserable state, for it is nineteen months since her husband has been imprisoned and all the money has been spent and now there is nothing to support the expenses of the family and no hope is given by the Government to come back of your petitioner's husband. May Your Excellency be merciful upon the innocent children and widows and release the husband of your humblest petitioner. Your humblest petitioner has no other helper in the world and no means to live on and your humblest petitioner shall ever pray, etc.

621. FROM EDMUND MEEL TO SIR MORTIMER DURAND

(Demi-Official)

NO. 42.

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
28TH JUNE, 1889.

Sir Edward desires me to send you the enclosed Departmental notes as to the Fategarh allowance of Maharaja Dalip Singh. The information available here is incomplete.

With your assistance we hope to clear up the mystery which still surrounds the matter. It seems, however, pretty clear that it was intended that this allowance should merge into the stipend of £25,000 a year.

NO. 43.

Confidential

Note as to the circumstances in which a sum of Rs. 1,000 a month on account of the Fatehgarh establishment has continued to be paid in India up to 1889 to the account of Maharaja Dalip Singh.

The Secretary of the State has called for a full explanation of the circumstances in which a sum of Rs. 1,000 a month on account of the Fatehgarh establishment continued to be paid in India up to this year on account of Maharaja Dalip Singh.

At the outset it may be as well to say that no explanation derived from personal knowledge can be furnished as there is no one now in this office who was attached to the Political Department in 1859. The Secretary at that date Mr. Kaye afterwards Sir John Kaye, is dead, as also the members of the Political and Military Committee of the time, viz., Sir John Lawrence, Captain W.J. Eastwick, Sir John Pallard, Sir J.P. Willoughby, Sir Henry Durand and Sir Robert Vivian.

The following particulars as to the Fatehgarh establishment are taken from the records in this Department.

In March 1858, Sir John Login, the Guardian of the Maharaja, submitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company the propriety of placing the amount hitherto drawn on account of His Highness's establishment at Fatehgarh at the Maharaja's personal disposal, in consequence of the dispersion of this establishment and the plunder and complete destruction of all his property at Fatehgarh by the mutineers in June 1857.

Sir John Login wrote :—

"As with the exception of the above named Sheo Ram, none in His Highness's late establishment have been long enough in his service to have a special claim to pension from the Maharaja, his old servants having all been discharged on pensions and gratuities, shortly after his arrival at Fatehgarh in 1850, it has been considered sufficient to remit the sum of Rs. 1000 to the Magistrate at Fatehgarh to be distributed, according to a list which has been sent to him, as gratuities among those servants whom he may consider by their good conduct to be entitled to them.

"It appears that the monthly allowance of Rs. 1000 for April last had not been drawn on account of His Highness's establishment and that consequently arrears to the amount of Rs. 11000 up to the first instant

must have accumulated to His Highness's credit in the Government Treasury.

On the part of the Maharaja, I would respectfully request that this sum may be paid to the Agent and Manager of the Oriental Bank Corporation at Calcutta, to His Highness's personal credit and that the sum of one thousand rupees per month may hereafter continue to be paid to the said Manager, as the portion of His Highness's allowance hitherto drawn for the establishment at Fatehgarh from the date on which payment for the present month becomes due".

In a letter dated London, 22nd May, 1858, the Maharaja solicited the Court of Directors to make him an advance of £1300 on account of the arrears of Treasury of the Government of India, "deducted from my present allowance for my late establishment at Fatehgarh".

The Court agreed to make this advance and it is clear from the above extracts that the "Fatehgarh allowance" formed part of the stipend then allotted to His Highness.

Subsequently in compliance with a wish expressed by the Maharaja, the Court of Directors wrote to the Government of India on the subject of this allowance in the following terms :—

"We have complied with the request of the Maharaja Dalip Singh to be permitted to draw through the Oriental Bank Corporation of Calcutta the monthly sum of company's Rs. 1000 paid into His Highness's Fatehgarh establishment, which no longer exists and we desire, therefore, that you will pay the amount monthly to the order of the Manager and Agent of that Bank and also such arrears as may be due, after deducting therefrom the sum of Company's Rs. 13,000, the equivalent of which has been paid to the Maharaja in this country.

The Maharaja later on asked (15th November, 1858) that the allowance might be paid without any deduction on account of servants remaining at Fatehgarh for whom I have made other arrangements.

The Court further pressed the Government of India to submit their views as to the permanent adjustment of the allowances of the Maharaja who with their permission had assumed the entire management of his affairs. On the 3rd January, 1859, Lord Canning conveyed the opinion of the Government of India as a body in which His Lordship concurred that in accordance with the views recorded by Lord Dalhousie in his minute of February 1856, an allowance of 2½ lakhs or £25000 a year should be assigned to the Maharaja.

On the 20th May, 1859, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Stanley acquainted the Maharaja with the decision of Her Majesty's Government to assign to him a stipend of £25000 a year in the following terms :—

"In Office, 20th May, 1859, I have the satisfaction to inform Your Highness that I have received a despatch from His Excellency the Governor-General, under date 3rd January, 1859, respecting the permanent adjustment of your allowance and that, in accordance with the recommendations therein contained I propose on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, to fix these allowances at an annual rate of Company's Rs. 2,50,000 to commence from the attainment of your majority, according to the laws of England.

2. Adverting, however, to the letter addressed to Your Highness by the Court of Directors on the 29th December, 1857, acceding your request to be allowed to take upon yourself the management of your affairs, Her Majesty's Government are willing from that date to fix your allowance at £15,000 instead of £12,000, heretofore, drawn by Your Highness.

3. It will be understood that the permanent allowance of Company's Rs. 250,000 (which will be paid in India) is to include the sum formerly paid on account of the Fatehgarh establishment and is to be in satisfaction of all claims.

Signed. Stanley

It will be observed that the increased stipend also included the Fatehgarh allowance. The Maharaja replied on the 3rd June, 1859, saying that he had much satisfaction in acknowledging the liberality of this allowance and making enquiries as to the provision intended to be made for his family after his demise. On the 24th October, 1859, the Secretary of State (Sir C. Wood) informed the Maharaja of the arrangements determined upon by Her Majesty's Government in this respect and on the first November, 1859, His Highness very thankfully acknowledged the just and liberal consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

On the 8th November, 1859, the Secretary of the State (Sir C. Wood) replied to Lord Canning's letter of the 3rd January, 1859, of which the first and second paragraphs are as follows :—

"With reference to the letter of Your Excellency No. 3 of 3rd January, 1859, in the Foreign Department, respecting the provision to be made for the Maharaja Dalip Singh on the attainment of his majority, I now transmit for Your Excellency's information, copy of a letter addressed by me to His Highness on the 24th October last.

2. You will observe that this letter relates only to the provision which Her Majesty's Government propose to make for the Maharaja and for the heirs of his body lawfully begotten."

The important communication made by Lord Stanley to the Maharaja on the 20th May, 1859, and His Highness's acknowledgement of the 3rd June, 1859, not officially transmitted to the Government of India and the reasons for this remarkable omission are not on record.

With the draft of the Lord Stanley's letter to the Maharaja of the

20th May, 1859, there was also circulated a draft despatch, acquainting the Government of India that he had accepted their recommendation as to the amount of the stipend to be assigned to the Maharaja. The last paragraph of this draft is in the handwriting of Sir John Kaye and is as follows :—

“It will be understood that the permanent allowance of Company’s of Rs. 2,50,000 is to include the sum paid on account of the Fatehgarh establishment and is to be in satisfaction of all claims on the part of the Maharaja. It will be made a charge on the Indian Exchequer, not an item of Home Expenditure.

This draft despatch, which is initialled by Sir J.P. Willoughby, Sir R. Vivian, Sir John Lawrence and Captian W. Eastwick, was approved by the Political and Military Committee on the 4th May, 1859, and by the Council on the 18th of the same month.

On a copy of this draft is the following note in Sir John Kaye’s handwriting without date :—

“This Despatch passed Political and Military Committee on the 4th May. Passed Council on 18th May. Afterwards was sent to Her Majesty and has not yet been forwarded to India.

J. K.

.....

The Assistant Under Secretary of State (Mr. H. Walpole) has referred to the Council Minutes and has not found any record of these reasons for which the first draft was not despatched.

Not a line can be discovered in this department to explain the non-issue of the draft. It is true that on the outside cover of the draft Mr. A.N. Wallaston has written—“These drafts were apparently cancelled and another substituted, dated 8th November, 1859. But this is merely a surmise on his part. He did not join the Political Department till 1860 and can have had no personal acquaintance with the circumstances.

The examination of these papers disclose the sigular fact that the Secretary of State for India has never officially informed the Government of India that their recommendation as to the amount of the stipend to be allotted to the Maharaja has been accepted by Her Majesty’s Government and the condition attaching to the grant, viz., as to the inclusion of the Fatehgarh allowance, never having been communicated to the Indian Government, the payment of this allowance in India has continued up to this year.

It may be contended that Sir C. Wood’s letter to the Maharaja of the 24th October, 1859, which was the sole enclosure to the Political Despatch to India of the 8th November, 1859, and which fixed the Maharaja’s allowances at £25000 a year, was intended to cancel and to

supersede Lord Stanley's letter of the 20th May, 1859. But this contention must, I think, be dismissed as untenable. If such was the intention, the letter of the 20th May ought to have been officially withdrawn. It was not so withdrawn or cancelled and the Maharaja was never informed that it was to be treated as superseded by the later communication of 24th October, 1859.

It would seem that the Maharaja fully understood that the payments in India on account of the Fatehgarh establishment were compromised in his stipend of £25,000 a year, for in a despatch addressed by the Secretary of State (Sir C. Wood) to the Government of India on the 2nd June, 1863, application is made for a statement of any sums paid in India "during the last four years on the personal account of the Maharaja Dalip Singh as His Highness is anxious to repay any amounts disbursed to his credit, since the attainment of his majority, in excess of his annual allowance of £25,000".

In reply, the Government of India forwarded, on the 14th July, 1864, letters from their Accountant General exhibiting the sums paid in India from September 1859 to December 1863 as portion allowance of His Highness the Maharaja Dalip Singh for payment of the establishment kept at Fatehgarh. But this statement for which His Highness had applied was not apparently communicated to him officially and it has been ascertained from the Accountant General of this office that no recovery has ever been made in respect of these payments in India. They are recorded in the Finance and Revenue Accounts as final charges on the revenues of India, under the head "Allowances and Assignments under Treaties and Engagements, Punjab" up to and including 1863-64, but they were recorded under the sub-head "Government of India, General Political" in the following year.

In a demi-official letter received this day from Sir Mortimer Durand, it is mentioned that this allowance has certainly been continued to the Maharaja's bankers in India, but the greater part, if not the whole of it, is believed to be devoted to the payment of charitable allowances. Further information is promised on this subject.

E. N.

Political and Secret Department

India Office, 24th June, 1889.

622. FROM LORD LANSDOWNE TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
JULY 5TH, 1889.

Thanks for your letter of the 13th June...

*From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

Dhulip Singh,
an Order of
Chivalry to
be revived.

Your account of Dhulip Singh, and the Order of Chivalry which is about to revive, amused me very much. I hope he will lose no time in spending the proceeds of the sale of his jewels. When he has done this, he will, I should think, be pretty near the end of his resources, and deprived of the power of doing much mischief here.

623. FROM LORD LANSDOWNE TO RT. HON'BLE LORD CROSS*

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
JULY, 12TH, 1889.

Dear Lord Cross,

Thanks for your letter of June 21st.

In reference to the matter of Dalip Singh, I enclose a Note giving a short account of the Kuka community.

Memorandum on the Kuka Sect

The Dalip Singh agitation in the Punjab and his supposed intention of invading India with Russian help has no doubt caused a certain revival of the hopes entertained by the Kukas, but there are no indications that any deep feeling has been aroused in Dalip Singh's favour. As observed by the Secretary to the Punjab Government, "the feeling between the Kukas, and the orthodox Sikhs is still much too pronounced to admit of any association of the two sects, save under the pressure of Maharaja's immediate presence in the country. The Maharaja's name might be used by the Kukas as spell to conjure with, if any movements were contemplated by the sect; but we have no reason for believing that this is the case. The Kuka sect is yearly diminishing in importance, and its influence is secondary".

624. FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

NO. 51.

SIMLA,
9TH AUGUST, 1889.

The proclamation of which we append a copy has been widely circulated in India and has been published in the newspapers.

Your Lordship will notice that it contains certain references to Russia and it is with regard to these that we have the honour to bring the proclamation under Your Lordship's notice. We attach no value to Maharaja

*From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

Dalip Singh's assertion about the words used by His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and we do not suppose that he has any real expectation of obtaining "the material support of Russia", in his operation against the British Government but it appears to us that there might be some advantage in bringing the passage in question to the notice of Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg. They should no doubt be regarded with disapproval by His Majesty and the Russian Foreign Officer.

A.

Beloved Fellow-Countrymen

It is with feelings of deep gratitude and sincere pride that we thank you for the offer of your lives to the sacred cause of Freedom of which we are the champion.

But as you say that you have no money to give, it becomes necessary for us to explain how small a sacrifice is asked of you to enable us to enter India with a European army and deliver you from the accursed British raj.

Beloved fellow countrymen, you number in all India some 25,00,00,000 souls and if each of you would subscribe only one pice during eight or nine months, the required sum would be raised and surely this is within the means of all.

Believe not that this money is for our personal use.

Our personal necessities are provided for from our own slender resources and you must bear in mind that all contributions will be receipted for with tokens, by authorized agents appointed by us conjointly with the committee of organization and that upon our return among you those tokens will be redeemed by us with the addition of their annual interest of 50 per cent.

Shri Khalsa Ji, for you, our cause is not only national but also religious. You number about 80,00,000 in the Punjab and we believe that to none of you will it be a great hardship to lay by, in the name of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji, one anna each month during eight months' time.

And above all things, do we desire that those who contribute should send on delegates to the Committee, to take part in the deliberations and superintend the expenditure of the funds which are subscribed for the purchase of arms and ammunition.

To our brother princes also do we address an earnest warning.

Beware of England's perfidious designs: Reflect upon the bearing of that late speech, at London, of Sir Lepel Griffin. It is a threat for the future which must not be neglected, and in our opinion, if a stop be not put soon to the nefarious policy advocated by this Englishman, within thirty years from now not one among you will be still upon his throne. The

system of peaceful annexation has already begun in the case of Maharaja of Kashmir and unless you unite in an indignant protest against this outrageous attempt at spoliation his sovereign rights and dignity, like yours, will soon be at an end notwithstanding the solemn promises to the contrary of Her Majesty the English Queen, in her proclamation of 1858.

The moment is fast approaching when you must choose between independence and eternal slavery. The great Emperor of Russia has spoken words which show that the hour of conflict is near. In that conflict England must be arrayed against our friends and it will be your own fault, if these friends do not come to our assistance.

And in the provisions of the future, we decree that from the date of this our present Royal proclamation:

1st. Cow killing is absolutely prohibited throughout all Hindustan and as compensation to the Mohammadans who have hitherto enjoyed this privilege, they will receive from the Hindus a pecuniary indemnity which shall be paid upon our arrival in India.

2nd. The payment of all taxes to the British Government is forbidden and the population is hereby commanded to refuse compliance with every order for their collection, all who disobey this decree will be properly punished later and in the meantime should be put out of caste immediately by ourselves.

3rd. The Public debt of India is hereby repudiated and all Railway and telegraph lines are confiscated. But such natives as may have held stock in either of the above, for a period of at least three years prior to the publication of this our sovereign decree, shall be secured against all loss.

This exception applies to natives only and only to those who by their acts shall prove themselves to be genuine practical patriots.

4th. All debts upon which the interest exceeds 5 per cent per annum are abolished, except where the lender can prove that he has contributed liberally to the success of our mission.

5th. All persons imprisoned by the British authorities shall be released from confinement and their places in jails shall be occupied by those who, having means at their disposal, have refused to subscribe to the fund for the liberation of their native country.

6th. All persons who have suffered from the tyranny and injustice of the accursed British Government will be reinstated as far as practicable upon their thrones and in their rights after a scrupulous investigation of their grievances.

7th. As soon after our return to India as circumstances will permit a plebiscite will be held in every province, not under the rule of any

Native Prince, and the people called upon to select the government of its choice. For example Bengal will be permitted to try the virtues of the Republic.

8th. All Hindus, Sikhs, Muhammadans and Christians are invited to offer up prayers to God for our triumph, and upon furnishing evidence that they have so done, all shall be rewarded, according to the well known liberality of our ancestors, as soon as by aid of the Almighty and the material support of Russia, we will appear again among you as a conqueror.

As circumstances may oblige us to be scrupulously prudent, it may so happen that we might be prevented direct future communication with our beloved fellow countrymen, who in that case are invited to attach to all proclamations issued by the Executive Committee the same importance as if they have our royal signatures.

Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Sikh Nation and Implacable
foe of the British Government.

Geneva,
The 25th June, 1889.

II

In the proceeding volume for the month of September, 1889, is a telegram dated the 29th August, 1889, from Viceroy to the Secretary of State for London.

625. FROM L.T. CHRISTIE, ASSISTANT INSPECTOR- GENERAL OF POLICE TO THE INSPECTOR- GENERAL OF POLICE, PUNJAB

Both the Punjab arsenals have been kept under as much watch as leisure and a limited staff have permitted. Much valuable information has been collected and a very appreciable improvement has taken place in the internal security of arms and ammunition and other stores. Yet it is right to mention that a marked difference has been observed at the two arsenals. At Ferozepur an undefineable, unexplainable impression appears to prevail that the authorities do not desire any disclosures, in fact, are distinctly opposed to any such idea—where as at Rawalpindi the very opposite in the case. At Ferozepur the arsenal subordinates are quite self-possessed and express their complete confidence in the sympathy of their officers. At Rawalpindi the subordinates are alarmed and anxious and speak of the close watch exercised by their superiors. Overtures by the secret agents at Ferozepur are warmly responded to and some little business has been done, proving that the desire to do the wrong has not been restrained, only opportunity is wanting. The very reverse is the case

at Rawalpindi. Every advance has met with a rebuff. Feelings of distrust and suspicion are most marked. The same agent who was received with open arms and courted at Ferozepur has met with a very cold reception indeed at Rawalpindi.

This difference may be accidental, perhaps unimportant, but as a fact it is worth keeping in view. The remanding of conductor W. P. Pickening, late overseer Rawalpindi Arsenal, to Regimental rank and duty will prove a wholesome warning to the other warrant officers.

626. THE *Tribune* dated October 22nd, p. 4, col. 4.

Maharaja Dhulip Singh's Yearning for Recovery of his Throne

Maharaja Dhulip Singh has certainly gone mad, or his recent letter sent to us week before last is not explicable on any other ground. For his own good we will hold the publication of this manifesto which would forfeit what little sympathy people may have now for him owing to his financial embarrassment. Dhulip Singh in calling upon the Punjabis to side with him is indulging in an utterly foolish and vain hope. Even for a Ranjit Singh it would be impossible to weaken the loyalty of the Punjabis, what to think of the poor foolish Dhulip.

627. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY
LOGIN*

"My Lady, the British will not believe that you wrote the book from disinterested motives. For they will say that I desired you to do so, as you still receive an allowance from my former stipend. At any rate, the India Office will put this forward. Please do not talk much to my son about this matter, for it will lead to disappointment...As I do not desire to be connected with the publication of the book your Ladyship is about to bring about, I cannot give the information you ask me for..."

628. FROM LORD LANSDOWNE TO RT. HON'BLE
LORD CROSS**

VICEROY'S CAMP,
(ENROUTE TO CALCUTTA)
NOVEMBER 29TH, 1889.

Thanks for your letter of the 8th November.

Without reference to the papers, I do not like to express an opinion as to our moral obligation to provide for Victor

Victor Dhulip Singh Dhulip Singh. I am, however, under the

* *Lady Login's Recollections*, p. 265-266.

** From the London Collection of Viscount Cross—microfilm in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala.

impression that the provision made for his father ought, if Dhulip Singh had not been recklessly extravagant, to have enabled him to give his children a sufficient allowance. I do not think it would be fair to ask the Government of India to make further sacrifices with this object.

629. FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA*

NO. 10.

JANUARY, 1890.

On receipt of Your Excellency's letter No. 115, dated 9th August, 1889, relative to the proclamation issued by Maharaja Dalip Singh under date 25th June, 1889, I caused the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be informed that I agreed with Your Excellency's Government that in the circumstances, it might be desirable to bring unofficially to the notice of the Russian Government the passages in the proclamation which refer to Russia and also the Maharaja's alleged intention of starting for Central Asia and suggest that Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg should receive instructions to this effect.

Sir Robert Morier was accordingly instructed to show your communication and the proclamation to M. de Giers unofficially. In the enclosed despatch dated October 1889, Sir Robert Morier gives an account of conversation with M. de Giers. It will be seen that His Excellency did not seem to attach any importance to the proclamation and with regard to the Maharaja's residence in Russia, M. de Giers added that His Highness had entered Russian territory, as Sir Robert Morier was aware, surreptitiously, but when there it had been thought inhospitable to refuse him an ordinary *Carte de Sejour*. His Excellency had been consulted on the subject, and had refused to allow a residence further south and east than Kieff, so far at least as he remembered. He would certainly "keep his eye" upon the matter and should a further application from the Maharaja come asking for permission to go into the Central Asian provinces of Russia, M. de Giers would not fail to remember what Sir Robert Morier had said and to take the Emperor's command on the subject.

630. FROM INDIA OFFICE TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Enclosures

NO. 11.

I am directed by Viscount Cross to forward, for the information of the Marquis of Salisbury, copy of a letter from the Government of India

* Foreign Political, 1890.

dated the 9th August, 1889, with enclosure on the subject of proclamation, circulated in India by Maharaja Dalip Singh and a copy of a telegram from the Viceroy reporting that the Maharaja has expressed his intention of starting for Central Asia.

Lord Cross agrees with the Government of India that under the circumstances it might be desirable to bring unofficially to the notice of the Russian Government the passages in the proclamation which refer to Russia and the Maharaja's alleged intention of starting for Central Asia and His Lordship would suggest, for the consideration of Lord Salisbury, that Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg might be instructed in this sense.

I am &c.,
(Sd.) Horace Walpole

631. FROM SIR R. B. D. MORIER TO MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

NO. 12.

ST. PETERSBURG,
16TH OCTOBER, 1889.

My Lord,

You Lordship's despatch No. 265 of the 23rd ultimo with respect to the proclamation of the Maharaja Dalip Singh reached me without the proclamation, which should have been enclosed. I nevertheless mentioned the circumstances of the case confidentially to M. Vlangly, who was then doing duty for M. de Giers and promised to let him have the proclamation as soon as it arrived, which I accordingly did. I referred to the case of conversation with M. de Giers today and said that, although my instructions were not to bring the matter officially to his notice, I yet could not but express the hope in the strongest terms that nothing would induce the Russian Government to allow that dangerous and intriguing Asiatic to take up his abode in the Central Asian provinces of Russia, where his presence might prove a cause of excitement amongst a portion of the native population of India. I knew how completely these matters were monopolized by the Ministry of War and how jealous that department was of any influence exercised by His Excellency in questions affecting territories beyond the Caspian, but I thought he could not fail to see what just cause of resentment there would be if, when every difficulty was raised and weeks of waiting were required to obtain a pass along the Trans-Caspian Railway for an innocent English traveller, permission of residence were granted to a subject of the queen in open rebellion against Her Majesty who had announced before hand that he was going into these provinces for the purpose of fomenting disaffection against the Imperial Crown.

M. de Giers said he had read the proclamation to which he did not seem to attach any importance. As regards Dalip Singh's residence in

Russia, he had entered Russian territory, as I was aware, surreptitiously but when here it had been thought inhospitable to refuse him an ordinary *Carte de Sejour*. He had been consulted on the subject and had refused to allow a residence east than Kieff, so far at least as he remembered. He would certainly keep his eye upon the matter and should a further application from the Maharaja come, asking for permission to go into the Central Asian provinces of Russia he would not fail to remember what I had said and to take the Emperor's command on the subject.

632. FROM FOREIGN CALCUTTA TO THUGEE, AJMER*

TELEGRAM

Warrant for Abdul Rasul goes to Bombay by today's post with letter to Monteath, giving personal description and telling him you will communicate as to arrest. He is on board P & O "Massaillia" bringing next mail due Sunday or Monday. Viceroy wishes him to be arrested if possible before he lands and leaves to you measures for his identification. It might be advisable for you to go and take A.S. with you, but in that do as you think best. There will probably be a good deal of information to be got from him.

633. FROM W.J. CUNNINGHAM TO JAMES MONTEATH, ESQ.** (Demi-Official)

NO. 20.

I send herewith a warrant for the arrest and detention of one Abdul Rasul, an emissary of Dalip Singh, who is on board P. & O. S. "Massaillia". You will receive, if you have not, before you read this, received information from Colonel Henderson about him and about the means for arresting him. His Excellency the Viceroy wishes to be done at Bombay, before he lands, if possible, to prevent his fulfilling any part of his mission which is believed to be the dissemination of letters from Dalip Singh and the collection of money.

His description is as follows :—

About 47 years age ; height 5 ft. 6 inches ; fair complexion ; medium build ; true type of the Kashmiri in appearance with a very quick nervous expression ; marked strongly with small pox ; has scarlike a deep burn on his left cheek or chin, dividing a closely cropped grisly beard. The hair does not grow on this scar.

Bombay has been entered in the warrant as the place of detention, because it will be the most convenient place at first. But if he is to be

*Foreign Political, 1890, No. 19.

**Foreign Political, 1890.

locked up for any length of time, some other place must be found. Do you know of a suitable place? Will the fort of Ahmednagar do?

P.S.

He may have shipped as Abdulla Effendi, as he used that name in Cairo for his postal address for letters from Europe.

A.

NO. 21.

Warrant

To the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political Department.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Abdul Rasul Kashmiri shall be placed under personal restraint at Bombay, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-in-Council and to the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By the order of
the Governor General-in-Council,

Calcutta, the 22nd Jan., 1890.

W.J. Cunningham

634. FROM JAMES MONTEATH, ESQ., TO W.J. CUNNINGHAM,
ESQ.*

(Demi-Official)

NO. 25.

I have received your letter of 22nd instant with the warrant. Colonel Henderson and Major Humfrey (Acting Commissioner of Police) arranged about the arrest and temporary confinement in a lock-up. I sent the warrant with official instructions to Major Humfrey.

About a future place of confinement, the Ahmednagar fort would do at a fringe, but the accomodation there is small, and an illegitimate son of the Jam is already confined there. Asirgarh has I think more accomodation, but more adherents of Dalip Singh were before interned there and possibly that may be an objection. West suggests that this camp would be most out of the way in the south, say in the Dharwar or Kanwar Jail.

*Foreign Political, 1890.

635. FROM GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT THUGEE AND DACOITY, TO FOREIGN SECRETARY, CALCUTTA

NO. 22.

TELEGRAM, 27TH JANUARY, 1890.

No letter or proclamation found. Abdul Rasul denied having ever been connected with Dalip Singh intrigue or business though acknowledging acquaintance. His detention here inconvenient and likely to lead to publicity. I recommend removal to Asirgarh. Monteath agrees.

636. FROM THUGEE BOMBAY, TO FOREIGN CALCUTTA

NO. 24.

TELEGRAM, 28TH JANUARY, 1890.

Will arrange with Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces. Will you wire him also and say warrant addressed Commandant, Asirgarh, will follow. Abdul Rasul professed to have come to India to earn livelihood, but two Arabic letters found in baggage indicate real design in veiled language.

637. FROM W.J. CUNNINGHAM TO J. MONTEATH

(Demi-Official)

NO. 33.

CALCUTTA,
3RD FEBRUARY, 1890.

I have now received a report from Henderson of his proceedings in arresting Abdul Rasul. Everything was managed with quite skill and Henderson makes special and grateful mention of the good arrangements made by Humfrey and of all the trouble that he took to meet Henderson's wishes in every possible way. Will you kindly let him know?

Abdul Rasul has, I suppose, gone to Asirgarh by this time and you are quiet of him. I hope he has not been much trouble to you personally and that he may be the last of the Dalip Singh's emissaries that we need bother our heads about.

638. FROM W.J. CUNNINGHAM TO A. MACKENZIE

(Demi-Official)

NO. 20.

CALCUTTA,
4TH FEBRUARY, 1890.

I have received your telegram of the 31st January. I trust that the warrant for Abdul Rasul's detention has got to you all safe.

As regards his treatment, the commandant, Asirgarh, should be instructed to guard him squarely, allowing him such moderate freedom and

exercise as may be necessary for his health. All communications between him and strangers outside or visiting the fort should be prohibited.

I shall be glad to consider any proposals made by the commandant regarding the necessary expenditure of his diet and clothing. He was a shawl merchant and a man of no social standing, but for years he has been in Europe and Egypt where he very likely has learnt to live as European. I think about Rs. 40 a month will probably be enough.

639. FROM COLONEL P.D. HENDERSON TO W.J. CUNNINGHAM
(Demi-Official)

NO. 30.

BOMBAY,
29TH FEBRUARY, 1890.

I must give you a short account of my proceedings here in connection with Abdul Rasul. Having ascertained that the English mail was expected some time during the night of Sunday, I arranged with Major Humfrey, Officiating Commissioner of Police, that the Police steam launch should be in readiness with steam up off the Apollo Bunder at nightfall, a small party of police in plain clothes were on board together with my man, A.S. Immediately the steamer cast anchor, about 1 A.M., she was boarded and Abdul Rasul arrested and removed before any shore boats reached the ship, and without any body except a few of the ship's crew being any the wiser. He was taken to Majagaon Bunder where a carriage was in readiness to convey him to the central police office.

His person was searched for letters in a cabin on board the steamer but nothing was found on him. After breakfast, I went off to the Police Office, and in first place examined carefully his baggage consisting of a portmanteau and bundle. There were no proclamations or papers connected with Dalip Singh business but I found some Arabic letters from Zobair Pasha which will be alluded to further on. Next I interviewed Abdul Rasul and after showing him that we possessed good information as to his doings and movements for the past two years, advised him for his own sake to make a clean breast of the whole business. But he persisted in asserting that he knows nothing about Dalip Singh's intrigues or communications with people in India. He first declared that he had never been to Russia, but apparently forgot this denial on my bringing the subject up again and admitted that he had been to Moscow for three or four months and by per chance had found himself in the same hotel as Dalip Singh's. It was also by chance, he said, that he was in Paris at the same time as Dalip Singh. He had gone to visit the exhibition and used to meet Dalip Singh there often. As to his object in visiting India, he declared that having heard that a just government under a British resident had been

established in Kashmir, he had determined in his old age to return to his native country and endeavour to earn a living by teaching languages. As a last resource I showed Abdul Rasul his letter to the supposed Jaswant Singh (i.e., A.S.) but he denied that it had been written by him, though he admitted that the handwriting was very much like his. Seeing that the man was determined not to confess anything, I at length left him but will have another try before he leaves this.

The Arabic letters from Zobair Pasha were mostly written four or five years ago when he was in confinement at Gibraltar. Abdul Rasul seems to have looked after his property in Cairo and to have made efforts to procure Zobair's release by memorializing the British Government on his behalf. But there are two letters of later date which with rough translations are herewith enclosed. They are such ungrammatical composition and written in such veiled language that it is difficult to get much sense out of them. The earlier letter of the 27th July clearly shows, however, that Zobair Pasha forwarded a letter to India, and I have no doubt that one of them was Abdul Rasul's letter to the supposed Jaswant Singh (A.S.) dated Paris 19th July in which he tried to induce Jaswant Singh to visit Dalip Singh at Paris. Zobair's later letter of the 25th August shows that he expected a visit from a person called 'The father of the Turban', who was sent on to Abdul Rasul. This nickname is clearly intended for (A.S. who wears a huge floppy Sikh turban). And the same letter shows that Zobair Pasha was aware of Dalip's intention to send Abdul Rasul out to India to carry out "the necessary commercial business" and to do something or other which he thought could be more satisfactorily accomplished by a person on the spot.

Besides a cover posted from Moscow, the only other papers of any importance found in Abdul Rasul's box are the leaves of the *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir*, a newspaper published in Lahore, with two passages marked. One of these refers to the possibility of trouble being caused by a rising of the tribes near Jammu in favour of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the other to Government entertaining spies in the disguise of fakirs and sadhus. Both these papers bear a portion of the Pondicherry post-mark and are no doubt by Gurbachan Singh to Dalip Singh.

Under the authority contained in your telegram of yesterday, I am making arrangement for Abdul Rasul to go off as soon as possible to Asirgarh. Instead of sending A.S. on ahead there I think it will be better to wait for a month or so till Abdul Rasul is reduced to a proper frame of mind by seeing that there is no chance for him otherwise than by making a clean breast of his connection with Dalip Singh and his precise purpose in visiting India. I have no doubt that, if properly managed, he will tell us all he knows.

Now I think that the best thing we can do is to let Dalip know that Abdul Rasul has been arrested. There is reason to believe that this was Dalip's last hope and that finding this gone, he will sue for terms. Abdul Rasul told me that Dalip is prepared to make his submission and indeed that a Mr. Ciblestone (or some such name) came over to Paris on the part of the British Government to treat with him. It can easily be managed to give news through Zobair Pasha of Abdul Rasul's arrest. I can take orders on this point on arrival at Calcutta about the 8th proximo.

My man, A.S., goes back to Lahore tonight. He appears to have done good work, lately in connection with the Kashmir intrigues and hopes to make other discoveries.

Would you mind writing a line to Monteath expressing satisfaction with the manner in which the Commissioner of Police managed the arrest of Abdul Rasul? Major Humfrey has taken a great deal of trouble to meet my wishes in every possible way.

P.S. Abdul Rasul was not well provided with money. 600 francs in notes and three sovereigns with some small change is all that he had with him. I fancy he was pretty well at the end of his tether in Egypt and had got the £100 that he received from Dalip in October.

A

640. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM ZOBAIR
PASHA TO ABDUL RASUL

NO. 31.

27TH JULY, 1889.

After compliments :—I received your letter on Saturday, the 27th July, at 1-30 English time, and at once sent without 5 minutes' delay your answer as you impressed upon me to the place in India where we wished according to the addresses on the envelopes. Please God they will arrive safely at their destinations, etc., etc.

B

641. TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM ZOBAIR
PASHA TO ABDUL RASUL

NO. 32.

25TH AUGUST, 1889.

After compliments :—I received your letter, dated 8th August, 1889, and know that you are well. You mentioned that you have sent a reply in your handwriting and enclosed another answer from all the persons and the mutual friend to Syed Umar Saunsi at Alexandria. This is a second answer for my friends and your friends whose affair is well known at Paris which was written in English with a translation in Arabic. What you

mentioned in this matter is proved to be correct, but no answer to the above letter has reached me up to this date. At the same time when you wrote to me, I spoke to Syed Umar Saunsi on the matter and impressed upon him to send it to me, but he did not favour me regarding that matter, nor did he send up to date. What you wrote to me about the Derveshes between Siwa and Wady Halfa, I understood, and that the British army were victorious and that peace and tranquility prevail between the tribes and people after having suffered many misfortunes. My dear brother, another answer from you, dated 16th August, has arrived acknowledging receipt of my reply to you which contained news of my welfare and informed you of the despatch of your answer to the countries of India. God be praised that you know this. For your satisfaction you impressed upon me to send that reply without five minutes delay, what you hinted to me about the former man, the 'father of the turban', and our transactions with him in secret, I know your object. When he comes to me, all that is necessary will be done according to your wish and at the time of his departure for journey, I will give you a hint beforehand that you may know, recognise his name and the date he will start towards you. If any other person comes, I will not receive him according to your advice and desire, and therefore it is necessary that you should give me his name and description of which you will be aware. What you write to me regarding the opinions of our mutual friend, I praise and approve for the purpose of sending to you to the countries of India with the object of carrying out the necessary commercial business and for change of air; for a person on the spot sees things which an absent person cannot be aware of. But my advice is to be patient and wait for events, which is much better. Success will come in time and you will be saved from any risk. Do what you and your friends there think best.

642. FROM MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH TO LADY LOGIN

GRAND HOTEL, PARIS,
19TH JULY, 1890.

"Dear Lady Login,

"I have been struck down by the hand of God. I am lying ill here with a stroke of paralysis, and as the sickness may be up to death, I pray you to forgive me all I might have said against you.

"I have written to ask pardon from the Queen and should I get better, my son is determined to drag me to England, where I shall hope to see you once more, and shake hands, and let bye-gones be bye-gones.

Your affectionate
Duleep Singh

643. FROM SIR HENRY PONSONBY TO LADY LOGIN

JULY 24TH, 1890.

...“The Queen has duly received the Maharaja’s letter. But, of course, the whole question is one of such grave political importance that Her Majesty could express no opinion upon it without consulting Her Ministers.

“She therefore lost no time in forwarding the appeal to Lord Cross, and he necessarily must discuss the matter with his colleagues so that no immediate decision can be made known.

Yours sincerely,
Henry F. Ponsonby.”

644. The *Tribune* dated September 3, 1890, p. 3, col. 4

Maharaja Dhuleep Singh Begs Pardon of the Queen Empress

From Maharaja Dhuleep Singh to Lord Cross, dated Paris,

JULY 27, 1890.

“My Lord, I write to express my great regret for my past conduct towards Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India. I humbly ask her Majesty to pardon me, and I trust entirely to the clemency of the Queen. Should Her Majesty grant me pardon, I promise obedience to Her wishes for the future.

I am, Yours faithfully,
Dhuleep Singh.”

B.

From Viscount Cross to Maharaja Dhuleep Singh

India office, August I, 1890.

“Your Highness, Her Majesty’s Government have had under their consideration Your Highness’s letter of July 27, in which you express your great regret for your past conduct towards the Queen Empress of India, promise obedience for the future, and throw yourself entirely on the clemency of Her Majesty. I am now commanded to inform you that on the understanding that henceforward Your Highness will remain obedient to the Queen Empress of India and will regulate your movements in conformity with the instructions that may be issued to you by Her Government, Her Majesty, by the advice of Her Ministers, has been graciously pleased to accord you the pardon that you have sought.

I remain, Maharaja,
Yours faithfully,
Cross.”

C.

From Prince Victor Dhuleep Singh to Viscount Cross,
dated Grand Hotel de'Paris, August 2.

My Lord,

I am directed by my father, the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, to write and acknowledge receipt of your letter containing the gracious orders of Her Majesty, the Queen, and to say that he is unable to write himself, being at present forbidden to do so by the doctors and that he will write as soon as he is able to express himself his thankfulness and satisfaction.

I am Your Lordship's
Obedient Servant,
Victor Dhuleep Singh.

645. FROM G.R. IRWIN, OFFICIATING UNDER SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,
TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
FORT ST. GEORGE

No. 14. No. 3488.

SIMLA,
20TH OCTOBER, 1890.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter (Political) No. 384, dated the 2nd August 1890, I am directed to state for the information of the Governor-in-Council that the Government of India have authorised the Government of the Punjab to inform the Sindhanwalia Sardars residing at Pondicherry that they are, if they choose, at liberty to return to British India, where they need not, so long as they are of good behaviour, apprehend the institution of any prosecution by Government against them on account of the treasonable proceeding in which they have been engaged up to the present time.

646. FROM H.S. BARNES, DEPUTY SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT, TO
THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,
POLITICAL DAPARTMENT*

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces has been directed to forward, under custody to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, one Abdul Rasul, who has been confined in the Asirgarh fort under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. A warrant will be sent with him.

I am to request that the Commissioner of Police may be instructed to provide this person with a second class passage to London by the first

*Foreign Political, 1890, November.

outgoing mail steamer after his arrival in Bombay, and keep him in safe custody till the steamer weighs anchor. The name of the ship and date of sailing should be telegraphed to this office as soon as fixed and the warrant for Abdul Rasul's detention should be returned as soon as he leaves India.

When Abdul Rasul was arrested in Bombay in January last he had in his possession 600 francs in notes, three sovereigns and some small change. It is understood that this money was retained by the Commissioner of Police, who may now be directed to return the same to the owner.

647. FROM SIR E. BARING, CAIRO, TO VICEROY

NO. 87.

TELEGRAM, 4TH NOVEMBER, 1890.

Your telegram today. I have no legal power to prevent Abdul Rasul, but I might move Egyptian government to prevent him from landing if you can give me some reasons to lay before them. Unless it can be shown that his presence in Egypt is dangerous, it would perhaps be better for me to have him watched as before rather than to ask Egyptian Government to stop him from landing. I doubt his being able to do much harm here.

648. FROM H. S. BARNES, OFFICIATING DEPUTY SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, TO THE CHIEF
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
N. W. PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

NO. 94. NO. 4017.

FORT WILLIAM,
28TH NOVEMBER, 1890.

With reference to the correspondence ending with this office letter No. 633 dated the 21st February, 1890, I am directed to say that the Governor-General-in-Council is pleased to order the unconditional release of the state prisoners, Arur Singh and Bawa Budh Singh.

The former may be permitted to go to England, if he so wishes, making his own arrangements, and Budh Singh may return to his home in Kashmir, his expenses thither being paid, if he has no means of his own. The date of his departure should be communicated to the Government of the Punjab.

I am to forward to you for delivery to Arur Singh, a leather pocket book containing four notes of the Bank of France of one hundred francs each and a cheque for rupees five hundred.

On the release of these men, the warrants for their detention should be returned to this office duly endorsed.

649. FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT,
NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH
TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT*

NO. 95.

I am directed to acknowledge your letter No. 4017 dated 28th November last, intimating that the Governor-General-in-Council had been pleased to order the unconditional release of the state prisoners, Arur Singh and Bawa Budh Singh.

In reply, I am to return the warrants for the detention of both prisoners with the endorsement of the commandant, Chunar fort, that they were released on the 15th December 1890. The leather pocket book containing a cheque for Rs. 500 and four notes of the Bank of France, of one hundred francs each, has been duly made over to Arur Singh.

At the request of the Punjab Government, Budh Singh was directed to report himself to District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar. He left Chunar on the 8th instant but expressed his intention of stopping enroute at Benaras.

I am to add that a sum of Rs. 25 has been advanced to Bawa Budh Singh for his expenses to Kashmir, and the Accountants General of these provinces will be directed to adjust the expenditure.

Enclosures

(i) Warrant dated Simla the 3rd September, 1887, against Arur Singh alias Partab Singh. (ii) Warrant dated Simla the 18th October, 1887, against Bawa Budh Singh Bedi.

650. FROM W. J. CUNNINGHAM TO THE CHIEF
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB**

NO. 9.

I am directed to forward for the information of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, the correspondence relating to Dalip Singh's pardon and the petition for pardon and a maintenance allowance which has been renewed to the Sindhanwalia Sardars at Pondicherry. The Dalip Singh correspondence has been published in accordance with the Secretary of State's instructions in the telegram above cited.

The Governor General-in-Council proposes to reply to the petition from the Government of India in consequence of their connection with

* Foreign Political, 1890 November.

** Foreign Political, 1890 November.

the Dalip Singh conspiracies. The Government of India has no desire to prosecute His Highness's insignificant instruments while Her Majesty has pardoned the Maharaja himself. There seems, however, to be no reason why the Sardars should, considering their antecedents, expect an allowance from the Government of India.

Before replying, however, the Governor-General-in-Council would be glad to be favoured with His Honour's opinion in the matter and more especially, to know whether His Honour considers that, in the event of the Sardars being permitted to return to British India, any restriction should be put upon their place of residence. I am also to ask Sir James Lyall's views as to the disposal of the Sardar's property in land, which is under attachment. In conclusion, I am to say that the Government of India know that the Sardars wrote within the last two months to His Highness the Maharaja Dalip Singh, representing their own destitute condition and praying for money to save them from the ignomy of return to India. They say the worst fate before them is to be allowed to go free in India.

651. FROM H. C. FANSHAWE, ESQ., OFFICIATING SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, TO THE
SECRETARY, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT*

NO. 12.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2951 dated 6th instant, forwarding certain papers relating to the pardon of Maharaja Dalip Singh and asking for the expression of the opinion of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the treatment to be accorded to Sardar Gurbachan Singh Sindhanwalia and his brothers who have also petitioned for pardon.

In reply, I am directed to say that Sir James Lyall quite agrees with the Governor-General-in-Council that the petitioners should not be prosecuted, though it is the common opinion of Sikhs Sardars and other Punjabees who take an interest in the matter that it was by the advice and at the suggestion of Sardar Thakur Singh, the petitioner's father, the Maharaja Dalip Singh assumed a rebellious attitude. His honour knew Thakur Singh well and saw him often in 1881, 1882 and 1883 and he has reason to believe this opinion to be quite correct. Sir James Lyall also believes that Sardar Thakur Singh gave this bad advice to the Maharaja, not under any delusion as to the Maharaja's chances but from selfish

*Foreign Political, 1890 November.

motives of his own. The letter of the Punjab Government No. 85 of the 13th June, 1882, to the address of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, in which the grant of a loan to Sardar Thakur Singh was recommended on political grounds, will show the condition of the Sardar's affairs at that time. When he went to England in 1884, he was a ruined and a bitterly disappointed man and the Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt that he deliberately decided on adopting a hostile and rebellious attitude, in the hope of in that way inducing the Government to pay attention to his demands. In his ideas and feelings, he was in the main a man of the old Sikh school and in Sikh times it was the regular custom for disappointed men to press their claims in this way on the Government very generally with success. It seems important to show that such tactics are worse than useless at the present day and as the sons readily followed their father's example and are equally guilty, Sir James Lyall thinks that the perpetuity Jagir of the family of value of about Rs. 1,350 per annum which has been attached under orders of the local government for some years, should be now formally and finally resumed. As to this, a separate report will be submitted, if required. But though His Honour considers that the Jagir should be resumed, he would grant the three sons a pension of Rs. 100 per mensem to continue during the pleasure of Government and their good behaviour and on condition of their residing in such place as the local government may from time to time direct and not leaving it except with the permission of the local Government or of the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner, if authority to give permission is deputed to these officers. Sir James Lyall is of opinion that a pension of this kind is absolutely necessary for their support, as they are likely to get nothing from their private property, which is, it is believed, all attached by order of civil court and is altogether inadequate to meet the claims of the creditors against them. It would not, His Honour thinks, be advisable to make them absolute beggars and objects of compassion by refusing them any pension, and for some time to come it seems better that government should have power over them to make them live where it seems best which can be secured by a conditional pension.

If these proposals are approved, Sir James Lyall would propose to direct the Sardars for the present to live at Delhi. His Honour does not think their residence there would be in any way objectionable and the local government could have their conduct well looked after, if they lived there. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, recommends that they would get a pardon on the clear understanding that they will not get back their Jagir and must accept the pension suggested with its conditions as to residence so long as the local government thinks it necessary to enforce those conditions.

652. FROM W. J. CUNNINGHAM, OFFICIATING SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPART-
MENT TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB*

NO. 13.

I am directed to reply to your letter No. 528 dated the 8th September, 1890, regarding the three Sardars, Gurbachan Singh, Narinder Singh, and Gurdit Singh, now living at Pondicherry, from which place they have till recently been carrying on treasonable intrigues in connection with the Maharaja Dalip Singh's abortive attempt to assert his claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab.

Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to pardon His Highness the Maharaja, there is now no special reason why the same clemency should not be extended to his insignificant instruments and adherents even though their father's mischievous instigation was in all probability the main cause of the Maharaja's foolish proceedings. I am accordingly to authorise you to inform the three Sardars above mentioned that they are, if they choose, at liberty to return to British India, where they need not, as long as they are of good behaviour, apprehend the institution of any prosecution by the Government of India against them on account of the treasonable proceedings in which they have been engaged up to the present time.

The small Jagir, which under other circumstances they would have inherited from their father, is now, owing to the treason of Sardar Thakur Singh and his sons, an escheat to Government and may be formally resumed. It is believed that the Sardars are so heavily in debit that their income derived from the Jagir, if it were left in their enjoyment, would have been attached to satisfy the claims of their creditors. As, however, the Sardars are understood to have no means of support, the Governor General-in-Council is willing to grant to them for their respective lives a charitable allowance of Rs. 33.5.4 per mensem each which will be free from attachment. This allowance will be payable during good behaviour and the pleasure of Government and on condition that they live in any place that the Lieutenant-Governor may appoint for their residence.

653. The *Tribune* dated December 10, 1890, p. 1, col. 3

Maharaja Dhuleep Singh's request to the Queen to restore him to the position as a Knight Grand Cross of India

Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, the *World* says, I hear, that the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh had made a humble request that the Queen will be

* Foreign Political, 1890 November.

graciously pleased to restore him to his position as a Knight Grand Cross of the Star of India. When the Maharaja kicked up his heels so egregiously, he formally returned the insignia of the Order and expressed wish that his name might be forthwith erased from the list of the Knights. I suppose Lords Salisbury and Cross will presently advise the Queen to reinstate Her flightly subject, as there appears to be a general desire to deal very tenderly with him.

654. *The Tribune*, dated March 12, 1892, p. 1, col. 2

Maharaja Dhuleep Singh sued by Abdul Rasul in the Paris Court

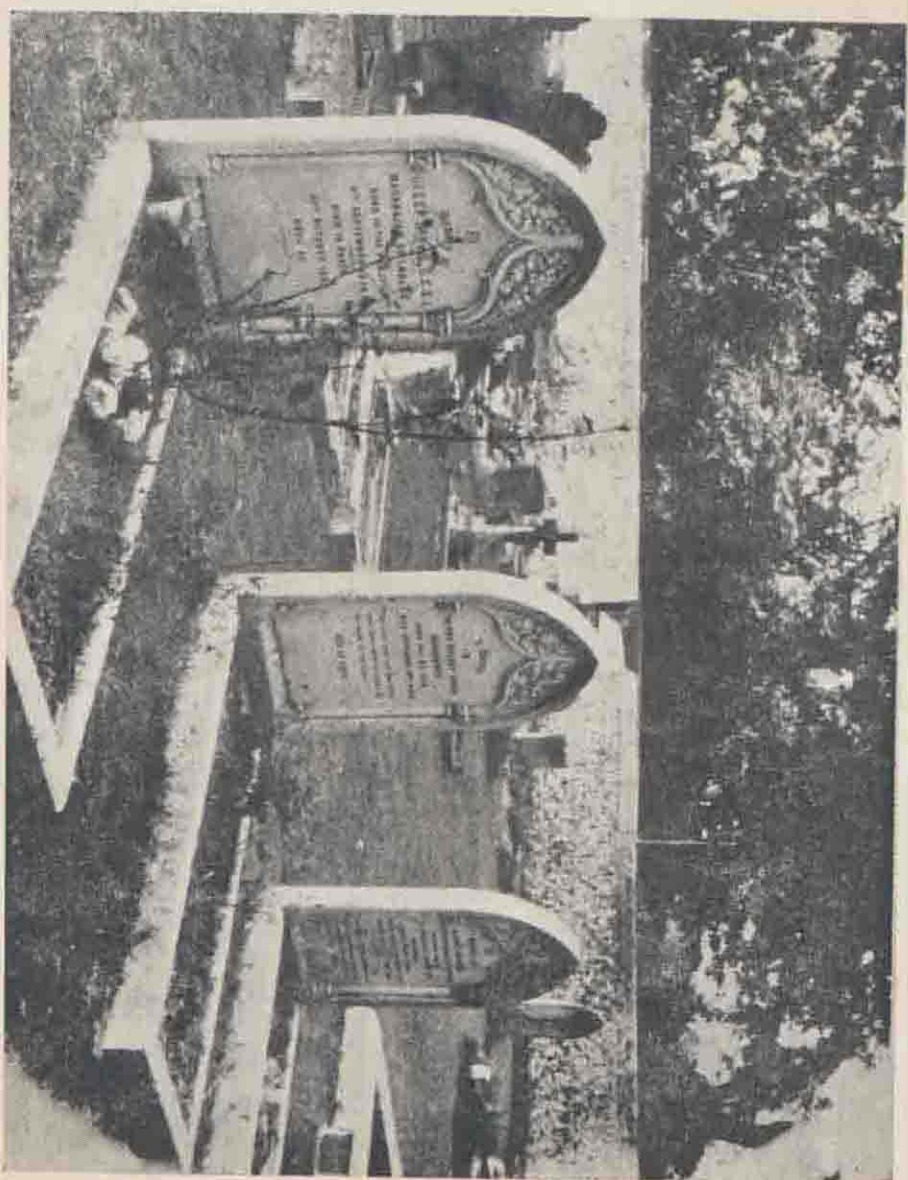
Maharaja Dhuleep Singh and one Abdul Rasul. The Maharaja Dhuleep Singh is being sued in the Paris Court by one Abdul Rasul described as Indian journalist. The plaintiff alleges that at the time His Highness fled to Russia and declared against England, he was employed to promote Dhuleep's cause in India. When the Maharaja came to his senses, Abdul returned to England, and as he could obtain no compensation for what he had done, he now seeks to recover damages, as well as a life pension that Dhuleep seems to have promised him if he enlisted under his banner.

655. *The Tribune*, dated October 25, 1893, p. 4, col. 1

Maharaja Dhuleep Singh

As we are going to press, we heard the sorrowful news of the death of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh. When he—the son and heir of Ranjit—died there was no one with him to close his eyes. The sad event occurred at a hotel in Paris, and, it is said, was due to apoplexy. There are many old men living who remember the festivities that took place in Lahore, nay, throughout the Khalsa Empire in 1838, when poor Dhuleep was born. The Lion of the North was then in the zenith of his fame and power and he celebrated the occasion in a befitting manner. When the *Sircar* sat, surrounded by his warriors and nobles, in the Hazoori Bagh Baradari, when the court bards were chanting appropriate *shabads*, guns were booming, bands playing, the ladies in the Palace joyously singing *wadhais* and the Royal *Naobat* filled the capital city with glad strains, could any one have so told the dark and mournful end of the new-born prince!

For some years after his first marriage in 1864 at the British Consulate of Alexandria, Maharaja Dhuleep Singh led a happy enough life. His princely presence lent grace to most court functions. He was a favourite of his gracious and noble hearted sovereign. He lived in splendid style and keenly pursued his favourite pastime of hawking. His misfortunes began practically after the death of his first wife in September 1887. He was open-handed to a fault and his limited income of, we believe, about five lakhs a year, did not suffice for his expenditure. Nothing depresses one



Graves of Maharaja Dulcep Singh, his wife Maharani Bamba Dulcep Singh and
his youngest son Prince A. Edward Dulcep Singh.

like money difficulties and his indebtedness, and the refusal of the British Government to increase his pension almost drove him mad. How, impulsive and impetuous that he was, he fell a prey to the evil counsels of mischievous men and broke away from the Court of St. James, how he wandered overwhelmed with misery and shame in Russia and France, how in May, 1889, he married Ada Douglas Witherill in Paris, and how he eventually expressed his regret for his ways and was pardoned by the Queen, are still, no doubt, vividly remembered by our readers. Two years ago Maharaja Dhuleep Singh had a paralytic stroke and since then had not completely recovered his health. The death of a beloved son a few months back was a cruel blow to him. He grew worse, he found rest and peace nowhere and when the last moment came, he was alone, far from friends and relatives in a hotel at Paris.

He was but a boy when he was banished from his home and country. But, we have heard from Punjabi gentlemen who had seen him in England that he had forgotten nothing of his life at Lahore. He loved to talk of the old, old days and his eyes were often filled with tears as he spoke of his old playmates, his *tahlias*, his favourite horses and the gorgeously uniformed regiment of infantry, consisting of the cadets of the noblest houses in the Punjab, that used to be in his *ardil*. Wherever he was, in whatever conditions he was, there was no diminution in his passionate love for his motherland.

Appendix A

THE SALE OF THE MAHARAJA'S ESTATE IN ENGLAND

1894

THE TRUSTEES OF THE SETTLEMENTS MADE BY HIS
HIGHNESS THE LATE MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH

to

The Right Honourable Edward Cecil Baron Iveagh
CONVEYANCE OF THE ELVEDEN HALL ESTATE

In The County of Suffolk
Travers Smith Braithwaite & Robinson
Solicitors,
4 Throgmorton Avenue, London.

This Indenture made the third day of July
one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four

Between

George John Marjoribanks of 59 Strand London Esquire
of the first part

William Rolle Malcolm of the same place Esquire and
the said GEORGE JOHN MARJORIBANKS
of the second part

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE VICTOR ALBERT JAY
DULEEP SINGH of 64 South Audley Street London
(hereinafter referred to as "Prince Victor Duleep Singh")
of the third part

And THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD CECIL
BARON IVEAGH of 5 Grosvenor Place London (here-
inafter referred to as "Lord Iveagh") of the fourth part

Whereas under and by virtue of an Indenture dated the twenty-ninth
day of June, 1883 (hereinafter referred to as "the
Settlement of 1883") made between His Highness
the late Maharaja Duleep Singh (therein and hereinafter

Stamp
£798. 10s.

Conveyance
Parties

Trustee of Se-
ttlement of
1883.

Trustees of
settlement of
1886.

Prince Victor
Duleep Singh.

Lord Iveagh.

Settlement of
1883

termed "the Maharajah") since deceased of the first part, the Secretary of State in Council of India of the second part, Henry Dudley Ryder of the third part, Ronald Ruthven Leslie Melville and John Stewart Oliphant of the fourth part, the Princess Bamba (since deceased) the wife of the Maharaja of the fifth part, the said Ronald Ruthven Leslie Melville of the sixth part, Robert Ruthven Pym (since deceased) and the said William Rolle Malcolm of the seventh part and the said George John Marjoribanks and Robert Lindsay Antrobus (since deceased) of the eighth part, and a Deed Poll dated the second day of July 1894 under the hand and seal of the said George John Marjoribanks enlarging six several long terms of years into estates in fee simple and in the events which have happened by reason of the deaths of the said Princess Bamba on the eighteenth day of September 1887, of the said Robert Lindsay Antrobus on the fifth day of March 1891, and of the Maharajah on the twenty-second day of October 1893, the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed (except the parts thereof formerly copyhold which have been lately enfranchised in the name of Prince Victor Duleep Singh as hereinafter recited and except the parts thereof which are comprised in the settlement of 1886 hereinafter recited) now stand limited to the use of the said George John Marjoribanks, his heirs and assigns in fee simple Upon Trust for sale by public auction or private contract for such price subject to such conditions and in such manner in all respects as he should think fit AND the said Settlement of 1883 contains a covenant by the Maharaja to Surrender certain copyhold hereditaments then held by him of the Manor of Mildenhall to the Trustees of the said Settlement to be held by them upon trusts corresponding with the uses and trusts thereby declared concerning the freehold hereditaments thereby BUT no surrender of such copyhold was ever made by the Maharaja and on the second day of June, 1894, Prince Victor Duleep Singh his eldest Son and Heir-at-law was admitted tenant thereof according to the custom of the said Manor AND by an Indenture or Deed of Enfranchisement dated the second day of July, 1894, made between Sir Edward Herbert Bunbury Baronet Lord of the said Manor of Mildenhall of the first part, William Craig Emilius Napier and Henry Frederick Nicholl of the second part and Prince Victor Duleep Singh of the third part for the considerations therein appearing the said Sir Edward Herbert Bunbury enfranchised and released to Prince Victor Duleep Singh the said copyhold hereditaments Together

Enlargement
of Long Terms
into Freeholds.

Deaths of
Parties.

Covenant
to surrender
Copyholds.

No surrender
made.

Admission of
Prince Victor.

Enfranchisement
to him.

with all timber and other trees standing or growing thereon and the mines and minerals there-under and all rights of common and commonable rights appurtenant thereto To hold unto and to the use of Prince Victor Duleep Singh his heirs and assigns Freed and discharged from all rents fines duties services and other incidents of copyhold tenure.

And whereas the said George John Marjoribanks has agreed with Lord Iveagh to sell to him such of the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed as are comprised in or subject to the said Settlement of 1883 at the price of One hundred and fifty-nine thousand pounds and on treaty for the said sale it was agreed that Prince Victor Duleep Singh should join in these presents for the purpose of conveying the hereditaments so enfranchised and conveyed to him by the said of Deed of Enfranchisement of the second day of July 1891 as aforesaid.

Contract for
sale of Property
in Settlement of
1883 Prince
Victor to convey
copyholds
enfranchised.

And whereas it is apprehended that questions may arise whether the estate tail of Prince Victor Duleep Singh subsisting by virtue of an Indenture of Settlement dated the twenty-fourth day of April 1863 made between the Maharaja of the one part and Sir Charles Beaumont Phipps, Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence and Edward Marjoribanks the Younger of the other part and an Indenture of Settlement dated the fifth day of July, 1867, made between the Maharajah of the one part and the said Ronald Ruthven Leslie Melville and John Stewart Oliphant of the other part in the freehold hereditaments comprised in the Settlement of 1883 was effectually barred by the said Settlement of 1883 and with a view to disposing of any such questions Prince Victor Duleep Singh has also agreed to join in these presents for the purpose of barring his estate tail (if any) in all or any part of the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed.

Question as to
non-enrollment
of Settlement of
1883.

And whereas by an Indenture dated the tenth day of December, 1886, (hereinafter referred to as "the Settlement of 1886") made between the Maharajah of the one part and the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks of other part.

Settlement of
1886.

(1) A Freehold Farm in Mildenhall Suffolk called The World's End Farm conveyed to the Maharajah by the Misses Seaber by Deed dated the eleventh day of October, 1884, and therein expressed to contain 65 a. Or. 25p. which premises are coloured Yellow on Plan No. 2 annexed to these presents and are the Item Numbered 15 in the Schedule hereto and are therein expressed to contain 65 a. Or. 33p.

Freeholds
therein.

(2) A piece of Freehold Land in Lakenheath Suffolk conveyed to the Maharajah by Hannah and John Wall by Deed dated the eighteenth day of February, 1885, and therein expressed to contain 3a. 2r. 1p. being part of No. 1372 on Plan No. 1 annexed to these presents and part of the Item Numbered 10 in the Schedule hereto

Were conveyed by the Maharajah unto and to the use of the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks in fee simple Upon the Trusts thereafter declared concerning the same AND the Maharajah thereby covenanted with the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks to surrender into the hands of the Lord of the Manor of Lakenheath of which the same were holden To the use of the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks their heirs and assigns according to the custom of the same Manor.

(1) A piece of Copyhold Land in Lakenheath covenanted to be surrendered to the Maharajah by Hannah and John Wall by the said Deed of the eighteenth day of February, 1885, and therein expressed to be situate in Smeeth Fen and to contain eight acres more or less being No. 1359 on Plan No. 1 annexed to these presents and being further part of the said Item Numbered 10 in the Schedule hereto.

(2) A piece of Copyhold Land at Lakenheath aforesaid covenanted to be surrendered to the Maharajah by Edward Ridley by Deed dated the twenty-first day of July, 1885, and therein expressed to contain eight acres more or less lying in the Smeeth being No. 1366 on the said Plan No. 1 annexed to these presents and being further part of the said Item Numbered 10 in the Schedule hereto.

(3) A piece of Copyhold Land at Lakenheath bargained and sold to the Maharajah by the Trustees of the Will of William Hensley by Deed dated the eleventh day of October, 1885, and therein expressed to contain 7a. 3r. 2p. or thereabouts situate on the Smeeth being No. 1368 on the said Plan No. 1 annexed to these presents and being further part of the said Item Numbered 10 in the Schedule hereto.

AND it was thereby declared that the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks their heirs and assigns should stand seized of the said freehold and copyhold hereditaments thereby conveyed and covenanted to be surrendered respectively Upon Trust for sale at such time as they should think fit BUT no surrender of the said copyholds was ever made by the Maharajah and on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1894, Prince Victor Dulcep Singh was admitted tenant thereof according to the custom of the said Manor AND by an Indenture or Deed of Enfranchisement dated the twenty-seventh day of June, 1894,

Copyholds not
surrendered.

Admission of
Prince Victor.

made between The Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England Lords of the said Manor of Lakenheath of the one part and Prince Victor Duleep Singh of the other part for the consideration therein appearing the said Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted released enfranchised and conveyed to Prince Victor Duleep Singh The said copyhold hereditaments including the Lords rights reserved by Section 48 of the Copyhold Act 1852 To hold unto and to the use of Prince Victor Duleep Singh in fee simple discharged from all rents fines fealty suit of Court and all customary or copyhold payments duties services or customs whatsoever and from all other incidents of copyhold or customary tenure inculding the Lords rights reserved by the Copyhold Act 1852 Section 48.

Enfranchise-
ment to
him.

And whereas the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks have agreed with Lord Iveagh to sell to him such of the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed as are comprised in or subject to the said Settlement of 1886 at the price of Seven hundred pounds and on treaty for the said sale it was agreed that Prince Victor Duleep Singh should join in these presents for the purpose of conveying the hereditaments so enfranchised and conveyed to him by the said Deed of Enfranchisement of the twenty-seventh day of June, 1894, as aforesaid.

Contract for
Sale of Prop-
erty in Settle-
ment of 1886
Prince Victor
to convey
Copyholds en-
franchised.

And whereas the consideration for the enfranchisement of the said hereditaments formerly copyhold of the Manors of Mildenhall and Lakenheath respectively was provided and paid by Lord Iveagh.

Cost of en-
franchisement
paid by Lord
Iveagh.

Now this Indenture witnesseth that in pursuance of the said recited Agreements AND IN CONSIDERATION OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINE THOUSAND POUNDS on execution hereof paid by Lord Iveagh to the said George John Marjoribanks (the receipt whereof the said George John Marjoribanks hereby acknowledges) THE SAID GEORGE JOHN MARJORIBANKS as to such part of the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed as are comprised in or subject to the Trusts of the said Settlement of 1883 and AS TRUSTEE in execution of the Trusts reposed in him by such Settlement and of every other power enabling him in this behalf HEREBY CONVEYS AND PRINCE VICTOR DULEEP SINGH AS TRUSTEE with intent to convey his Estate and interest in such part of the same hereditaments as are comprised in

Testatam.
Purchase
money of
Property
in Settle-
ment of
1883.

Convey-
ance by
Trustee
thereof.
Convey-
ance by

the said Deed of Enfranchisement of the second day of July, 1894, AND AS BENEFICIAL OWNER with intent to bar all estates tail and remainders over (if any) existing in all or any part of the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed by this Deed intended to be enrolled as a Disentailing Assurance in the High Court of Justice Chancery Division pursuant to the Statute in this behalf CONVEYS AND CONFIRMS AND IN CONSIDERATION OF SEVEN HUNDRED POUNDS on execution hereof paid by Lord Iveagh to the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks (the receipt whereof they hereby acknowledge) THE SAID WILLIAM ROLLE MALCOLM AND GEORGE JOHN MARJORIBANKS as to such part of the hereditaments intended to be hereby conveyed as are comprised in or subject to the Trusts of the said Settlement of 1886 and AS TRUSTEES in execution of the Trusts reposed in them by such Settlement and of every other power enabling them in this behalf HEREBY CONVEY AND PRINCE VICTOR DULEEP SINGH AS TRUSTEE with intent to convey his Estate and interest in such part of the same hereditaments as are comprised in the said Deed of Enfranchisement of the Twenty-seventh day of June, 1894, HEREBY CONVEYS AND CONFIRMS UNTO LORD IVEAGH HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS.

Prince Victor of Copyholds enfranchised. And to Bar Enfranchisement if any. Purchase money of Property in Settlement of 1886. Conveyance by Trustees thereof. Conveyance by Prince Victor of Copyholds enfranchised to Lord Iveagh.

First. All THAT the MANOR or Lordship of MONKSHALL STAINES and ELVEDEN otherwise Eden Rushforth otherwise Rushford and Hastings in the County of Suffolk with the rights members fees profits and appurtenances thereto belonging.

Parcels.
1. Manor of Elveden.

Secondly. All THAT the ADVOWSON donation presentation and right of patronage of and to the Rectory and Parish Church OF ELVEDEN otherwise Elden in the said County of Suffolk.

2. Advowson of Elveden.

Thirdly. All that the MANOR OF ERISWELL WITH CHAMBERLAINS IN the said County of Suffolk with the rights members fees profits and appurtenances thereto belonging.

3. Manors of Eriswell and Chamberlains.

Fourthly. All THAT Estate and Lands known collectively by the name of the "ELVEDEN HALL ESTATE" containing altogether SEVENTEEN THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVEN ACRES TWO ROODS AND SEVENTEEN PERCHES or thereabouts and comprising THE CAPITAL MANSION HOUSE known as ELVEDEN HALL with the Stables Gardens Grounds and Park thereto belonging AND the Messuages Farms Lands Tenements and hereditaments situate in the several Parishes of Wangford Lakenheath Mildenhall Eriswell Elveden otherwise Elden and Icklingham all in the County of Suffolk specified or referred to in the Schedule hereto and the different portions thereof containing the several quantities and known by the several names and descriptions and either in hand or now or lately occupied by the several Tenants as in the same Schedule is set forth and which said premises are delineated in the Three Plans hereto annexed and thereon coloured as in the said Schedule is mentioned.

4. Mansion
and Estate of
Elveden Hall.

Fifthly. All OTHER (if any) the freehold copyhold and leasehold Manors Rectories advowsons lands tenements tithes rents and hereditaments whatsoever situate being or arising within the said several Parishes or elsewhere in the County of Suffolk which by any means whatsoever have become and now stand settled or subject at law or in equity to the subsisting uses or Trusts of the said Settlements of 1883 and 1886 respectively or either of them whether specified or referred to or not in the Schedule hereto and whether delineated or not in the several plans hereto annexed WHICH Schedule and plans are set forth for easier identification and not so as to restrict any general or other description in these presents.

5. Generally
the whole
Estate com-
prised in the
Settlements
of 1883 and
1886.

And Sixthly. All THAT THE BUSINESS of dealing in game eggs and of breeding rearing and dealing in game as now or heretofore carried on by the said William Rolle Malcolm and George John Marjoribanks or either of them on from or in connection with the Estate and hereditaments hereinbefore conveyed AND THE GOODWILL of such business and all profits and advantages henceforth to accrue in respect thereof.

6. Eggs and
Game business
and Goodwill.

To hold the same UNTO AND TO THE USE OF THE SAID LORD IVEAGH IN FEE SIMPLE AND ABSOLUTELY FREED AND DISCHARGED from the Estate tail of the said Prince Victor Duleep Singh (if any) and all remainders estates and powers to take effect after

Habendum to Lord
Iveagh Discharged
from Estate tail.
Subject to Tenancies
and Outgoings.

the determination or in defeasance of such Estate tail BUT SUBJECT as to such parts of the said hereditaments as are respectively subject thereto to the several Leases and Tenancies specified in the Schedule hereto AND SUBJECT ALSO as to such parts of the said hereditaments as are respectively subject thereto to the Annual Outgoings also specified in the said Schedule.

And Lord Iveagh hereby declares that his Declaration against
Widow (if any) shall not be entitled to dower out dower.
of the said hereditaments.

And THE SAID GEORGE JOHN MARJORIBANKS hereby
ACKNOWLEDGES the right of Lord Iveagh to
production and delivery of copies of an Agreement Acknowledgments
for Settlement dated the sixth day of June 1864 for production of
made between the Maharajah of the first part Agreement of 6th
Bamba Muller of the second part and the said June 1864.
Ronald Ruthven Leslie Melville John Oliphant and
Ludwig Muller of the third part and the said recited Settlement of 1886.

And the said WILLIAM ROLLE MALCOLM Settlement of 1886.
AND GEORGE JOHN MARJORIBANKS here-
by ACKNOWLEDGE the right of Lord Iveagh to production and delivery
of copies of the said Settlement of 1886.

SCHEDULE

PARTICULARS OF LANDS AND RENTAL OF THE ELVEDEN HALL ESTATE IN THE COUNTRY OF SUFFOLK

EXPLANATORY NOTES

- A.—QUANTITIES.—The Areas in the Schedule are compiled from the Quantities given in the Books of Reference of the 25-inch Ordnance Survey adjusted to the facts where necessary and are Exclusive in some cases of the Areas of Roads and Rivers belonging to the Estate.
- B.—PLANS.—The Plans are taken from the Maps of the 6-inch Ordnance Survey. The Numbers on the Plans are taken from those in the Books of Reference of the Ordnance Survey.
- C.—TENURE.—The whole of the Items mentioned in the Schedule are of Freehold Tenure. The whole are comprised in the Settlement of 1883 referred to in the foregoing Conveyance except only parts of Item No. 10 (Wangford) and Item No. 15 (Mildenhall) which are comprised in the Settlement of 1886.
- D.—TENANCIES.—These are as existing at Midsummer 1894.

1.—IN THE PARISH OF WANGFORD shown on Plan No. 1

No. of item	General Description	Colour on Plan	Area A. R. P.	Name of Tenant if any	Term or Holding	Yearly Rent £. s. 'd.	Remarks
1	Woods & Plantations	Blue	274 0 20	In hand	...	...
2	Warren	do.	1,708 0 11	do.	...	...
3	Arable Land	do.	362 2 08	do.	...	...
4	Roads Waste & c.	do.	26 0 22	do.	...	...
5	Water	do.	0 0 24	do.	...	...
			2,371 0 5				
6	3 Cottages and Gardens	do.	0 3 9	Various	Service Tenure		These are occupied by game-keepers who pay no rent.
			A2,371 3 14				

ANNUAL OUTGOING

For Tithe (Rectorial) £ 73 10 0 Nominal commuted amount.

„ Land Tax £ 20 12 6

„ Brandon School £ 10 0 0

£ 30 12 6

Being one half of £ 20 payable by Wangford Parish for education of Wangford children at Brandon School, under arrangement sanctioned by the Education Department in 1874. The other half is paid by Mr. Angerstein or his Tenant at Wangford.

2.—IN THE PARISH OF LAKENHEATH shown on Plan No. 1

No. of Item	General Description	Colour on Plan	Area A. R. P.	TENANCY				REMARKS
				Name of Tenant, if any	Date of lease or written Agree- ment if any	Term or Holding	Yearly Rent £. s. d.	
7	Lakenheath Warren (part of)	Yellow	35 1 14	Dunn, William, M. P.	10 July 1885	14 years from Lady Day 1885	7 10 0	The rent reserved is £10 but was reduced from Lady Day 1892 to £ 7 10 s. The ten- ant has the right of shooting over his land. This land is free of Land Tax. (See Note below).
8	Lakenheath Warren (part of)	Green	2,295 0 0	Kent, Wm & Richards, D. R. G.	6 Dec. 1887	Yearly from 1 Mar. de- terminable by 6 months' notice	250 0 0	Let with Item No. 23 in Eriswell Parish. (See Note below)
9	Land near Wharf on Lode	Brown	4 0 8	Rolph, James	None	Yearly from 11 Oct. de- terminable by 1 years' notice	9 0 0	

10	Rectory or Caudle Farm	do.	331 1 31	Rutherford, M.	2 Aug. 1888	do.	100 0 0	Let with Item No. 29 in Eriswell Parish. The rent reserved is £180 but has been reduced to £100. The tenant has the right of pasturage for 300 sheep on Lakenheath Warren. (See Note Below.)
			A. 2,665 3 13					£366 10 0

By an Agreement dated the 5th of August, 1886 the Gravel Pits or Quarries on Lakenheath Warren are managed by Mrs. Fanny Susannah Place on the terms and conditions therein expressed.

ANNUAL OUTGOINGS						
For Tithe (Rectorial)	...	...	...	£3 7 3	Nominal	Commuted Amount.
„ „ (Vicarial)	...	...	...	£5 17 1	do.	do.
				£9 4 4	do.	do.
„ Land Tax	...	...	...	£28 0 10		

(See Note Item 10 below.)

Notes

Item Nos. 7 and 8.—Lakenheath Warren is subject to the common rights of various persons to pasture neat stock and cut bracken thereon. These persons are separately rated in respect thereof and their names appear in the Rate Books for the Parish of Lakenheath.

Item No. 10.—Ordnance Nos. 1359 (8 acres in Smeeth Fen), 1366 (8 acres in the Smeeth), and 1368 (7a.3r. 2p. on the Smeeth), all part of Item No. 10 are comprised in the settlement of 1886 and were formerly copyhold of the Manor of Lakenheath but have been enfranchised as recited in the foregoing Conveyance. The portion of the Rectory farm to the east of the road from Lakenheath to Eriswell (except No. 1426) is tithe free.

3.—IN THE PARISH OF MILDENHALL shown on Plan No. 2

628

No. of Item	General Description	Colour on Plan	Area A. R. P.	TENANCY				REMARKS
				Name of Tenant, if any	Date of Lease or written Agree- ment, if any	Term or Holding	Yearly Rent £. s. d.	
11	Sparks Farm	Purple	74 1 7	Horrex, Robert and Horrex John deceased	12 Feb. 1891 modi- fied by verbal arrange- ment	Yearly from 11 October determinable by 1 year's notice	...	Let with Item No. 20 in Eriswell Parish at rent of £ 110. (See Outgoings below).
12	Mill Farm	Red	31 0 18	Jefferies, Edmund	27 Jan. 1876 and 1892	do.	...	Let with Item No. 22 in Eriswell Parish at rent of £ 50 10s.
13	Beck Lodge Farm	Grey	119 1 33	Parker, Jacob...	5 Aug. 1886	do.	120 0 0	The rent reserved is £160, but has been reduced to £ 120. (See Outgoings and Note below).

14	Chamberlain's Hall Farm	Pink	41 3 27	Place, Exors. of J. G.	17 July 1886	do.	...	Let with Item No. 18 in Eriswell Parish at rent of £800. Tithe (Vicarial) 13s. 6d. commuted amount repaid by Tenant. (See Outgoings below).
15	World's End Farm	Yellow	65 0 33	Reeve, Thomas	12 Feb. 1891	do.	30 0 0	The Tenant by his agreement undertakes to pay Drainage Tax and Tithe if any but these have in fact been paid by the landlord. (See Out- goings below).
16	Fen Land	Hatched Green	48 0 8	Turner, Arthur	None.	do.	16 0 0	Land Tax 14 s. 8 d. Vicarial Tithe 15s. 6d. (See Outgoings below).
17	Cottage and Garden and Meadow	Gray	3 5	Rutherford, Thomas...	None.	Service tenure.	...	This Tenant occupies rent free in consider- ation of exercising a general watch on the road and this side of the Estate. (See Note below).

A. 380 3 11

£166 0 0

ANNUAL OUTGOINGS

For Tithe (Rectorial)	£0 18 6			
„ „ (Vicarial)	£3 3 5	£4 1 11	Nominal Commuted Amount.	
<hr/>				
„ Land Tax		£9 12 2		
„ Drainage Rate payable in respect of Ordnance Nos. 80, 91 to 102 (Item 16) 142 169 (Item 13)		£2 15 4	To Commissioners of the Mildenhall Fen District.	
Rent Charge payable 11th October out of Ordnance Nos. 153 155 156 (27a. 2r. 13 p. part of Item No. 11) 157 163 (18a. 0r. 18p. part of Item No. 14)		£5 0 0	To Minister and Churchwardens of Mildenhall	See note below.
Do. out of Ordnance Nos. 85 86 87 and 88		£2 0 0	do. do.	
		£19 7 6		

Notes

Item No. 13.—Ordnance Nos. 2096 2097 2098 and part of 2089 (Beck Lodge Gardens Meadow and two Closes at Beck Row 22a. 0r. 23p.) 95 96 97 98 (Fen or Marsh Land and half a Dolver at World's End 8 acres) all part of Item No. 13 were formerly Copyhold of the Manor of Mildenhall but have been enfranchised as recited in the foregoing Conveyance.

Item No. 17.—Ordnance No. 1578 (a Cottage and Premises 11p. at Cake Street Green) part of Item No. 17 was formerly held on a long term under Deed dated 2nd May 1811 enlarged into a Freehold as recited in the foregoing Conveyance.

Outgoings.—Rent Charge £5. This Rent Charge was created by the Will (dated 1724) of John Abbot and is directed to be disposed of by the Minister and Churchwardens, £3 for three gowns and three coats to be made for and given on St. Thomas' Day to three poor women of the Town of Mildenhall not in receipt of relief and £2 to be paid on the same day for teaching to read and write at the chief school in Mildenhall two poor boys of working poor people in the said town not in receipt of relief.

Do.—Rent Chage £2. This Rent Charges was created by Edmund Bright for the poor of Holywell Row Mildenhall.

4.—IN THE PARISH OF ERISWELL shown on Plan No. 2

18	Eriswell Hall Farm Chamberlians Hall Farm Rakeheath Farm	Pink	768 2 35 1,335 3 3 1,181 1 28	Place, J.G., Exors. of	17 July 1886	Yearly from 11 October determinable by 1 year's notice	800 0 0	Let with Item No. 14 in Mildenhall Parish. Tithe £354 11s. 5d. commuted amount repaid by tenant (See Note below.)
19	Cottage and land	Hatched Brown	6 2 1	Evans, Rev. Fitzwilliam	None.	do.	7 0 0	
20	Sparks Farm	Purple	307 0 32	Horrex, Robert, and Horrex, John (decd.)	12 Feb. 1891 modi- fied by verbal arrange- ment	do.	110 0 0	Let with Item No. 11 in Mildenhall Parish. Rent of £100 reserv- ed by the Agreement, the tenant paying Tithe, but agreed at £110 tithe free as from Michaelmas 1892.
21	Blacksmith's shop and Land	Hatched Brown	2 1 13	Hurrell, Arthur	None.	do.	20 5 0	Let with smithy shop part of Item N. 40 in Elveden Parish the rent of which £1 a year is included in the £20 5s. rent. Tithe 4s. 1d commu- tated amount paid by tenant.

22	Mill Farm	Red	61 2 31	Jefferies, Edmund	27 Jan. 1876	do.	50 10 0	Let with Item No. 12 in Mildenhall Parish. Rent of £60 reserved by the Agreement, the Tenant paying Tithe, but agreed at £50 10s. tithe free as from Michaelmas 1892.
23	Lakenheath Warren (part of)	Hatched Green	10 2 23	Kent, William, and Richards, D.W.G.	6 Dec. 1876	Yearly from 1 March determinable by 6 Months' notice	...	Let with Item No. 8 in Lakenheath Parish at rent of £ 250.
24	The Lodge	Hatched Brown	1 3 1	Land, John	None.	At will.	...	This tenant formerly the Eriswell National Schoolmaster occupies the cottage rent free as tenant- at-will. He pays the Tithe 7s. 9d. commuted amount.
25	The Chequers Inn and Land and Buildings	Brown	50 2 2	Laurence, Geo.	do.	Yearly from 11 October determinable by 1 year's notice	67 0 0	Tithe £6 9s. 4d. com- muted amount re- paid by tenant. (See Note below.)

26	Grocers' Shop, Hatched house and Blue Land	9 3 2	Leonard, John	do.	do.	33 0 0	
27	Church Farm Green	259 0 28	Mortlock, Samuel	12 Feb. 1891	do.	70 0 0	The tenant by his Agreement undertakes to pay Tithe, but since Michaelmas 1892 this has been paid by the landlord. (See Note below.)
28	Carpenter's Shop, House and Garden	Hatched Brown 0 1 2	Rudland, Brown	None.	do.	8 0 0	
29	Rectory or Caudle Farm (part of)	do. 0 0 7	Rutherford, Matthew	2 Aug. 1888	do.		Let with Item No. 10 in Lakenheath Parish at rent of £100.
30	Cottages, &c.	do. 12 3 36	Various...	None.	Weekly monthly or service tenures.	193 8 6	The allotments are not separately let but are apportioned to and let with cottages having no proper gardens. (See Note below.)
31	Allotments	do. 19 3 10					

32	Bell Farm (part of) High Lodge Farm.	Blue	8 3 32	In hand	None.	Total A 2,515 3r. 27p. See also Item No. 36.
		do.	1,278 3 4	do.	...	...	...
	Cranhouse Farm	do.	776 2 25	do.	...	...	...
	Woods and Plantations	do.	422 2 4	do.	...	...	...
	Warren	do.	15 3 35	do.	...	...	...
	Roads and Waste	do.	13 0 7	do.	...	...	...
			<u>A. 6,544 2 1</u>				<u>£1,359 3 6</u>	

ANNUAL OUTGOINGS.

For Tithe (Rectorial)

£630 12 11 Nominal Commuted Account.

"Land Tax

£26 10 11

Note

Item Nos. 18, 25, 27, 30.—The following formerly held on long terms have been enlarged into Freeholds as recited in the foregoing Conveyance viz. :—(1) Ordnance Nos. 221 and part of 202 (Two Cottages and Gardens at Victoria Place and Drinkmilk Close and Six Cottages in Victoria Place demised by Deed of 24th December 1844) part of Items 27 and 30—(2) Ordnance No. 237 (1r. in the Town Field and Cottages thereon demised by Deed of 23rd June 1837) part of Item 30—(3) Ordnance Nos. 164, 165, 197, 198 (Two Cottages and Copper Close 13 a. 3r. 10p. demised by Deed of 29th May 1847) part of Items 18 and 30—(4) Ordnance Nos. 220 and part of 241 (The Chequers Inn and Outbuildings Garden and Allotments 2a. 1r. 20p. demised by Deed of 30th June 1848) part of Item 25.

5.—IN THE PARISH OF ELVEDEN shown on Plan No. 3

33	Red Neck Farm	Blue	1,739 3 28	In hand	...	...	...
34	Larling Farm	do.	1,310 0 3	do.	...	...	...
35	Summer Pit Farm	do.	960 0 39	do.	...	...	...
36	High Lodge Farm (part of)	do.	2 1 9	do.	...	...	...	See Also Item No. 32 in Eriswell Parish.
37	{ Elveden Hall and							
	{ Grounds	do.	12 0 4					
	{ Water	do.	1 2 3					
	{ Pasture	do.	58 1 15	do.	...	...	...
	{ Arable	do.	22 3 32					
	{ Roads and Waste	do.	10 3 7					
	{ Warren	do.	35 3 27					
38	Elveden Woods and Plantations	do.	1,277 2 13	do.	...	...	...
			5,431 2 20					

39	Beer House	do.	...	Brown, Emma	None	Yearly from 11 Oct. Determin- able by 6 Months' Notice	12 0 0	
40	Cottages & c.	do.	8 1 35	Various	None	Weekly monthly or service tenure	167 15 2	The allotments are not separately let but are apportioned to and let with cot- tage having no pro- per gardens. (See Item No. 21.)
41	Allotments.	do.	4 1 30	do.	None			
							1 0 0	Rent paid by the Post Office for line of Telegraph Posts under Deed of 2nd October 1860.
Total			<u>A. 5,444 2 5</u>				<u>£180 15 2</u>	

ANNUAL OUTGOINGS

For Tithe (Rectorial)	£310 0 0	Nominal Commuted Amount.
„ Land Tax	£54 8 0	
„ Fee Farm or Head Rent	£2 14 0	
Less for Land Tax	0 10 0	
	2 4 0	Payable to the Crown in respect of the Manor of Monkshall Staines Elveden or Eden Rushforth and Hastings and lands in this Parish.
	£56 12 0	

6.—IN THE PARISH OF ICKLINGHAM shown on Plan No. 2.

42	Roadways 183 feet Long by 20 feet wide.	Blue	0 0 13	In Hand	This was formerly held on a long term under Deed dated 19th March, 1842, but has been enlarged into a Freehold as recited in the foregoing Conveyance.
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SUMMARY

No. in Schedule	Parish	Acreage			Rental £. S. d.	Annual Outgoings				
		Lands in hand	Land Let.	Total		Tithe		Land Tax	Rent Charges and Quit Rents, &c.	Total
		A. R. P.	A. R. P.	A. R. P.		Nominal £ s. d.	Actual, 1893 £ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Wangford	2,371 0 5	0 3 9	2,371 3 14	...	73 10 0	54 19 0	20 12 6	10 0 0	85 11 6
2	Lakenheath	...	2,665 3 13	2,665 3 13	366 10 0	9 4 4	6 17 9	28 0 10	...	34 18 7
3	Mildenhall	...	380 3 11	380 3 11	166 0 0	4 1 11	3 1 1	9 12 2	9 15 4	22 8 7
4	Eriswell	2,515 3 27	4,028 2 14	6,544 2 1	1,359 3 6	630 12 11	471 9 6	26 10 11	...	498 0 5
5	Elveden	5,431 2 20	12 3 35	5,444 2 5	180 15 2	310 0 0	231 15 2	54 8 0	2 4 0	288 7 2
6	Icklingham	0 0 13	...	0 0 13	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals		A. 10,318 2 25	A. 7,088 3 32	A. 17,407 2 17	£2,072 8 8	£1,027 9 2	£768 2 6	£139 4 5	£21 19 4	£929 6 3

Note

Various temporary throwbacks or abatements of Rent have been allowed some of the Tenants for the current year.

As witness the hands and seals of the said parties the day and year first aforesaid.

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the said George John Marjoribanks in the presence of } G.J. MARJORIBANKS. (L.S.)

W.J. SIMPKIN

123 Mallinson Road, New Wandsworth London
Servant.

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the said William Rolle Malcolm by George John Marjoribanks his Attorney under Power dated the twenty-fourth day of May 1894 in the presence of } W.R. MALCOLM (L.S.)
By his Attorney
G.J. MARJORIBANKS.

W.J. SIMPKIN

123 Mallinson Road, New Wandsworth London
Servant.

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the said Prince Victor Albert Jay Duleep Singh in the presence of } VICTOR ALBERT JAY DULEEP SINGH (L.S.)

J.A. BURRELL

66 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London
Solr.

Appendix B

TREATIES WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

I

Treaty of Friendship and Amity between the Honorable East India Company and the Sirdars Runjeet Sing and Futteh Sing—1806.

Sirdar Runjeet Sing and Sirdar Futteh Sing have consented to the following Articles of Agreement concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm, under the special authority of the Right Honorable Lord Lake, himself duly authorized by the Honorable Sir George Hilario Barlow, Baronet, Governor General, and Sirdar Futteh Sing, as principal on the part of himself and plenipotentiary on the part of Runjeet Sing.

Article 1.

Sirdar Runjeet Sing and Sirdar Futteh Sing Aloowalia hereby agree that they will cause Jeswunt Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of 30 coss from Amritsur immediately, and will never hereafter hold any further connection with him, or aid or assist him with troops, or in any other manner whatever, and they further agree that they will not in any way molest such of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's followers or troops as are desirous of returning to their homes in the Deccan, but, on the contrary, will render them every assistance in their power for carrying such intention into execution.

Article 2.

The British Government hereby agrees that in case a pacification should not be effected between that Government and Jaswunt Rao Holkar, the British Army shall move from its present encampment on the banks of the River Beas as soon as Jeswunt Rao Holkar aforesaid shall have marched with his army to the distance of 30 coss from Amritsur; and that in any Treaty which may hereafter be concluded between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, it shall be stipulated that, immediately after the conclusion of the said Treaty, Holkar shall evacuate the

territories of the Sikhs and march towards his own, and that he shall in no way whatever injure or destroy such parts of the Sikh country as may lie in his route. The British Government further agrees that as long as the said Chieftains Runjeet Sing and Futteh Sing abstain from holding any friendly connection with the enemies of that Government, or from committing any act of hostility on their own parts against the said Government, the British Armies shall never enter the territories of the said Chieftains, nor, will the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.

Dated 1st January, 1806, corresponding with 10th Shawal, 1220 H.E.

Seal of Rnnjeet Singh

Seal of Futteh Singh

II

TREATY with the Rajah of Lahore, 1809

Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted, and both parties being anxious to maintain the relations of perfect amity and concord, the following Articles of Treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by Rajah Runjeet Sing on his own part, and by the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

Article 1.

Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore. The latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers; and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the Sutlej.

Article 2.

The Rajah will never maintain in the territory occupied by him and his dependants, on the left bank of the River Sutlej, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

Article 3.

In the event of a violation of any of the preceding Articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either State, this Treaty shall be considered to be null and void.

Article 4.

This Treaty, consisting of four Articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsur, on the 25th day of April, 1809, Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe has delivered to the Rajah of Lahore a copy of the same, in English and Persian, under his seal and signature, and the said Rajah has delivered another copy of the same, under his seal and signature; and Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe engages to procure, within the space of two months, a copy of the same duly ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Rajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Rajah shall be returned.

Seal and signature of

C.T.METCALFE.

Company's Seal

Signature and seal of

RAJAH RUNJEET SING.

(Sd) MINTO

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council on 30th May, 1809.

III

Translation of an ITTILAH-NAMEH addressed to the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind on this side of the River Sutlege, 3rd May 1809.

It is clearer than the sun, and better proved than the existence of yesterday, that the detachment of British Troops to this side of the Sutlege was entirely in acquiescence to the application and earnest entreaty of the Chiefs, and originated solely through friendly considerations in the British to preserve the Chiefs in their possessions and independence. A Treaty having been concluded on the 5th April 1809 between Mr. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government and Maharajah Runjeet Sing agreeably to the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing, for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolutions of Government contained in the seven following Articles :—

Article 1.

The country of the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind having entered under the protection of the British Government, in future it shall be secured from the authority and control of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, conformably to the terms of the Treaty.

Article 2.

The country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

Article 3.

The Chiefs shall remain in the exercise of the same rights and authority within their own possessions, which they enjoyed before they were taken under the British protection.

Article 4.

Whenever a British Force, for purposes connected with the general welfare, shall be judged necessary to march through the country of the said Chiefs, every Chief shall, within his own possession, assist and furnish the British Force, to the full of his power, with supplies of grain and other necessaries which may be demanded.

Article 5.

Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country, friendship and mutual interest require that the Chiefs join the British Army with their forces, exerting themselves in expelling the enemy, act under discipline and obedience.

Article 6.

Any European articles brought by merchants from the eastern districts, for the use of the army, shall be allowed to pass by the thanadars and sirdars of the several districts belonging to the Chiefs without molestation or the demand of duty.

Article 7.

All horses purchased for the use of the Cavalry Regiments, whether in Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being furnished with sealed rahdarees from the Resident at Delhi, or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, the several Chiefs shall allow such horses to pass without molestation or the demand of duty.

IV

PROCLAMATION addressed to the SIKH SIRDARS, etc., 22nd August, 1811.

On the 3rd of May 1809 an *Ittalah-nameh*, comprised of seven Articles, was issued by the orders of the British Government, purporting

that the country of the Sirdars of Sirhind and Malwa, having come under their protection, Rajah Runjeet Singh, agreeably to Treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sirdars ; that the British Government had no intention of claiming *peshcush* or *nuzzuranah*, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions. The publication of the above *Ittalah-nameh* was intended to afford every confidence to the Sirdars that they had no intention of control, and that those having possession should remain in full and quiet enjoyment thereof.

Whereas several zemindars and other subjects of the Chiefs of this country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government, who, having in view the tenor of the above *Ittalah-nameh*, have not attended, and, will not in future pay attention to them ; for instance, on the 15th June, 1811, Dellawer Ali Khan, of Samana, complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Rajah Saheb Singh, for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them, who, in reply, observed : "that the *cusba* of Samana, being in the *omaldery* of Rajah Saheb Singh, this complaint should be made to him ;" and also on the 12th July 1811, Dussownda Singh and Goormook Singh complained to Colonel Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor-General, against Sirdar Churru Singh, for their shares of property, etc., and, in reply, it was written on the back of the *urzee*, that "since during the period of three years no claim was preferred against Churru Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned, and since it was advertised in the *Ittalah-nameh*, delivered to the Sirdars, that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full possession of his domains, their petition could not be attended to". The insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also that it may be impressed on the minds of every zemindar and other subjects that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree, swerve from the observance of subordination. It is therefore highly incumbent upon the Rajahs and other Sirdars on this side of the River Sutlege that they explain this to their respective subjects and court their confidence ; that it may be clear to them that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sirdars as the source of justice, and that of their free will and accord they observe uniform obedience.

And whereas, according to the first proclamation it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sirdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sirdars have, since the last incursion of Rajah Runjeet Sing, wrested the estates of others, and deprived them of their

lawful possession, and that in the restoration they have used delays until detachments from the British Army have enforced restitution, as in the case of the Ranee of Jeera, the Sikhs of Cholian, the *talooks* of Karowley and Chehloundy, and village of Cheeba ; and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues, and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses. It is, therefore, by order of the British Government, hereby proclaimed, that if any of the Sirdars or others have forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owners it is necessary that before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property ; in which, however, should delays be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate, from the date of the ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party ; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government.

(Sd.) D. OCHTERLONY,
Agent to Governor-General

Loodiana, 22nd August 1811.

V

Translation of the Paper delivered by the Right Honourable the Governor-General to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, on the evening of the 31st October, 1831.

In these days of auspicious commencement and happy close, while the sound of rejoicing has gladdened the firmament, a meeting has been arranged at a fortunate moment and under favourable circumstances between the heads of the two exalted Governments, on the terms of reciprocal friendship, and all cordiality, with reference to the relations established of old between the two States, and many interviews and conversations have been held with mirth and joy and mutual satisfaction; the rose buds of our hearts on both sides having expanded, and the garden of our sensations being in blossom from the exceeding joy and good feeling that prevailed. Of a truth the growing friendship and cordiality which subsisted between the two Durbars of exalted dignity have been watered and fostered by the hand of Providence, and by the showers of the Divine grace, so as to have reached a maturity and strength for which God be praised. Nevertheless, your Highness may derive further satisfaction from the assurance that, agreeably to the relations of friendship which have been thus established, in the same manner, from generation to generation, as settled by reciprocal

engagements, shall the growth of this friendship continue and increase, and the materials of the existing good understanding be sought and extended at all times and at all places. There shall never at any time, or on any account whatsoever, be any difference or estrangement, nor shall such feelings in any way find entrance. But on the contrary, the example of the unanimity and long standing friendship shall, like the sun, shine glorious in history, and the reputation of it shall become a by-word amongst the princes and rulers of the earth and be a subject of conversation to all ranks of men, in all countries, and at all times, so that, observing the fruits of this long standing friendship, the well-wishers of the two Governments shall rejoice, and their enemies and those who envy their good fortune shall be downcast and repentant.

Hereafter all the gentlemen and authorities of the British Government will study to maintain in perpetuity the relations which exist, as established by mutual engagements of long standing, so as to raise and display to the world the standards of the mutual good faith, fidelity, and cordiality of the Governments.

These few lines have been committed to writing, as a testimony of friendship, at Rooper, and have been signed and sealed by me, to be delivered in person at this last interview, on the 31st October, 1831, corresponding with the 24th of Jumadee-oos-Sanee, 1247 Hegirae, to His Highness Maharajah Runjeet Sing Behauder.

Seal and Signature of

(L. S.) Runjeet Singh (Sd.) W. C. BENTINCK. (L. S.)

VI

TREATY concluded between the East India Company and His Highness Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the Ruler of the Punjab, 1832.

By the grace of God, the relations of firm alliance and indissoluble ties of friendship existing between the Honourable the East India Company and His Highness the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, founded on the auspicious Treaty formerly concluded by Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Baronet, and since confirmed in the written pledge of sincere amity presented by the Right Honourable Lord W.C. Bentinck, G. C. B. and G. C. H., Governor-General of British India, at the meeting at Rooper, are like the sun clear and manifest to the whole world, and will continue unimpaired and increasing in strength from generation to generation. By virtue of these firmly established bonds of friendship, since the opening of the navigation of the Rivers Indus Proper (*i. e.*, Indus below the confluence of the Punjnud) and Suttlej, a measure deemed expedient by both States, with a view to promote the general interests of commerce, has lately been effected through the

agency of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Loodianah, deputed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General for that purpose, the following Articles, explanatory of the conditions by which the said navigation is to be regulated, as concerns the nomination of Officers, the mode of collecting the duties, and the protection of the trade by that route, have been framed in order that the Officers of the two States employed in their execution may act accordingly.

Article 1.

The provision of the existing Treaty relative to the right bank of the River Sutlej and all its stipulations, together with the contents of the friendly pledge already mentioned, shall remain binding, and a strict regard to preserve the relations of friendship between the two States be the ruling principles of action. In accordance with that Treaty, the Honorable Company has not, nor will have, any concern with the right bank of the River Sutlej.

Article 2.

The tariff which is to be established for the line of navigation in question is intended to apply exclusively to the passage of merchandize by that route, and not to interfere with the transit duties levied on goods proceeding from one bank of the river to the other, nor with the places fixed for their collection. They are to remain as heretofore.

Article 3.

Merchants frequenting the said route, while within the limits of the Maha Rajah's Government, are required to show a due regard to his authority as is done by merchants generally, and not to commit any acts offensive to the civil and religious institutions of the Sikhs.

Article 4.

Any one purposing to go by the said route, will intimate his intention to the Agent of either State, and apply for a passport, agreeably to a form to be laid down; having obtained which he may proceed on his journey. The merchants coming from Amritsur and other parts of the right bank of the River Sutlej, are to intimate their intentions to the Agent of the Maha Rajah at Herreeke, or other appointed places, and obtain a passport through him; and merchants coming from Hindoostan or other parts on the left bank of the River Sutlej will intimate their intentions to the Honourable Company's Agent, and obtain a passport through him. As Foreigners, and Hindoostanees and Sirdars of the protected Sikh States and elsewhere

are not in the habit of crossing the Sutlej without a passport from the Maha Rajah's officers, it is expected that such persons will hereafter also conform to the same rule, and not cross without the usual passports.

Article 5.

A tariff shall be established, exhibiting the rate of duties leviable on each description of merchandize, which, after having been approved by both Governments, is to be the standard by which the Superintendents and Collectors of Customs are to be guided.

Article 6.

Merchants are invited to adopt the new route with perfect confidence; no one shall be suffered to molest them or unnecessarily to impede their progress; care being taken that they are only detained for the collection of the duties in the manner stipulated at the established stations.

Article 7.

The officers who are to be entrusted with the examination of the goods and collection of the duties on the part of Maha Rajah Runjeet Sing, shall be stationed at Mithinkot and Herreeke. At no other places, but those two, shall boats in transit on the river be liable to examination or stoppage.

Article 8.

When the persons in charge of boats stop of their own accord to take in or give out cargo, the goods will be liable to the local transit duty of the Maha Rajah's Government previously to their being embarked and subsequently to their being landed, as provided in Article 2.

Article 9.

The Superintendent stationed at Mithinkot having examined the cargo, will levy the established duty, and grant a passport, with a written account of the cargo and freight. On the arrival of the boat at Herreeke, the Superintendent at that station will compare the passport with the cargo, and whatever goods are found in excess will be liable to the payment of the established duty; while the rest, having already paid duty at Mithinkot, will pass on free.

Article 10.

The same rule will be observed in respect to merchandize conveyed from Herreeke by way of the rivers towards Sindh.

Article 11.

Whatever may be fixed as the share of duties on the right bank of the River Sutlej in right of the Maha Rajah's own dominions, and of those in allegiance to him, the Maha Rajah's officers will collect it at the places appointed.

Article 12.

With regard to the security and safety of merchants who may adopt this route, the Maha Rajah's officers shall afford them every protection in their power, and merchants on halting for the night on either bank of the Sutlej, are required, with reference to the Treaty of friendship which exists between the two States, to give notice and to show their passports to the thanadar or officers in authority at the place, and request protection for themselves. If, notwithstanding this precaution, loss should at any time occur, a strict inquiry will be made, and reclamation sought from those who are blameable.

Article 13.

The Articles of the present Treaty for opening the navigation of the rivers above mentioned, having, agreeably to subsisting relations, been approved by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, shall be carried into execution accordingly.

Dated at Lahore, the 26th of December 1832.

Seal of the
Governor-
General

Seal and signature at the top.
(Sd.) W. C. BENTINCK.
,, C. T. METCALFE.
,, A. ROSS.

Ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal, this Thirteenth (13th) day of September, A. D. 1833.

(Sd.) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Government.

VII

Supplementary Treaty between the British Government and MAHA RAJAH RUNJEET SINGH, for establishing a toll on the Indus, dated, 29th November, 1834.

In conformity with the subsisting relations of friendship as established and confirmed by Former Treaties between the Honorable the East India

Company and His Highness Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, and whereas in the 5th Article of the Treaty concluded at Lahore, on the 26th day of December 1832, it was stipulated that a moderate scale of duties should be fixed by the two Governments in concert, to be levied on all merchandize in transit up and down the Rivers Indus and Sutlej, the said Governments being now of opinion that, owing to the inexperience of the people of these countries in such matters, the mode of levying duties then proposed (*viz.*, on the value and quantity of goods) could not fail to give rise to mutual misunderstandings and reclamations have, with a view to prevent these results, determined to substitute a toll, which shall be levied on all boats with whatever merchandize laden; the following Articles have therefore been adopted as supplementary to the Former Treaty, and in conformity with them, each Government engages that the toll shall be levied, and its amount neither be increased nor diminished, except by mutual consent.

Scal of Runjeet Singh

Article 1.

A toll of 570 Rupees shall be levied on all boats laden with merchandize in transit on the Rivers Indus and Sutlej, between the sea and Rooper, without reference to their size or to the weight or value of their cargo; the above toll to be divided among the different States, in proportion to the extent of territory which they possess on the banks of these rivers.

Article 2.

The portion of the above toll appertaining to the Lahore Chief, in right of his territory on both banks of these rivers, as determined in the subjoined scale, shall be levied opposite to Mithinkot on boats coming from the sea towards Rooper, and in the vicinity of Heree-ke-Pettin on boats going from Rooper towards the sea, and at no other place.

In right of territory on the right bank of the Rivers Indus and Sutlej, Rupees 155-4-0.

In right of territory on the left bank of the Rivers Indus and Sutlej, the Maha Rajah's Share of Rupees 67-15-0.

Article 3.

In order to facilitate the realization of the toll due to the different States, as well as for the speedy satisfactory adjustment of any disputes which may arise connected with the safety of the navigation and the welfare of the trade by the new route, a British officer will reside opposite

to Mithinkot—and a native agent on the part of the British Government opposite to Herree-ke-Pettin. These officers will be subject to the orders of the British Agent at Loodeanah, and the agents who may be appointed to reside at those places on the part of the other States concerned in the navigation, viz., Bhawulpore and Sindh, together with those of Lahore, will co-operate with them in the execution of their duties.

Article 4.

In order to guard against imposition on the part of merchants in making false complaints of being plundered of property which formed no part of their cargoes, they are required, when taking out their passport, to produce an invoice of their cargo, which being duly authenticated, a copy of it will be annexed to their passports and wherever their boats may be brought to for the night, they are required to give immediate notice to the thanadars or officers of the place, and to request protection for themselves; at the same time showing the passports they may have received at Mithinkot or Hereeke, as the case may be.

Article 5.

Such parts of the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 10th Articles of the Treaty of the 26th of December 1832, as have reference to the fixing a duty on the value and quantity of merchandize, and to the mode of its collection, are hereby rescinded, and the foregoing Articles substituted in their place, agreeably to which and the conditions of the preamble the toll will be levied.

Seal of the
Governor-General

(S.D.)	W.C. BENTINCK.
"	W. BLUNT
"	A. ROSS.
"	W. MORISON.

Ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, at Fort William in Bengal, this Twenty-third day of January, A.D. 1835.

(S.D.) W.H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Government of India

VIII

TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH and SHAH SHOOJAH-OOL-MOOLK, 1838.

Whereas a Treaty was formerly concluded between Maharaja Runjeet Singh and Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk, consisting of fourteen Articles,

exclusive of the preamble and the conclusion, and whereas the execution of the provisions of the said Treaty was suspended for certain reasons, and whereas at this time Mr. W.H. Macnaghten having been deputed by the Right Honourable George Lord Auckland, G.C.B., Governor General of India, to the presence of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and vested with full powers to form a Treaty in a manner consistent with the friendly engagements subsisting between the two States, the Treaty aforesaid is revived and concluded with certain modifications and four new Articles have been added thereto, with the approbation of, and in concert with, the British Government, the provisions whereof, as contained in the following eighteen Articles, will be duly and faithfully observed.

Article 1.

Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk disclaims all title on the part of himself, his heirs, successors and all the Suddozais to all the territories lying on either bank of the River Indus, that may be possessed by the Maharajah, *viz.*, Cashmere, including its limits E.W.N.S., together with the Fort of Attock, Chuch, Hazara, Khebel, Amb, with its dependencies on the left bank of the aforesaid river, and on the right bank Peshawur, with the Eusufzai territory, Kheteks, Hisht Nagar, Meehnee, Kohat, Hungoo, and all places dependent in Peshawur, as far as the Khyber Pass, Bennoo, the Viziri territory, Dowr Tank, Gorang, Kalabagh and Kushalgher, with their dependent districts, Derah Ismail Khan and its dependency, together with Derah Ghazee Khan, Kot Mithan, Omarkote, and their dependent territory, Singher, Heren, Dajel, Hajeepore Rajenpore, and the three Ketches, as well as Mankera with its district, and the province of Multan situated on the left bank. These countries and places are considered to be the property and to form the estate of the Maharajah—the Shah neither has nor will have any concern with them. They belong to the Maharajah and his posterity from generation to generation.

Article 2.

The people of the country on the other side of Khyber will not be suffered to commit robberies or aggressions or any disturbances on this side. If any defaulter of either State, who has embezzled the revenue, take refuge in the territory of the other, each party engages to surrender him, and no person shall obstruct the passage of the stream which issues out of the Khyber defile, and supplies the Fort of Futtehgurh with water, according to ancient usage.

Article 3.

As agreeably to the Treaty established between the British Government and the Maharajah, no one can cross from the left to the right bank of the Sutlej without a passport from the Maharajah, the same rule shall be observed regarding the passage of the Indus, whose waters join the Sutlej, and no one shall be allowed to cross the Indus without the Maharajah's permission.

Article 4.

Regarding Shikarpore and the territory of Sind on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper in conformity with the happy relations of friendship subsisting between the British Government and the Maharajah through Captain Wade.

Article 5.

When the Shah shall have established his authority in Cabool and Candahar, he will annually send to the Maharajah the following articles *viz.*, 55 highbred horses of approved colour and pleasant paces, 11 Persian scimitars, 7 Persian poignards, 25 good mules, fruits of various kinds, both dry and fresh, and sirdas or musk melons of a sweet and delicate flavour (to be sent throughout the year), by the way of Cabool River to Peshawur, grapes, pomegranates, apples, quinces, almonds, raisins, pistahs or chesnuts, an abundant supply of each, as well as pieces of satin of every colour, choghas of fur, kinkhabs wrought with gold and silver, and Persian carpets, altogether to the number of 101 pieces. All these articles the Shah will continue to send every year to the Maharaja.

Article 6.

Each party shall address the other on terms of equality.

Article 7.

Merchants of Afghanistan, who will be desirous of trading to Lahore, Amritsur, or any other parts of the Maharajah's possessions, shall not be stopped or molested on their way; on the contrary, strict orders shall be issued to facilitate their intercourse, and the Maharajah engages to observe the same line of conduct on his part, in respect to traders who may wish to proceed to Afghanistan.

Article 8.

The Maharajah will yearly send to the Shah the following articles in the way of friendship, 55 pieces of shawls, 25 pieces of muslin, 11 dopattahs, 5 pieces of kinkhab, 5 scarves, 5 turbans, 55 loads of Barch rice (peculiar to Peshawur).

Article 9.

Any of the Maharajah's officers who may be deputed to Afghanistan to purchase horses or on any other business, as well as those who may be sent by the Shah into the Punjab for the purpose of purchasing piece-goods or shawls, etc., to the amount of Rs. 11,000, will be treated by both sides with due attention, and every facility will be afforded to them in the execution of these commissions.

Article 10.

Whenever the armies of the two States may happen to be assembled at the same place, on no account shall the slaughter of kine be permitted to take place.

Article 11.

In the event of the Shah taking an auxiliary force from the Maharajah, whatever booty may be acquired from the Barakzais, in jewels, horses, arms, great and small, shall be equally divided between the two contracting parties. If the Shah should succeed in obtaining possession of their property without the assistance of the Maharajah's troops, the Shah agrees to send a portion of it by his own agent to the Maharajah in the way of friendship.

Article 12.

An exchange of missions charged with letters and presents shall constantly take place between the two parties.

Article 13.

Should the Maharajah require the aid of any of the Shah's troops "in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this Treaty," the Shah engages to send a force commanded by one of his principal officers; in like manner the Maharajah will furnish the Shah, when required, with an auxiliary force composed of Mahomedans, and commanded by one of his principal officers as far Cabool, in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this Treaty. When the Maharajah may go to Peshawur, the Shah will

depute a Shahzadah to visit him, on which occasions the Maharajah will receive and dismiss him with the honour consideration due to his rank and dignity.

Article 14.

The friends and enemies of each of the three high powers, that is to say the British and Sikh Governments and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, shall be the friends and enemies of all.

Article 15.

Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk engages, after the attainment of his object, to pay without fail to the Maharaja the sum of two lakhs of Rupees of the Nanuk Shahie or Kuldar currency, calculating from the date on which the Sikh troops may be despatched for the purpose of reinstating his Majesty in Cabool, in consideration of the Maharajah's stationing a force of not less than 5,000 men, Cavalry and Infantry, of the Mahomedan persuasion, within the limits of the Peshawar territory, for the support of the Shah, and to be sent to the aid of His Majesty, whenever the British Government in concert and counsel with the Maharajah, shall deem their aid necessary; and when any matter of great importance may arise to the westward, such measures will be adopted with regard to it as may seem expedient and proper at the time to the British and Sikh Governments. In the event of the Maharajah requiring the aid of any of the Shah's troops, a deduction will be made from the Subsidy proportioned to the period for which such aid may be afforded, and the British Government holds itself responsible for the punctual payment of the above sum annually to the Maharajah so long as the provisions of this Treaty are duly observed.

Article 16.

Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk agrees to relinquish for himself, his heirs and successors all claims of supremacy, and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Ameers of Sind (and which will continue to belong to Ameers and successors in perpetuity), on condition of the payment to him by the Ameers of such a sum as may be determined under the mediation of the British Government, fifteen lakhs of such payment being made over by him to Maharaja Runjeet Singh. On these payments being completed, Article 4 of the Treaty of the 12th of March 1833 will be considered cancelled, and the customary interchange of letters and suitable presents between the Maharaja and the Ameers of Sinde shall be maintained as heretofore.

Article 17.

When Shah Sooja-ool-Moolk shall have succeeded in establishing his authority in Afghanistan, he shall not attack or molest his nephew, the ruler of Herat, in the possession of the territories now subject to his Government.

Article 18.

Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk binds himself, his heirs and successors to refrain from entering into negotiations with any Foreign State, without the knowledge and consent of the British and Sikh Governments, and to oppose any power having the design to invade the British or Sikh territories by force of arms to the utmost of his ability.

The three Powers, parties to this Treaty, viz., The British Government Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, cordially agree to the foregoing articles. There shall be no deviation from them, and in that case the present Treaty shall be considered binding for ever, and this Treaty shall come into operation from and after the date on which the seals and signatures of the three contracting parties shall have been affixed thereto.

Done at Lahore, this 26th day of June in the year of Our Lord 1838, corresponding with the 15th of the month of Asarh 1895--Era of Bikarmajit.

Signed and sealed this 25th day of July, in the year A. D. 1838, at Simla.

(Sd.) AUCKLAND.

Seal of the
Governor
General

Seal and signature
of Runjeet
Singh

Seal and signature
of Shah
Shooja-ool-Moolk

IX

AGREEMENT entered into with the GOVERNMENT of LAHORE, regarding the duties to be levied on the transit of merchandize by the Rivers Sutlej and Indus, in modification of the Supplementary Articles of the Treaty of 1832.

DATED 19TH MAY 1839.

Objections having been urged against the levy of the same duty on a boat of a small as on one of a large size ; and the merchants having solicited that the duties might be levied on the maundage or measurement of the boats, or on the value of the goods : it is therefore agreed, that hereafter the whole duty shall be paid at one place, and either at Loodiana

or Ferozepore, or at Mithinkot : and that the duty be levied on the merchandize, and not on the boats, as follows :—

Rates of Duty leviable by Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh on merchandize navigating the Sutlej and the Indus.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Shawl Goods		10	0	0
Opium		7	8	0
Indigo		2	8	0
Almonds	}			
Pishtashes				
Raisins, small and large		1	0	0
Dry Figs				
Pine Kernel				
Sulphar				
Fig				
And other Dry Fruits				
Red Dye (Rubia Munjeet)		0	8	0
Silk of all sorts, manufactured and otherwise				
Broadcloth of every description	}			
Velvet				0 6 0
Satin				
Chintzes or figured Velveteen				
White Cotton Cloth of all sorts	[	Parcheb Suffyd		
		Raismanee hummah		
		Kissum		
Chintzes of all sorts		Aksam-i-Cheent		
Sugar		Sukhurturee		
Molasses		Shukur Soorkh and	0 4 0	
		Kund Seeah		
Clarified Butter		Roghun-zurd		
Oil		Roghun Seeah		
Costus		Kooth		
Sugarcandy		Nubat		
Gall		Hulleleh-zurd		
The emblic myrobalans		Amleh		
The belleric myrobalans		Bulleleh		
Cotton		Pumbah		
Small Gall		Hulleleh Zungee		
Chestnut		Akhrot		
Anise Seed		Badcean		
Cichorium Endwia		Kasnee		
Mellon Seed		Khunyaryn		
Turmeric		Zurd chob		
Ginger		Adruk		
A kind of Collyrium		Russout		

Aloes	Sibr	
Saffron	Zafran	
Catechu	Kutha	
Soapnut	Reetha	
The bark of the Birch Tree	Bhoj Puttur	
Dry Ginger	Zunjbeel	
And other Groceries		
Cardamums, Small } and large }	Illaechee Khoord and Kallan	
Seeds of ditoo	Danh Illachee	0 4 0
Cinnabar or Vermilion	Shingurf	
Pellitory	Akurkurha	
Cloves	Kuruful	
Nutmeg	Jaeful	
Mace	Javutree	
Cinnamon	Darcheenec	
Dry Dates	Khoormai Khooshk	
Turbith Root	Toorbood	
Cocoanut	Naryeel	
Asgundh	Asgundh	
Orpiment	Hurtal	0 4 0
Bamboo Sugar	Tubasbeer	
Armenian Earth	Gil-i-Armunnee	
Black Pepper	Filfil-i-Seath	
Red ditto	Filfil-i-Durraz	
Gallnut	Mazoo	
Shells	Khurmohreh	
China Root	Chob-cheenec	
Morinda Citrifolia	Aul	
Betel nut	Sooparee	
Tea	Chah	
All sorts of Glassware	Aksami Sheesheh allat	0 4 0
Assafoetida	Angozeh	
B'dellium	Googul	
Maeen	Maeen	
Collyrium	Soorma	
Alunc	Phitkurree	
Mooltan Earth	Gil-i-Mooltanec	
Copper	Miss	
Tin	Kullee	
Quicksilver	Scemaub	
Lead	Soorb	0 2 0
Pewter	Just	
Brass	Birunjee	
Bell Metal	Roeen	
Articles of Ironmongery	Aksam-i-Ahun	
And other articles of Import from Bombay		
Rice	Birunj	

Wheat	Gondaom
Gram	Nukhood
Maizes	{ Moth
	{ Moongh
	{ Mash
	{ Adus
Barley	Jou
Anisseed	Koonkud
	Sursuf
Indian Corn	{ Bajrah
	{ Mukkee
	{ Jowar
	(True Translation)
	(Sd.) George Clerk.

Akal Suhaee

Runjeet Singh

Approved by the Governor-General on the 12th June, 1839.

X

TREATY with Maha Rajah Khurruk Singh—1840.

(Signed by Maha Rajah Khurruk Singh.)

Seal of

Maha Rajah Khurruk Singh.

Formerly a Treaty was executed by the Right Honorable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, on the 14th of Poos, Sumbut 1889 (corresponding with A.D. 1832), through Colonel (then Captain) Wade, concerning the navigation of the Sutlej and the Scinde rivers in the Khalsa territory, in concurrence with the wishes of both the friendly and allied Governments. Another Treaty on the subject was subsequently executed through the same officer, in Sumbut 1891 (corresponding with A.D. 1834), fixing a duty on every mercantile boat, independent of the quantity of its freight, and the nature of its merchandize. A third Treaty was executed on this subject, in accordance with the wishes of both Governments, on the arrival of Mr. Clerk, Agent to the Governor-General, at the Durbar, in May 1839, adjusting the rate of duties on merchandize, according to quantity and kind, and although at the end of that document so much was specified as that the two high powers should after this never propose a rate below (less than) that specified, yet, notwithstanding after this, when that gentleman came to the Khalsa Durbar at Amritsur, in Jeth, Sumbut 1897 (corresponding with May 1840), he explained the difficulties and inconvenience which seemed to result to trade under the system proposed last year, in consequence of the obstruction to boats for the purpose of search and the ignorance of traders, and the

difficulty of adjusting duties according to the different kinds of articles freighted in the boats, and proposed to revise that system by fixing a scale, of duties proportionate to the measurement of boats, and not on the kind of commodities, if this arrangement should be approved of by both Governments. Having reported to his Government the circumstances of the case, he now drew up a Schedule of the rate of duties on the mercantile boats navigating the Rivers Scinde and Sutlej, and forwarded it for the consideration of this friendly Durbar. The Khalsa Government, therefore, with a due regard to the established alliance, having added a few sentences in accordance with the late Treaties, and agreeably to what is already well understood, has signed and sealed the Schedule, and it shall never be at all liable to any contradiction, difference, change or alteration, without the concurrence and concert of both Governments, in consideration of mutual advantages, upon condition it does not interfere with the established custom duties at Amritsur, Lahore, and other inland places, or the other rivers in the Khalsa territory.

Article 1.

Grain, wood, and limestone will be free from duty.

Article 2.

With exception to the above, every commodity to pay duty according to the measurement of the boat.

Article 3.

Duty on a boat not exceeding two hundred and fifty maunds of freight, proceeding from the foot of the hills, Roopur or Loodiana, to Mithenkote or Rojan, or from Rojan or Mithenkote to the foot of the hills, Roopur or Loodiana, will be Rs. 50

viz.,

From the foot of the Hills to Ferozepore, or back	Rs. 20
From to Bhawalpore, or back	Rs. 15
From Bhawalpore to Mithenkote or Rojan, or back	Rs. 15
The whole trip, or down—	Rs. 50

Duty on a boat above two hundred and fifty maunds, but not exceeding five hundred maunds, from the foot of the hills, Roopur or Loodiana, to Mithenkote or Rojan, or from Rojan or Mithenkote to the foot of the hills, Roopur or Loodiana, will be Rs. 100

viz.,

From the foot of the hills to Ferozepore, or back	Rs. 40
From Ferozepore to Bhawulpore, or back	Rs. 30
From Bhawulpore to Mithenkote or Rojan, or back	Rs. 30
The whole trip, up or down	Rs. 100
Duty on all boats above five hundred maunds will be	Rs. 150

viz.

From the foot of the hills to Ferozepore, or back	Rs. 60
From Ferozepore to Bhawulpore, or back	Rs. 45
From Bhawulpore to Mithenkote or Rojan, or back	Rs. 45
The whole trip, up or down	Rs. 150

Article 4.

Boats to be classed 1, 2, or 3, and the same to be written on the boat, and every boat to be registered.

Article 5.

These duties on merchandize frequenting the Sutlej and Scinde, are not to interfere with the duties on the banks of other rivers, or with the established inland custom houses, throughout the Khalsa Territory, which will remain on their usual footing.

Dated 13th Assar, Sumbut 1897, corresponding with 27 June, 1840.

(True translation.)

(Sd.) G. CLERK,

Agent to the Governor-General.

Approved by the Governor-General, 10th August, 1840.

XI

PROCLAMATION by the RIGHT HONORABLE the GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA—1845

The British Government has ever been on terms of friendship with that of the Punjab.

In the year 1809, a Treaty of amity and concord was concluded between the British Government and the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the conditions of which have always been faithfully observed by the British Government, and were scrupulously fulfilled by the late Maharajah.

The same friendly relations have been maintained with the successors of Maharajah Runjeet Singh by the British Government up to the present time.

Since the death of the late Maharajah Shere Singh, the disorganised state of the Lahore Government has made it incumbent on the Governor-General in Council to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British Frontier. The nature of these measures and the cause of their adoption were at the time fully explained to the Lahore Durbar.

Notwithstanding the disorganised state of the Lahore Government during the last two years and many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Governor-General in Council has continued to evince his desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord which had so long existed between the two States for the mutual interests and happiness of both. He has shown on every occasion the utmost forbearance from consideration to the helpless state of the infant Maharajah Duleep Singh, whom the British Government had recognised as the successor to the late Maharajah Shere Singh.

The Governor-General in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh Government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army, and to protect its subjects. He had not, up to the present moment abandoned the hope of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the Chiefs and people of that country.

The Sikh Army recently marched from Lahore towards the British Frontier, as it was alleged by the orders of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British Territory.

The Governor-General's Agent, by direction of the Governor-General demanded an explanation of this movement—and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the demand was repeated. The Governor-General unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh Government, to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the Government of the Maharajah or to induce collision between the two States.

When no reply was given to the repeated demand for explanation, and while active military preparations were continued at Lahore, the Governor-General considered it necessary to order the advance of troops towards the Frontier to reinforce the Frontier posts.

The Sikh Army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British Territories.

The Governor-General must therefore take measures for effectually protecting the British Provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace.

The Governor-General hereby declares the possessions of Maharajah

Dulleep Singh on the left or British bank of the Sutlej confiscated and annexed to the British Territories.

The Governor-General will respect the existing rights of all jaghiredars, zamindars, and tenants in the said possessions, who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government.

The Governor-General hereby calls upon all the Chiefs and Sirdars in the protected territories to co-operate cordially with the British Government for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these States. Those of the Chiefs who show alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty, which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted thereby, and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British Government, and will be punished accordingly.

The inhabitants of all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British Government. All parties of men found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers of the public peace.

All subjects of the British Government and those who possess estates on both sides the River Sutlej, who by their faithful adherence to the British Government, may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges.

On the other hand, all subjects of the British Government, who shall continue in the service of the Lahore State, and who disobey this Proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side the Sutlej confiscated, and declared to be aliens and enemies of the British Government.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India,

(Sd.) F. CURRIE,
*Secretary to the Govt. of India,
with the Governor-General.*

Camp Lushkurree Khan Ke Serai,
The 13th December, 1845.

XII

TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the STATE OF LAHORE—1846.

Whereas the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British Government and the late Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the Ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by the unprovoked aggression, on the

British Provinces, of the Sikh Army, in December last; and whereas, on that occasion, by the Proclamation, dated 13th December, the territories then in the occupation of the Maharajah of Lahore, on the left or British bank of the River Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British Provinces; and since that time hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments; the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops; and whereas it has been determined that, upon certain conditions, peace shall be re-established between the two Governments, the following treaty of peace between the Honorable English East India Company and Maharaja Dhuleep Singh Bahadoor, and his children, heirs and successors, has been concluded on the part of the Honorable Company by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., one of her Britannic Majesty's Most Hon'ble Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Hon'ble Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and on the part of His Highness Maharajah Dhuleep Singh by Bhaee Ram Sing, Rajah Lal Sing, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sardar Chuttur Singh Attareewalla, Sirdar Runjore Sing Majeethia, Dewan Deena Nath and Fakeer Nooroodden, vested with full powers and authority on the part of His Highness.

Article 1.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government on the one part, and Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, his heirs and successors on the other.

Article 2.

The Maharajah of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connection with, the territories lying to the south of the River Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 3.

The Maharaja cedes to the Hon'ble Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories and rights in the Doab or country, hill and plain, situated between the River Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4.

The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of

territory described in Article 3, payment of one and half crore of Rupees, and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharajah cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of Rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries, which are situated between the Rivers Beas and Indus, including the Provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Article 5.

The Maharaja will pay to the British Government the sum of 60 lakhs of Rupees on or before the ratification of this Treaty.

Article 6.

The Maharaja engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore Army, taking from them their arms—and His Highness agrees to reorganize the Regular or Aeen Regiments of Infantry, upon the system, and according to the Regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh. The Maharaja further engages to pay up all arrears to the soldiers that are discharged, under the provisions of this Article.

Article 7.

The Regular Army of the Lahore State shall henceforth be limited to 25 Battalions of Infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each—with twelve thousand Cavalry—this number at no time to be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be necessary at any time—for any special cause—that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British Government, and when the special necessity shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former Clause of this Article.

Article 8.

The Maharaja will surrender to the British Government all the guns—thirty-six in number—which have been pointed against the British Troops—and which, having been placed on the right Bank of the River Sutlej, were not captured at the battle of Subraon.

Article 9.

The control of the Rivers Beas and Sutlej, with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Gharrah and the Punjnud, to the

confluence of the Indus at Mithunkote—and the control of the Indus from Mithunkote to the borders of Beloochistan, shall, in respect to tolls and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this Article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic or the conveyance of passengers up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several ghats of the said rivers, it is agreed that the British Government, after defraying all the expenses of management and establishments, shall account to the Lahore Government for one-half the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this Article have no reference to the ferries on that part of the River Sutlej which forms the boundary of Bhawalpore and Lahore respectively.

Article 10.

If the British Government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of His Highness the Maharajah, for the protection of the British Territories, or those of their Allies, the British Troops shall, on such special occasion, due notice being given, be allowed to pass through the Lahore Territories. In such case the Officers of the Lahore State will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of rivers, and the British Government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be endamaged. The British Government will, moreover, observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

Article 11.

The Maharajah engages never to take or to retain in his service any British Subject—nor the subject of any European or American State—without the consent of the British Government.

Article 12.

In consideration of the services rendered by Rajah Golab Sing, of Jummoo, to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the Independent Sovereignty of Rajah Golab Sing in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Rajah Golab Sing, by separate Agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Rajah's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Khurruck Sing, and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Rajah Golab Sing, also agrees to recognize his independence in

such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate Treaty with the British Government.

Article 13.

In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Rajah Golab Sing, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and by its decision the Maharaja engages to abide.

Article 14.

The limits of the Lahore Territories shall not be, at any time, changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 15.

The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State—but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.

Article 16.

The subjects of either State shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation.

This Treaty consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence acting under the directions of the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Bhaee Ram Sing, Rajah Lal Sing, Sirdar Tej Sing, Sirdar Chuttur Singh Attareewalla, Sirdar Runjore Sing Majeethia, Dewan Deena Nath, and Faqueer Noorooddeen, on the part of the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor-General, and by that of His Highness Maharaja Dhuleep Sing.

Done at Lahore, this ninth day of March, in year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the tenth day of Rubbee-ool-awul, 1262 Hijree, and ratified on the same date.

(Sd.) H. Hardinge. (L. S.)

- (Sd.) Maharaja Dhuleep Sing. (L. S.)
- „ Bhaee Ram Singh. (L. S.)
- „ Rajah Lal Sing. (L. S.)
- „ Sirdar Tej Sing. (L. S.)
- „ Sirdar Chuttur Sing Attareewalla. (L. S.)
- „ Sirdar Runjore Singh Majeethia. (L. S.)
- „ Dewan Deena Nath. (L. S.)
- „ Faqueer Noorooddeen. (L. S.)

XIII

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT concluded between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the LAHORE DURBAR on the 11th March, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Government has solicited the Governor-General to leave a British Force at Lahore, for the protection of the Maharajah's person and of the Capital, till the reorganization of the Lahore army, according to the provisions of Article 6 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th instant; and whereas the Governor-General has, on certain conditions, consented to the measure; and whereas it is expedient that certain matters concerning the territories ceded by Articles 3 and 4 of the aforesaid Treaty should be specifically determined, the following eight Articles of Agreement have this day been concluded between the aforementioned contracting parties.

Article 1.

The British Government shall leave at Lahore, till the close of the current year, A.D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor-General adequate for the purpose of protecting the person of the Maharajah and the inhabitants of the City of Lahore, during the reorganization of the Sikh Army, in accordance with the provisions of Article 6 of the Treaty of Lahore. That force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Durbar, have been attained—but the force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year.

Article 2.

The Lahore Government agrees that the force left at Lahore for the purpose specified in the foregoing Article shall be placed in full possession of the Fort and the City of Lahore, and that the Lahore troops shall be removed from within the City. The Lahore Government engages to furnish convenient quarters for the officers and men of the said force, and to pay to the British Government all the extra expenses in regard to the said force, which may be incurred by the British Government, in consequence of the troops being employed away from their own Cantonments and in a Foreign Territory.

Article 3.

The Lahore Government engages to apply itself immediately and earnestly to the reorganization of its army according to the prescribed conditions, and to communicate fully with the British authorities left at Lahore, as to the progress of such reorganization, and as to the location of the troops.

Article 4.

If the Lahore Government fails in the performance of the conditions of the foregoing Article, the British Government shall be at liberty to withdraw the force from Lahore at any time before the expiration of the period specified in Article 1.

Article 5.

The British Government agrees to respect the *bona fide* rights of those jaghiredars, within the territories ceded by Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th instant, who were attached to the families of the late Maharajahs Runjeet Sing, Kurruk Sing and Shere Sing; and the British Government will maintain those jaghiredars in their *bone fide* possessions during their lives.

Article 6.

The Lahore Government shall receive the assistance of the British Local Authorities in recovering the arrears of revenue justly due to the Lahore Government from the kardars and managers in the territories ceded by the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, to the close of the khureef harvest of the current year, viz., 1902 of the Sumbut Bikramajeet.

Article 7.

The Lahore Government shall be at liberty to remove from the forts, in the territories specified in the foregoing Article, all treasure and State property, with the exception of guns. Should, however, the British Government desire to retain any part of the said property, they shall be at liberty to do so, paying for the same at a fair valuation, and the British officers shall give their assistance to the Lahore Government in disposing on the spot of such part of the aforesaid property as the Lahore Government may not wish to remove, and the British Officers may not desire to retain.

Article 8.

Commissioners shall be immediately appointed by the two Governments to settle and lay down the boundary between the two States, as defined by Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated March 9th, 1846.

(Sd.) H. HARDINGE. (L.S.)

- (Sd.) Maharajah Dhuleep Sing. (L.S.)
 „ Bhace Ram Sing. (L.S.)
 „ Rajah Lal Sing. (L.S.)
 „ Sirdar Tej Sing. (L.S.)
 „ Sirdar Chuttur Sing Attareewalla. (L.S.)
 „ Sirdar Runjore Sing Majeethia. (L.S.)
 „ Dewan Deena Nath. (L.S.)
 „ Fuqeer Noorooddeen. (L.S.)

XIV

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT concluded between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the LAHORE DURBAR on the 16th December, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the Principal Chiefs and Sardars of the State have in express terms communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor-General should give his aid and assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State during the minority of Maharajah Duleep Sing, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the Government; and whereas the the Governor-General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited, the following Articles of Agreement, in modification of the Articles of Agreement executed at Lahore on the 11th March last, have been concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, Secretary to Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honorable Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, and on the part of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Sing, by Sirdar Tej Sing, Sirdar Shere Sing, Dewan Deena Nath, Fukeer Nooroodeen, Rai Kishen Chund, Sirdar Runjore Sing Majethea, Sirdar Utter Sing Kaleewalla, Bhaec Nidhan Sing, Sirdar Khan Singh Majethea, Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Sirdar Lall Sing Morarea, Sirdar Kehr Sing Sindhanwalla, Sirdar Urjun Sing Rungurnungalea; acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sardars of the State assembled at Lahore.

Article 1.

All and every part of the Treaty of peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to Clause 15 of the said Treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Article 2.

A British Officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every Department of the State.

Article 3.

Every attention shall be paid in conducting the administration to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintaining the just rights of all classes.

Article 4.

Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for effecting the objects set forth in the foregoing Clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by Native officers as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency composed of leading Chiefs and Sirdars acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article 5.

The following persons shall in the first instance constitute the Council of Regency, *viz.*, Sirdar Tej Sing, Sirdar Shere Sing Attareewalla, Dewan Deena Nath, Fukeer Nooroodeen, Sirdar Runjore Sing Majeethea, Bhaee Nidhan Sing, Sirdar Utter Sing Kaleewalla, Sirdar Shumshere Sing Sindhanwalla, and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated, without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

Article 6.

The administration of the country shall be conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as may be determined on by themselves in consultation with the British Resident, who shall have full authority to direct and control the duties of every department.

Article 7.

A British Force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article 8.

The Governor-General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore Territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government, for the security of the capital or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article 9.

The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty two lakhs of new Nanuck Shahee Rupees of full tale and weight per annum for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government. Such sum to be paid by two instalments, or 13,20,000 in May or June, and 8,80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article 10.

Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness the Maharanee, the mother of Maharaja Duleep Sing, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependants, the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at Her Highness' disposal.

Article 11.

The provisions of this Engagement shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Sing, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years or, on the 4th September of the year 1854, but it shall be competent to the Governor-General to cause the arrangement to cease at any period prior to the coming of age of His Highness, at which the Governor-General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the Government of His Highness the Maharajah.

This agreement, consisting of eleven articles, was settled and executed at Lahore by the Officers and Chiefs and Sirdars above named, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

(Sd.) F. CURRIE.

„ H.M. LAWRENCE.

(Sd.) Sirdar Tej Singh. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Shere Sing. (L.S.)

„ Dewan Deena Nath. (L.S.)

„ Fukeer Nooroodeen. (L.S.)

„ Rai Kishen Chund. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Runjore Sing Majethea. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Utter Sing Kalewalla. (L.S.)

„ Bhaee Nidhan Sing. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Khan Sing Majethea. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Shumshere Sing. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Lal Sing Morarea. (L.S.)

„ Sirdar Kher Sing Sindhanwalla. (L.S.) -

„ Sirdar Urjun Sing Rungurnungalea. (L.S.)

(Sd.) Hardinge. (L. S.)

(Sd.) Dulleep Sing. (L. S.)

Ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, at Bhyrowal Ghat on the left bank of the Beas, twenty-sixth day of December, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Six.

(Sd.) F. CURRIE,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

XV

TERMS granted to, and accepted by, MAHARAJAH DULLEEP SING—1849.

Terms granted to the Maharajah Dulleep Sing Bahadoor, on the part of the Honorable East India Company, by Henry Meirs Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.B., Resident in virtue of full powers vested in them by the Right Honorable James, Earl of Dalhousie, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, one of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Governor-General appointed by the Honorable East India Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and accepted on the part of His Highness the Maharajah, by Rajah Tej Sing, Rajah Deena Nath, Bhaee Nidhan Sing, Fukeer Noorooddeen, Gundur Sing, Agent of Sirdar Shere Sing Sindhanwalla, and Sirdar Lall Sing, Agent and son of Sirdar Uttur Sing Kaleanwalla, Members of the Council of Regency, invested with full power and authority on the part of His Highness.

1st. His Highness the Maharajah Dulleep Sing shall resign for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

2nd. All the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found, shall be confiscated to the Honorable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government, and of the expenses of the war.

3rd. The Gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, shall be surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England.

4th. His Highness Dulleep Sing shall receive from the Honorable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State, a pension not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's Rupees per annum.

5th. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honor. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Dulleep Sing Bahadoor, and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the abovenamed pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain

obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select.

Granted and accepted at Lahore, on the 29th of March 1849, and ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General on the 5th April 1849.

(Sd.) Maharajah Dulleep Sing. (L. S.)

(Sd.) Rajaah Tej Singh. (L. S.)

(Sd.) Dalhousie. (L. S.)

(Sd.) Rajah Deena Nath. (L. S.)

(Sd.) H. M. Elliot (L. S.)

(Sd.) Bhaee Nidhan Sing. (L. S.)

(Sd.) H. M. Lawrence. (L. S.)

(Sd.) Fukeer Nooroodeen. (L. S.)

(Sd.) Gundur Sing. (L. S.) *Agent of Sirdar Shere Sing Sindhanwalla.*

(Sd.) Sirdar Lall Sing (L. S.) *Agent and son of Sirdar Uttur Sing Kaleanwalla.*

Appendix C

A FEW EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITINGS

1. Smyth, G.C.

Regarding the Punjab war, I am neither of opinion that the Seiks made an *unprovoked attack*, nor that we have acted towards them with *great forbearance* ; ... if the Seiks were to be considered entirely an independent state, in no way answerable to us, *we should not have provoked them* ! ... But if ... the treaty of 1809 is said to have been binding between the two Governments, then the simple question is, who first departed from the 'rules of friendship?' I am decidedly of the opinion that we did.—*The Reigning Family of Lahore* (1847), xxi, xxii, xxiii.

2. Mouton, Col.

On the 12th December the Army forded the Sutlej at a distance of 7 miles from Ferozepore. Raja Lal Singh rushed up and damped the ardour of the Sikhs a great deal by assuring them of the defection of 4 Indian battalions in the English Army which would surely join them. Meanwhile he hastened to send an urgent message to Captain Nicholson, Charge d'affairs at Ferozepore, telling him that it was without the orders of his government that the army had crossed the river, and that the generals had been dragged against their wishes, that sixty thousand men were going to march on Ferozepore, which had not even six thousand men to defend itself, and ended by requesting the Captain to advise him in the matter. Nicholson replied suggesting to Raja Lal Singh to detach from the Army a corps of twenty-five thousand men which he should take to meet the Commander-in-Chief, who was arriving by route of Ambala, and that probably these twenty-five thousand men would be defeated, the rest of the army crossing river in disorder.

This treason saved the English from a sure defeat.—*Rapport Sur Les Derniers Evenements du Punjab*, (1846), 5.

3. Cunningham, J.D.

It was sufficiently certain and notorious at the time that Lall Singh was in communication with Captain Nicholson, the British Agent at

Ferozepore, but owing to the untimely death of the officer the details of the overtures made, and expectations held out, cannot now be satisfactorily known. (p. 304, footnote)

Lall Singh headed the attack, but, in accordance with his original design, he involved his followers in an engagement, and then left them to fight as their undirected valour might prompt. — *History of the Sikhs* (1849), 304, 306.

4. Cust, Robert N.

December 22

December 22nd.—News came from the Governor-General that our attack of yesterday had failed, that affairs were desperate, that all the state-papers were to be destroyed, and that if the morning attack failed all would be over this was kept secret by Mr. Currie, and we were concerting measures to make an unconditional surrender to save the wounded." — *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, vi, 48.

5. Ludlow, J.M.

Lall Singh, the Vizier, ... wrote to Captain Nicholson, the political agent : "I have crossed with the Sikh Army. You know my friendship for the British. Tell me what to do." Nicholson answered, "Do not attack Ferozepore. Halt as many days as you can, and then march towards the Governor-General." Lall Singh did so, and Ferozepore was saved. ... So utterly unprepared were we, that even this treachery of one of our enemies scarcely sufficed to save us. — *British India* (1858), ii, 142.

6. Griffin, L.

Ranjodh Singh ... was no traitor. He had no confidential agents in the British camp as Raja Lal Singh had; nor did he, like the Raja, pray for and labour for the triumph of the English. — *Panjab Chiefs* (1890), i, 272-73.

7. Adams, A.L.

...Much has been said of Aliwal, but candid witnesses give a far different account from that written at the time.

I wandered over the field with one who had been present at the engagement; he assured me, and his testimony has been corroborated by many others, that a fruitful imagination was at work when the official account was drawn up. His words were :—

"Aliwal was the *battle of the despatch*, for none of us knew we had fought a battle until the particulars appeared in a document which did more than justice to everyone concerned."

But the public gulped it down, and like many of our Indian battles and Indian blunders, the final issue of the struggle disarmed criticism.

An Irishman would say, "We gained a disadvantage at Budiwal," by the baggage of the Army falling into the hands of the enemy; *that* no exaggeration could well turn it into victory; but shortly afterwards, a few shots, and the charge of a squadron or two in pursuit of a host of retreating Sikhs were magnified into a grand combat, and thus the plain of Aliwal has been recorded as the scene of one of India's Marathons. —*Wanderings of a Naturalist* (1867), 60-1.

Appendix D

ANCESTORS OF MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH

Buddha Singh, died 1718.

Naudh Singh son of Buddha Singh, died 1752.

(Naudh Singh's brother Chanda Singh was the ancestor of the Sandhanwalia Sardars of Raja Sansi in Amritsar district.)

Charhat Singh, son of Naudh Singh Sukkarchakkia, leader of the Sukkarchakkia *misal*, died 1770.

Maha Singh, son of Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia, died in March 1792.

Ranjit Singh, Maharaja, born November 13, 1780.

A deputation consisting of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh representatives of Lahore presented to him a petition signed by leading citizens of Lahore, including Mian Ashiq Muhammad, Mufti Muhammad Mukarram, Mian Muhkam Din, Muhammad Baqar, Muhammad Tahir, Mir Shadi, Hakim Hakam Rai and Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, requesting him to occupy Lahore.

Lahore occupied on July 7, 1799.

The title of *Maharaja* conferred on Ranjit Singh by Chiefs, Sardars and prominent citizens on Baisakhi day, 1858 Bk., April 12, 1801.

Died, June 29, 1839.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's successors

Maharaja Kharak Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, died November 5, 1840.

His son Nau-Nihal Singh done to death, November 6, 1840.

Maharani Chand Kaur widow of Maharaja Kharak Singh.

Maharaja Sher Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, replaced Chand Kaur, was killed September 15, 1843.

Succeeded by Maharaja Duleep Singh son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Appendix E

MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH AND HIS DESCENDANTS

Maharaja Duleep Singh born September 6, 1838 (Bhadon 23, 1895 Bk.).
Came to the throne of Lahore, September 1843. Deposed by the British,
March, 29, 1849, when the Panjab was annexed to the British Indian
dominions.
Died October 22, 1893. (For more information see *Chronology* pp. 690-96).
Married at Cairo Bamba Muller (daughter of Ludwig Muller, a German,
and Sofia, an Abyssinian, of Egyptian nationality), June 7, 1864.
She died, September 18, 1887.

Sons

Victor Albert Jay Duleep Singh
born July 10, 1866.
Married Lady Anne Coventry.
died, June 7, 1918.

Fredrick Victor Duleep Singh
born, January 23, 1868.
died, August 15, 1926.

Albert Edward Alexander Duleep Singh
born, August 20, 1879.
died, April (last week), 1893.
buried, May 1, 1893.

Daughters

Bamba Sofia Jindan Duleep Singh
born, London, September 29, 1869.
married Dr. Sutherland.
died, March 10, 1957, Lahore.

Catherine Hilda Duleep Singh
born, London, October 27, 1871.
died.

Sophia Alexandra Duleep Singh
born, August 8, 1876.
died, August 22, 1948.

Second Wife

Ada Douglas Wetherill, born in 1869, married to the Maharaja at Paris, May 21, 1889 ; died August 6, 1930.

Daughters

Paulina Alexandra Duleep Singh, born out of wedlock, on December 26, 1887, at Moscow, and recognised in the Marriage Certificate of her parents as their daughter ; married to Lieutenant J. S. Terry; died.

Ada Irene Helen Benyl Duleep Singh, born October 25, 1889 ; married to M. Villement ; died October 1926.

(Committed suicide by drowning herself on the coast of Monaco, France, saying in a letter in her own handwriting that she was going to kill herself because she was tired of life.—Reuter, Paris, October 14, 1926.

Morning Post, London, October 15, 1926.)

Most of the above information was originally received by the Editor from Her Highness the Princess Bamba Sutherland, the eldest daughter of Maharaja Duleep Singh, on March 3, 1942, at her residence, the *Gulzar*, 16 Jail Road, Lahore. Later on she shifted to 104 A, Model Town, Lahore, where she died on March 10, 1957—G. S.

Appendix F

SOME PROMINENT PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

- AJIT SINGH (-1843)—nephew of Attar Singh Sandhanwalia ; a party in the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh ; killed along with Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia in attack on Lahore fort by Wazir Hira Singh on September 17, 1843.
- AITCHISON, SIR CHARLES UMPHERSTON (1832-1896)—born May 20, 1832 ; Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1882-87; died at Oxford, February 18, 1896.
- ARGYLL, GEORGE DOUGHLAS CAMPBELL, EIGHTH DUKE OF (1823-1900)—born April 30, 1823 ; Secretary of State for India, 1868-74 ; died April 24, 1900.
- ATTAR SINGH SANDHANWALIA (-May 1844)—uncle of Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia ; raised a revolt with the help of Kashmira Singh and Peshaura Singh during Hira Singh's premiership, killed at Naurangabad on May 7, 1844.
- AUCKLAND, GEORGE EDEN, EARL OF (1784-1849)—born August 25, 1784 ; Governor-General of India, 1836-1842; died January 1, 1849.
- AYUB KHAN (1849-)—fourth son of Sher Ali, Amir of Afghanistan ; made a prisoner by the British Government in 1887 and interned at Rawalpindi.
- BANERJI, SURENDRANATH born November, 1848 ; passed I.C.S. examination in 1869 ; later on became active opponent of the Government ; President of the 11th session of the Indian National Congress. Poona, 1895, of the 18th session, Ahmedabad, 1902 ; died at Calcutta.
- BELI RAM, MISAR (-1843)—son of Basti Ram ; became treasurer of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1816 ; died in 1843.
- BELL, Major EVANS (1825-1887)—born November 11, 1825 ; author of many books including *The Annexation of the Punjab and Maharaja Duleep Singh* ; died September 12, 1887.
- BENTICK, LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH (1774-1839)—born September 14, 1774 ; the Governor-General of India from 1828 to March, 1835 ; died June 17, 1839.

- BROADFOOT, GEORGE** (1807-45)—born 1807 : British Agent to the Governor-General on the N.W. Frontier ; died at Ferozshahar on December 21, 1845.
- BROUGHTON DE GYFFORD; JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, BARON** (1786-1869)—born June 27, 1786 ; President of the Board of Control, April 23, 1835, to September 4, 1841, and from July 8, 1846 to February 3, 1852 ; died June 3, 1869.
- BUCK, SIR EDWARD CHARLES** (1838-)—Secretary to the Government of India, 1882-97.
- BUDH SINGH, (-1856)**—son of Mana Singh ; entered Ranjit Singh's service in 1816 ; loyal to the British during 1848-49 ; died in 1856.
- BURNE, SIR OWEN TUDOR** (1837-)—Major-General, entered army 1855 ; Private Secretary to Lord Mayo the Viceroy of India ; Member of the Council of India, London, 1887-97.
- BURNES, SIR ALEXANDER** (1805-1841)—born May 16, 1805 ; responsible for conclusion of treaties with the Amirs of Sindh ; political agent at Kabul ; assassinated there on November 2, 1841.
- CANNING, CHARLES JOHN, EARL** (1812-1862)—born December 14, 1812 ; Governor-General of India, February 29, 1856 ; Viceroy from November 1, 1858 to 1862 ; died June 17, 1862.
- CHAND KAUR, MAI**—wife of Maharaja Kharak Singh ; tried to retain the power in her own hands after the death of his son Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh ; put to death by the Dogra party in June 1842.
- CHARHAT SINGH (-1827 Bk.)**—son of Naudh Singh ; head of the Sukkarchakkia misal ; died 1827 Bikrmi, A.D. 1770.
- CHATAR SINGH ATARIWALA (-Jan. 1856)**—Governor of Hazara ; fought against the British during the Second Anglo-Sikh War ; died at Calcutta as prisoner in January, 1856.
- CHURCHIL, LORD RANDOLPH HENRY SPENCER** (1849-94)—born February 13, 1849 ; Secretary of State for India from June 24, 1885, to February 5, 1886 ; died January 24, 1894.
- CROSS, RICHARD ASSHETON, FIRST VISCOUNT** (1823)—born May 30, 1823 : Secretary of State for India from August 4, 1886, to August 19, 1892.
- CURETON, SIR CHARLES** (1826-1891)—born November 25, 1826 : joined army in 1843 and became General in 1888 ; died July 11, 1891.
- CURRIE, SIR FREDERICK, BARONET** (1799-1875)—born February 3, 1799 : drew up the treaty with the Sikhs ; became Resident of Lahore in 1848 : died September 11, 1875.

- DALHOUSIE, JAMES ANDREW BROWN RAMSAY, FIRST MARQUIS OF** (1812-1860)—born April 22, 1812 : Governor-General of India from January 12, 1848 to February 29, 1856 : Punjab annexed during his reign ; died December 19, 1860.
- DAVINDER SINGH** (—1865)—Raja Davinder Singh, son of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, succeeded his father in 1840 : deposed by the British Indian Government for not helping them during the first Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46 : died a detenue at Lahore in 1865.
- DEENA NATH, DEWAN** (—1857)—son of Bakht Mal, served Maharaja Ranjit Singh as financial administrator ; a member of the Council of Regency : died in 1857.
- DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN** (1791-1863)—twentieth son of Payinda Khan (executed 1799), the Barkazei Chief ; sent assistance to the Sikhs in the Second Punjab campaign of 1848-49 ; died June 9, 1863.
- DUFFERIN AND AVA, FREDERICK TEMPLE HAMILTON—TEMPLE BLACKWOOD—FIRST MARQUESS OF** (1826-1902)—born June 21, 1826 ; Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1884-1888 ; died February 12, 1902.
- DURAND, SIR HENRY MARION** (1812-1871)—born November 6, 1812 ; Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, 1861-65 ; became Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab on April 27, 1865 : died January 1, 1871.
- DURAND, SIR HENRY MORTIMER** (1850—)—born February 14, 1850 : Foreign Secretary in India from 1884 to 1894.
- ELLENBOROUGH, EDWARD LAW, FIRST EARL OF** (1790-1871)—born September 8, 1790 : Governor-General from February 28, 1842, to June 15, 1844 : President of the Panjab Board of Control, February 1858 to June 1858 ; died December 22, 1871.
- ELGIN, LORD** (1811-1863) son-in-law of Lord Durham, author of Durham Report ; before coming to India was the Governor of Canada and Jamaica ; Governor-General of India for 1862-63 ; died at Dharmasala on November 20, 1863.
- GILBERT, SIR WALTER RALEIGH, BARONET** (1785-1853)—born 1785 : joined the 15th Bengal N.I. in 1801 : saw Service during the Second Sikh War : died May 12, 1853.
- GOLAB SINGH, MAHARAJA** (1792-1857)—rose from a Cavalry trooper to the rank of Minister in the time of Ranjit Singh ; Kashmir transferred to him by the British Government after the First Anglo-Sikh War : died on August 2, 1857.

KHEM SINGH, SIR BABA (1830-1905)—fourteenth in direct descent from Guru Nanak ; member of the Legislative Council of the Punjab for two years : K.C.I.E. ; died April 10, 1905.

KISHEN CHAND, RAI (—1872)—son of Rai Anand Singh ; Political Agent in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, got the title of *Rai* in 1840 from Prince Nau-Nihal Singh : Political Agent at Ludhiana ; died in 1872 at Benaras.

LAL SINGH, RAJA (—July 1866)—Prime Minister at Lahore during the First Anglo-Sikh War ; secretly allied himself with the British ; deprived of his post for resisting the transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh ; died at Dehradun in July 1866.

LAWRENCE, SIR HENRY MONTGOMERY (1806-1857)—born June 26, 1806 ; Resident at Lahore, January 1847 ; President of the Board of Control at Lahore till 1853 : died July 2, 1857.

LAWRENCE, JOHN LAIRD MAIR, FIRST BARON (1811-79)—born March 4, 1811 ; Member of the Board of the Punjab Administration, 1849 ; Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, 1853 ; died June 27, 1879.

LEHNA SINGH MAJITHA, SARDAR—a capable and sagacious Sardar at Lahore ; left Panjab before the first Anglo-Sikh War ; died at Benaras.

LOGIN, SIR JOHN—guardian of Maharaja Duleep Singh after the annexation of the Panjab, 1849-58, knighted, 1854, died October 18, 1863.

LOGIN, LENA (1904)—wife of Dr. Sir John Spencer Login, guardian of Maharaja Duleep Singh during his minority ; author of *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* ; died April 17, 1904.

MAHA SINGH (1790)—son of Sardar Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia ; the father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh ; considerably added to Sukkarchakkia possessions ; died 5th Baisakh 1847 Bk., April 15, 1790.

MAHARAJ SINGH, BHAI—tried to incite rebellion against the British during the intervening years of the two Anglo-Sikh wars ; arrested and deported to Singapore where he died on July 5, 1856.

MOOLRAJ, DEWAN—son of Dewan Sawan Mal, became the Governor of Multan after the death of his father ; his revolt at Multan led to the Second Anglo-Sikh War ; tried and imprisoned for life in 1849, removed from Panjab to Calcutta in 1850, on way to Andaman ; taken ill at Calcutta, died at Buxar, August 11, 1851, on way to Benares.

MONTGOMERY, SIR ROBERT (1809-1887)—born 1809 ; Member of the Board of Administration, 1851 ; Judicial Commissioner, 1853 ; Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, February 1859 to January 1865 ; died, December 28, 1887.

- MULTANA SINGH, KANWAR** (—1846)—son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh born of Rani Ratan Kaur, died in 1846.
- NAU-NIHAL SINGH, KANWAR**—son of Maharaja Kharak Singh ; fell victim to the machinations of Dogra family ; slightly wounded when returning after cremating his father ; removed to the fort where he was done to death, November 6, 1840.
- NAPIER, SIR CHARLES JAMES** (1782-1853)—born August 10, 1782 ; reduced the Sind Chiefs to submission in 1844 ; made commander-in-chief of the Indian army after the battle of Chillianwala ; died August 29, 1853.
- NARINDER SINGH**—third son of Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, accompanied his father to Pondicherry from where returned to the Panjab after the death of his father.
- NIHAL SINGH, BHAI**—author of the *Khurshid Khalsa* ; incurred the displeasure of the British Indian Government for the mention of Maharaja Duleep Singh and Sardar Thakur Singh therein.
- NUR-UD-DIN, FAKIR**—the younger brother of Fakir Aziz-ud-din (Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) ; Member of the Council of Regency after the first Anglo-Sikh War ; died in 1852.
- PEEL, SIR ROBERT**—leader of the reformed Tory party, called the Conservatives ; Home Secretary in 1822 ; Prime Minister of England 1834-35 and 1841-46.
- PESHAWARA SINGH, KANWAR**—son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, born of Rani Daya Kaur ; murdered by Fateh Khan Tiwana, under instructions, it is alleged, of *Wazir* Sardar Jawahir Singh in 1844.
- RAM SINGH, BHAI** (1816-1885)—born February 3, 1816 ; Leader of the Kuka Movement ; exiled in 1872, died in November 1884.
- RAM SINGH, BHAI**—son of Bhai Harbhaj Rai ; gained influence in the time of Ranjit Singh ; was a member of the Council of Regency in 1846 ; died in November 1846.
- RANJIT SINGH, MAHARAJA** (1780-1839)—born November 13, 1780 (Maghar 2, 1837 Bk.) ; died June 27, 1839.
- RIPON, GEORGE FREDERICK SAMUEL, FIRST MARQUESS OF** (1827)—born October 4, 1827 ; Governor-General of India, 1880-1884 ; made a Marquess in 1871, died July 9, 1909.
- SALISBURY, ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOIGNE CECIL, THIRD MARQUESS OF** (1830-1903)—born February 3, 1830 ; Secretary of State for India, July 6, 1866 to March 9, 1867 ; later on became Prime Minister of England ; died August 22, 1903.
- SHAMSHER SINGH** (—1871)—son of Budh Singh Sandhanwalia ; helped the British during Mutiny ; died in 1871.

SANT SINGH, Sardar of Aima—succeeded his father Nahar Singh of Aima Kalan in 1866 ; jagir resumed ; connected by marriage with the family of Duleep Singh.

SHEO-DEO SINGH, SHAHZADA—son of Maharaja Sher Singh from Rani Dukhnoo ; removed along with Maharaja Duleep Singh to Fatehgarh after the annexation of the Panjab by the British ; not permitted by his mother to accompany Duleep Singh to England, both mother and son died at Rai Bareill as State prisoners.

SHER SINGH, MAHARAJA—the second son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh ; become Maharaja after the murder of Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh ; shot dead by Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia on 15th September, 1843.

SHER SINGH, RAJA—the eldest son of Sardar Chatar Singh of Attari, joined the rebels when sent against Multan ; confined at Calcutta where he died. Other members of the Attari family were Captain Gulab Singh, Sardar Attar Singh and Tej Singh. Sardar Nahar Singh and Bishen Singh were the nephews of Sardar Chatar Singh.

SMITH, SIR HARRY GEORGE WAKELYN, BARONET (1787-1860)—born, June 28, 1787 ; joined army in 1805 ; a commander during the First Anglo-Sikh war : died October 12, 1860.

SUJAN SINGH, Bawa—son of Bedi Bikram Singh, an Honorary Magistrate, President of the Una Municipal Committee, Member of the District Board ; died in 1920.

THAKUR SINGH, SARDAR, SANDHANWALIA (-1887)—son of Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, appointed Extra Assistant Commissioner in 1865 ; visited England in 1885 ; left for Pondicherry along with his three sons to carry on struggle against the British in support of the Maharaja Duleep Singh ; died at Pondicherry in December 1887.

Appendix G

SARDAR THAKAR SINGH SANDHANWALIA AND HIS DESCENDANTS

Maharaja Duleep Singh and Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia had a common ancestor in Sardar Budha Singh who had two sons Naudh Singh and Chanda Singh. While Naudh Singh was the great grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh whose son Maharaja Duleep Singh is main subject of the book (see appendix D, p. 679), his (Naudh Singh's) brother Chanda Singh was the great grandfather of Lehna Singh whose son Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia was the chief supporter of Maharaja Duleep Singh in India.

Ancestors of Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhanwalia

1. Budha Singh. 2. Chanda Singh. 3. Didar Singh. 4. Ameer Singh. 5. Lehna Singh (also Atar Singh, Jaimal Singh, Budh Singh Wasawa Singh—brothers). 6. Thakar Singh (also Partap Singh—brother).

Descendants

Sardar Thakar Singh, No. 6, had four sons :

- (i) Gurbachan Singh (adopted by Partap Singh No. 6, brother of Thakar Singh).
- (ii) Bakhsheesh Singh, adopted by Shamsher Singh son of Budh Singh, No. 5 above.
- (iii) Narinder Singh, adopted by Kanwar Dharm Singh of Dadri.
- (iv) Gurdit Singh, the only legal heir of Sardar Thakar Singh, had two sons, Sarup Singh and Pritam Singh.

In recognition of the part played by Sardar Thakar Singh in Maharaja Duleep Singh's struggle against the British Government in India, Sardar Pritam Singh was paid in 1966 five thousand rupees by the Government of the Punjab as a payment of symbolic compensation in lieu of the property of his grandfather confiscated during the British regime.

Appendix H

CHRONOLOGY

- 1708. Death of Guru Gobind Singh.
- 1738-39. Nadir Shah invaded India.
- 1741. Gujrat district conquered by the Gakhars.
- 1755. Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkia came to Shahpur Sansian.
- 1764. Charhat Singh and Gujar Singh take Gujrat district.
- 1765. City of Gujranwala founded by Charhat Singh.
- 1766. Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) recovers Gujrat and hands it over to Buland Khan.
- 1767. Ahmad Shah retires from India.
- 1768. Rohtas occupied by the Sikhs, Buland Khan defeated. Charhat Singh conquers the town of Jhelum.
- 1771. Grants made to the *Kardars* of Pind Dadun Khan by Maha Singh.
- 1774. Maha Singh succeeds his father in the possession of salt mines.
- 1780. Maha Singh builds the outer city of Gujranwala
Rasulnagar reconquered from the Chatthas.
November 13, Ranjit Singh born.
- 1781. Maha Singh occupies Midh and Moosa Choocha *Talukas* in Shahpore district.
- 1783. Maha Singh gains control over Mianee and its district.
- 1786. Ranjit Singh occupies Dode.
- 1788. Kot Nyna conquered by Ranjit Singh.
- 1790. Ranjit Singh succeeds Maha Singh after the latter's death.
- 1791. Atalgarh and Bulaki Chak taken over by Ranjit Singh.
- 1795. Bheekho Chak, Shakargurh annexed by Ranjit Singh.
- 1797. Narot Jaimal Singh, Sohoti passes into the hands of Ranjit Singh.
- 1799. July 7. Shah Zaman leaves Lahore, which was then occupied by Ranjit Singh.
- 1801. April 12. Ranjit Singh accepts the throne and becomes the Maharaja of the Panjab.

1809. April 25. Treaty of Amritsar concluded between the British and Ranjit Singh.
1828. Ranjit Singh donates Rs. 10,000 to the holy Sikh shrine at Mangat.
1836. Ghazipur rebuilt by Nau-Nihal Singh.
1838. September 6 (23rd Bhadon, 1895 Bk.). Birth of Maharaja Duleep Singh.
1839. June 27. Death of Ranjit Singh.
For the dates of his descendants, see Appendix D, p. 679.
1840. Death of Kharak Singh. Nau-Nihal Singh done to death next day.
1841. Rights of Ghazipur granted to Prohit Bul Ram.
1843. August. Major Broadfoot reports against Rani Jindan.
September 15. Murder of Maharaja Sher Singh.
1844. December 21. Flight of Hira Singh from Lahore, killed.
- 1845-46. First Anglo-Sikh war.
1846. February 10. Battle of Sobraon.
March 9. Peace Treaty signed.
December 16. Treaty of Bhyrowal concluded.
December. Maharni Jindan Jind Kaur deprived of power.
1847. August 20. Proclamation issued regarding guardianship and education of Maharaja Duleep Singh.
August. Maharaja Duleep Singh separated from his mother Jind Kaur.
- 1848-49. 2nd Anglo-Sikh war.
1848. November 22. Battle of Ramnuggar.
Revolt of Moolraj.
December 2. Battle of Sadullahpore.
December. British assume protection of Lahore state.
1849. January 13. Battle of Chillianwala.
January 27. Battle of Gujrat.
March 29. Punjab annexed to British dominions.
1850. April 6. The *Madea* with the *Koh-i-Noor* diamond sails to England
1853. Dalhousie writes to the Maharaja about the Four-Lakh Fund.
1854. Maharaja goes to England.
1856. Meeting of Sir John Login and Lord Dalhousie for consultations about the Maharaja.
Maharaja's allowance increased to £15,000.
1857. February 19. Maharaja relieved from restrictions as to his residence.
1857. Mutiny breaks out in India.
Govt. makes a gift of the Garden of Hari Singh to Jawahir Singh.

1858. May, 22. Maharaja asks for an allowance of £1300 for the Fatehgarh establishment.
1859. June 3. Maharaja claims the lapsed portion of his pension.
November 1. Maharaja's claim to arrears repeated.
1860. March 23. Maharaja's position explained under the terms.
March 31. Maharaja informed about the severance of his relations with Sir John Login.
April. Maharaja asks for an account of accumulations of his allowance.
1860. Council of India takes pecuniary question into consideration.
Maharaja not allowed to visit India.
1861. August. Account of accumulations furnished to the Maharaja.
1862. July 26. Sir Charles Wood proposes about Capitalized Trust Fund.
1863. January 7. Maharaja accepts Sir Charles Wood's proposal.
April 8. Maharaja informed that he was entitled to all the privileges referred to.
August 1. Maharaja's mother Jind Kaur died at Kensington.
1863. Sum of £110,000 advanced to the Maharaja for the purchase of Elveden Hall Estate.
1864. Maharaja visits India (Nasik) to perform the obsequies of his mother.
1864. June 7. Marriage of the Maharaja with Bamba Mullers at Cairo.
1866. Dewan Buta Singh sets up a press at Lahore.
1867. December. Maharaja sells the Hatherop estate.
1867. Maharaja purchases another estate adjoining Elveden.
1868. May. Memorandum submitted to the Duke of Argyll about the lapsed Funds of the Maharaja.
1868. Further advance of £13, 585 made to the Maharaja.
1869. Duke of Argyll promises another £7,000 after the Maharaja's death.
1872. The *Aftab-i-Punjab* newspaper started by Dewan Buta Singh.
1878. April 2. Lord Salisbury refutes the claim of the Maharaja.
August. Sum of £ 10,000 advanced to the Maharaja.
1879. March. Further advance of £3,000 made to the Maharaja.
1880. February. Maharaja prefers claim to his private estates in India.
1880. An Act of Parliament passed regarding Maharaja's further settlement.
1882. August. The Secretary of State told that the Maharaja's visit to and stay in India was not desirable.

1882. August. *Path-Bhog* ceremony performed at Amritsar on behalf of the Maharaja.
- September 28. Government declines to sanction loan to Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia.
- October 23. Maharaja told to regulate his movements, while in India, according to Viceroy's instructions.
- November 16. The Secretary of State informed the Maharaja that he would not be allowed to visit the Punjab.
- Abdul Rasul accompanies Lord Welsley to Egypt as an interpreter.
1883. June. Permission of the Government sought by the Maharaja's *prohit* to perform *Path-Bhog* at Amritsar.
- August 15. The Secretary of State told that the year 1883-84 is inopportune for the Maharaja's visit.
- The British Government decides not to allow the Maharaja to the north of Allahabad in case of his visit to India.
- Sardar Thakur Singh applies to Government to declare him unfit to manage his estate affairs.
- 1883-84. Mr. Talbot comes to Punjab to enquire about private estates of the Maharaja.
1884. August 7. Jawala Singh accompanies Thakur Singh to England.
1884. Thakur Singh visits England.
- Abdul Rasul starts a Persian paper, the *Alghirab*, in London.
1885. March 10. Maharaja writes to Lord Randolph Churchill about his private property.
- April. Maharaja's wish to join army in the event of a war with Russia conveyed to the Government of India.
- June 4. Maharaja informed that restrictions as per Treaty of Lahore were still in force.
- June 25. Har Kishen Das *prohit* asks for Lieutenant-Governor's permission to make offerings on Maharaja's behalf.
- Sarup Singh informed about the Maharaja's intention to take the *Pahul*.
- July 28 to August 25. Thakur Singh and party returns to India.
- August 20-22. *Karah-parsad* offered at the Golden Temple on behalf of the Maharaja.
- September 1. Durand informed about Thakur Singh's visit to Abchalnagar.

1885. October 20. Maharaja inquired whether force would be used to regulate his movements.
 Maharaja intimated that it would rest with the Victory to use force or not.
 October. Thakur Singh comes to Jind State.
 November 9. Viceroy informed about the Maharaja's intention to proceed to Delhi.
 November 16. Maharaja's correspondence with Hira Singh of Sialkot detected.
 November 19. Foreign Secretary informed that the Maharaja's visit to Punjab would shake the loyalty of many.
 November 30. Maharaja told that he would have to live at Ootacmund or some other place in India.
 December 2. Maharaja puts off his departure for India.
 December 6. Thakur Singh seen at the Rewari Railway Station.
 Hira Singh Kalal leaves England.
1886. January 16. India Office informed that the Maharaja's visit may absolve Indian Government from existing obligations.
 Maharaja makes last appeal for his claims.
 January 21. Maharaja intimated that the Secretary of State had both the power and wish to arrive at just decision in his case.
 January 28. Maharaja interviewed Sir O.T. Burne.
 February 1. India Office asked if the warning suggested had been conveyed.
 February 8. Maharaja lays his claims before Lord Salisbury.
 February 14. Bawa Nihal Singh warned for insertion of Duleep Singh's name in the *Khurshid-Khalsa*.
 February 19. Maharaja asks permission to name one member of the court to decide his claims.
 February Partap Singh introduced to Budh Singh Bedi.
 March 6-7. *Path-Bhog* performed in the Golden Temple by Thakur Singh on the Maharaja's behalf
 March 10. Maharaja expressed his willingness to live at Ootacmund.
 March 11. Maharaja asked Lord Kimberley to allow Thakur Singh to meet him on his arrival in India.
 March 24. Maharaja rejected British Government's offer.

1886. March 25. Maharaja wrote a letter addressed to his countrymen.
- March 30. Genuineness of the letter acknowledged by the Maharaja.
- March 31. Maharaja along with his family leaves for India.
- April 6. Legislative Department consulted if the Maharaja could be stopped at Aden.
- Government told that the Maharaja could be stopped.
- April 8. Warrants forwarded to arrest the Maharaja and his family.
- April 11. *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* declared unauthorized by the Khalsa Diwan.
- April 15. The Resident at Aden asked to detain the Maharaja and his family.
- April 21. Maharaja detained at Aden by the Resident.
- April 27. Thakur Singh asked permission to meet the Maharaja. Thakur Singh's request disallowed.
- April 28. Viceroy informed that Maharaja wished to return to Europe.
- April. Parduman Singh, Thakur Singh of Wagha and Jowand Singh of Barki sent by the Sandanwalia Sardar to await the Maharaja's arrival at Bombay.
- May. 1. Maharaja decided to stay at Aden.
- May 6. Maharani Bamba Duleep Singh and family sail back for England.
- May 8. Thakur Singh of Wagha (nephew of the Maharaja) along with another Punjabi arrived at Aden.
- Maharaja informed that he could go anywhere in Europe.
- May 12. Maharaja asks permission for reinitiation into Sikhism.
- May. 15. Maharaja's reinitiation into Sikhism allowed in the presence of an English official.
- May 19. Thakur Singh's sons left Delhi for Amritsar.
- May 25. Maharaja rejoined Sikh faith.
- May 28. Maharaja demanded public trial of his claims.
- May 30. Resident authorized to allow Maharaja to leave Aden.
- June 3. Maharaja left for Marseilles.
- July 22. Maharaja asked India Office not to carry any further correspondence with him.

1886. September. Maharaja established link with editor of the *Beaver* at Chandernagore.
- October 16. Gurbachan Singh took extraordinary leave for one month.
- October 27. Thakur Singh left Delhi for Pondicherry.
- November 6. Thakur Singh reached Pondicherry.
- December 11. Gurbachan Singh reminded about his absence from duty.
- December 12. Gurbachan Singh asked for delay in the decision of his case.
- Syed Jamal-ud-din left Persia for Russia.
- Wahbi Maulavi Abdul Rahman and Ahsan deported to India from Macca.
1887. January 10 to February 8. Jowala Singh asked by Thakur Singh to come over to Pondicherry.
- March 11 to April 9. Hari Singh arrived at Pondicherry.
- March 21. Maharaja left Paris for St. Petersburg.
- March 22. Maharaja robbed of his handbag and passport at Berlin.
- March 23. British Ambassador conferred with M. de Giers.
- May. Arur Singh left Russia.
- Maghar Singh and Sohan Lal arrived at Pondicherry.
- June. Sohan Lal delivers Thakur Singh's letters to Rani Kanwal Kaur.
- July. Bhagoo Mal and Makhun Singh sent to contact Raja of PUNCH.
- August 1. Arur Singh arrived at Chandernagore.
- August 2. Arur Singh arrived in Calcutta.
- August 5. Arur Singh arrested.
- August 16. Inspector J.C. Mitter visited Pondicherry.
- August 21. Jowala Singh left Pondicherry with Thakur Singh's bones.
- September 9. Arur Singh sent to Chunar for detention.
- September 18. Maharani Bamba Muller Dulceep Singh died at London.
- October 6. Jowala Singh arrived at Amritsar.
- October 25. Pohlo Mal allowed to visit Pondicherry.
- October 27. Bawa Budh Singh Bedi arrested.

1887. October. Maharaja sent a message to Holkar.
December. Abul Rasul left Moscow.
Pandit Gopi Nath visited Pondicherry.
1888. May 17. A British agent went to Zobair Pasha.
October 10. Maharaja left Kieff.
1889. May. Maharaja married Ada Douglas Wetherill at Paris.
1890. December 5. Arur Singh and Bawa Budh Singh Bedi released.
1893. October 22. Maharaja Duleep Singh died at Paris.
For the dates of his family, see Appendix E, pp. 680-81.

Appendix I

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INDEX

A

- Abadulla, 359
 Abbas Khan, 543-4
 Abbot, James, (59, 61-3, 70-1, 82), 99
 Abchal Nagar, (97, 99), 177, 179, 193, 201, 205, 255
 Abdulla Effendi, 601
 Abdulla, Haji, 568
 Abdul Hamid, 528
 Abdul Huk, 528
 Abdul Majid, 528
 Abdulla Peshawari, 568
 Abdul Rasul, 486, 491, 521, 524-8, 533-8, 543, 571, 600-9, 614
 Abdul Rehman, Maulvi, 527
 Abdus Samad Khan, (1)
 Abyssinia, 94, 378
 Ada Douglas Witherill (Queen of M. Duleep Singh), (107), 615
 Adali, 145
 Adam, Andrew, (44)
 Aden, (98, 101-3, 106), 186-7, 259, 261, 263-4, 267-9, 276-82, 284-309, 403, 412-7, 421, 425, 466, 482, 484, 486, 516, 528
 Adowal, 142
 Adumke, 148
 Advowson, 622
 Afghanistan, (3, 8, 9, 14-5, 17-22, 35, 66, 97, 105), 171-2, 283, 369, 383, 385, 396, 398, 403, 407, 421-2, 463, 523, 548, 566, 584, 654-5, 657
 Africa, 283
 Aga Cheyab, 436
 Agnew, P.A. Vans, (54, 56)
 Agra, (11, 80), 21, 37, 52, 192, 609-10
 Agya Singh, 358
 Ahmad Mukhtar, Pasha, 540, 542
 Ahmad Nagar, 601
 Ahmedabad, 142
 Ahmed Shah Durani, (1, 2, 8, 75), 128, 134, 137
 Aimha (Aimehwala), 517
 Aitchison, Sir Charles, (7, 22, 86), 176-7, 181-2, 192, 210, 284, 308-9, 313, 315, 327, 354, 365, 367-8, 386, 390, 396-7, 400, 420
 Ajaria, 138
 Ajeet Singh Sandhanwalia, 154
 Ajit Singh, (23)
 Ajit Singh of Attari, 492
 Ajit Singh of Ladwa, (44)
 Ajit Singh of Lalpur, 488
 Ajmer, 204, 277, 600
 Ajnala, 357
 Ajneeanwaluh, 132
 Ajudhia Prasad, Diwan, (73)
 Akalgarh, 132
 Akbar, Emperor, 75, 127, 137
 Akola, 560-5, 572-4, 576, 579
 Albert Edward, Prince, 8, 11, 262
 Albert Jay Duleep Singh, 617, 639
 Aldershot, 71
 Aleppo, 1
 Alexander, Col., (81)
 Alexander Gardner, (18, 34, 46)
 Alexander the Great, 137
 Alexanderia, (93), 285, 294, 491, 524, 533, 605, 614
 Alice, Princess, 91
 Alikhanoff, 539, 542
 Ali Masjid, (16)
 Ali Mohammad, 437-8
 Aliwal, (44-5), 3
 Allahabad, (7, 94), 3, 8, 112, 116, 181, 187, 207, 278, 334, 338, 380-2, 401, 414, 447-8, 460, 475, 520, 522, 528, 560, 567, 573, 579, 585, 587
 Alwar, 470-1
 Amar Singh, 504
 Amar Singh Kahar, 315, 339, 462
 Amar Singh (Raja of Kashmir), 529, 580, 584
 Amb, 653
 Ambala, (5, 12, 26, 28-9, 35, 37, 41), 247, 343, 368, 480, 503, 506, 509
 America, (93), 371
 Amir Ali, 472
 Amir Chand, (56)
 Amir Khan, 264
 Amritsar, (4, 6, 11, 20, 71, 94, 97-9, 103), 3-4, 75, 113-4, 118, 122, 127, 129, 150-2, 177, 180, 187, 193, 201, 206, 247, 253, 284, 296, 300, 316, 338, 343-4, 346, 353,

- 355-9, 386, 404, 424, 431, 438, 447,
451-3, 460, 462, 472, 474, 476-80, 485-7,
492, 497, 499, 500, 504-10, 514-8, 524-6,
533, 553, 561, 568, 571, 575, 586-7, 610,
641, 643, 648, 654, 660-661
Anandgir Sannyasi, Baba, 26
Anandpur, (32), 296, 480, 485, 487
Anderson, A. William, (54, 56)
Angerstein, 625
Anglo Sikh Wars, (9, 42, 45, 51, 55, 68)
Annenkoff (General), 552
Anson, General, 67
Anup Singh, Risaldar, 468, 492
Aoana, 145
Applecross, Estate, 84-5
Arabia, 527
Arbangi Das, 207
Arbi, 98
Archdeacon, 57
Arconum, 457, 468
Argyll, 165, 215
Aroor Singh, 374, 377, 421-2, 426-7
Arrochar, 74
Arthur Cranford, 250, 259, 267, 281, 283,
285, 298
Arur Singh, 354, 427-33, 435-41, 443-5,
448-9, 452-9, 468-9, 478, 486, 489, 491,
498, 525, 527, 534-8, 541, 609-10
Asan, 527
Asap Khan, 137
Ashraf Ali, Major, 3
Askabad, 543-4, 561, 568-70
Asmad Jha, 538
Assisbad, 544-51
Assud Pasha, 523
Asuf Nuggar, 139, 144
Atar Singh, Jamadar, 474, 479, 530
Atar Singh, Kalianwala, (73)
Attar Singh, 17, 26, 321, 391, 553
Attar Singh, Bhadour, 232, 292
Attari, (11, 14, 28), 179
Ata-ula-Khan, 551
Attock, (2, 63), 34-5, 653
Atulgarh, 149
Auchlyne, 79, 86
Auckland, Lord, (11, 14, 17, 19, 44), 32,
653, 657
Aurangabad, 477
Aurangzeb, Emperor, 75
Auson, 67
Austria, 536
Ava, King, 66
Avitabile, General, (15, 17, 18)
Avtar Singh, (71)
Aylward, Alfred, 383
Ayub Khan, 416, 526
Ayudhya, 503-4
Aziz-ud-din, 353-4, 356, 438, 442-4, 446-7,
466, 469, 472, 479-80, 496-7, 500, 502,
506-7, 510-2, 521, 524, 529, 533-42, 555
- B**
- Babu, 535-6, 538-9, 541
Babu Budh Singh, Bedi, (71, 74), 477, 479,
Babu Pandey, (71, 74), 488, 491, 495, 497-9,
506-7, 509, 520, 609-10
Badan Singh, 515, 517
Baddowal, (44-5)
Badshahpoor, 138
Baiknanwala, 136
Bahadur Chand, 139
Bahadur Singh, Col., (71, 74)
Bahawal Khan, (57)
Bahbah, 546
Bailee Ram, Misur, 117, 320
Bajaur, 584
Bakhshish Singh, 297, 336, 359
Bakhshish Singh, Kour, 306
Bakhshi, Bhagat Ram, (105-6), 320
Baku, 416
Balabgarh, 437, 442, 446, 464-5, 471, 490,
511
Balakote, (8)
Baldeo Sahai, 381
Balmoral, 74, 111
Balti or Walti, 143
Baluchistan (Beloochistan), (8, 97), 171,
403, 568, 585
Bamba Muller, (93, 101, 106), 94, 265, 278,
285, 618, 624
Bamba Sophia Jindan, 265
Bamba Sutherland (Princess), (99, 107)
Banarsi Babu (Kuka Singh), Guru of Dalip
Singh (England), 371-2, 375, 380, 381,
443-4, 458, 468
Banda, 318
Banda Singh Bahadur, (1)
Bandar Abbas, 544, 561, 568
Bandhujit, 15-6
Banglore, 203
Bangon, Lord, 325

- Banerjee, Surendra Nath, 113-4, 181, 386, 402
 Bar Singh, 515
 Bareilly, (7)
 Baring, E., 117, 521, 524, 571, 609
 Baring, M., 19
 Barkat Ali, 320
 Barke (Barki or Burki), (103, 106), 346, 425, 481-2, 487, 492, 528
 Barnes, .S., 584, 608-9
 Baroda, 484,
 Baron, Ireagh, Edward Cecil, 617
 Barrackpore, (63), 1, 23, 63, 66
 Basanta Lal Mitter, 489
 Basant Kaur, Rani, 470
 Basian (29, 35)
 Bassin, 563, 573
 Basu, Major, (25, 35, 50)
 Batala, 149, 176, 182, 386, 502, 507
 Batoum, 416
 Baulvard, 525
 Bawa Singh, 356
 Bayley, Sir Stuart, 117, 212, 372, 428-9, 455
 Beas, (33, 47), 3, 4, 9, 158
 Bedi, Bir Singh, 477, 482, 504, 509, 529
 Bedi, Budh Singh, Bawa, (71, 74), 479, 495-9
 Beechey, 49, 52-3, 55
 Beekho Chuk, 149
 Behrampur, 119
 Belvis, Wilhelp, 384
 Bemah, 546
 Benaras, (16, 78-9, 88), 24, 26, 37, 66, 161, 203, 265-6, 316, 475, 610
 Bengal, (2, 28), 220, 261, 263-4, 252, 276, 278, 380, 427-8, 430-2, 457-8, 475, 488-90, 596, 650
 Bennoo, 653
 Bentick, W. Lord, (8-9), 647, 650, 652, 660
 Berlin, (104, 107), 383-4, 421, 521
 Bernard, A. B., 427-9, 431, 435, 438-9, 455-6, 459, 461, 467-9, 475
 Besu, 552
 Betiah, Maharaja, 503, 507
 Bhadana, 425
 Bhadaur, 232, 292, 293
 Bhag Singh, 514
 Bhagalpur, 427-8, 431
 Bhagat Singh, 355
 Bhagat Singh (*Granthi*), 487, 489, 506, 515-6
 Bhagat Singh of Patna (*Granthi*), 487
 Bhagoo Mall, 356, 506, 515, 517, 529
 Bhagwan Das (Rattanchand), 528
 Bhagwan Singh, (55), 344
 Bhaini, (100), 207
 Bhaiseen, 153
 Bhajun Lal (Teacher of M.D.S.), (81), 45-6
 Bhal Kusur, 146
 Bhandari, Baba, 584
 Bhangla, Goojer Singh, 134
 Bharatgar, 354
 Bharatpur, (7), 471, 488
 Bhawalpore, (59), 661-2, 667
 Bhooree, Maharanee, 120-1, 124
 Bhera, 156
 Bhon, 146
 Bhopal, 528
 Bhosle, (7)
 Bhup Singh, Colonel, (71, 74)
 Bhurroke, 132
 Bhyrowall or Bharowal, (48, 50-1, 70, 104), 9, 26-7, 97-103, 105-6, 146, 158, 195, 202, 217, 220, 223, 348, 351, 361, 365, 383, 414, 674
 Bibiapur, (86)
 Bikaner, 471
 Bir Singh, Bhai, (26)
 Bishen Singh, (33), 14, 529
 Biso, 464
 Blunt, 652
 Bogdanovich, General, (104), 372, 416, 423, 485
 Boileaus, Major, 50, 62
 Bojarka, 506
 Bokhara, 546, 552, 561, 568, 571
 Bola Ram, 556
 Bombay, (29, 41, 93, 97-8, 101, 103, 106), 21, 43, 44, 93-4, 98, 206, 210, 257-69, 274-5, 279-83, 285, 287-90, 294-6, 298, 301, 303-4, 306-7, 315-6, 321, 329, 339, 342-3, 345, 389, 390, 403, 470, 477, 481-2, 542, 559-60, 573, 581, 600-3, 608-9
 Bong, 470
 Bonodovozeff, General, 485
 Boochoo, dog, 271
 Booleh, 146
 Boor Singh, (73-4)
 Borhan, 46
 Bose, Sarish Chander, 489
 Bowie, Lt., 32
 Bowring, L., Captain, (72), 82, 83, 85
 Bradford, Sir Edward, (33-4), 436, 452, 497-8, 571

- Braithwaite, Travers Smith, 617
 Brandford, Sir E.R.C., 577
 Brandon, 625
 Bright, John, (89, 95)
 Brindaban, 469-71
 Broadfoot, George, Major, (27, 29-32, 35-8, 40-3, 53, 55), 6, 16
 Broughton (Collection of papers), 6, 8-11, 16, 18-21, 22, 25, 27-9, 31, 33, 35-6, 38-9
 Brown, J.C., 503, 506-7, 509-10, 512
 Brydon, Dr, (14)
 Buckingham Palace, 2, 7, 88
 Bud Pagian, Maharanee, 120
 Budh Singh, 144, 353-4, 357, 502-3, 506-8, 510, 515-7
 Budh Singh, Man, 2-3
 Budha Missar, 472
 Buhmunwalla, 155
 Bukhsheesh Singh, 121-2
 Bulaki Chuk, 150
 Bulandshahar or Bolundshuhur, 42-3, 490
 Bulgaria, 347, 539
 Bullokhee, 39
 Bul Ram, 150
 Bunbury, Sir Edward Herbert, 618
 Bundelkhand, (19)
 Bunno or Banoo, (65), 139
 Bur Singh, 515
 Burjoree Pochajee, 285
 Burma or Burmah, (30), 52-3, 55, 203, 214, 283, 299, 364, 393, 419
 Burn, H.P., Major, 41, 42, 43
 Burnby, R.B., 448-9
 Burn, Colonel, Sir. O.T., 366
 Burn, Sir Owen, 409-13
 Burnes, Alexander, (8, 14), 140
 Burrell, J.A., 639
 Burton, R.G., (36-7)
 Buta Singh, Diwan, 207, 232, 247, 266, 300, 306, 528-30, 576-7, 581
 Buxar, (3), 31
 Buzhina, 546
- C**
- Cabul, (See Kabul)
 Cairo, (93), 94, 286-7, 290, 312, 327-9, 412, 486, 521-2, 524, 533, 535, 538, 541, 571, 601, 604, 609
 Calcutta, (21, 27, 54-5, 63, 79-80, 83, 91), 21-3, 25, 37, 45, 48-9, 61, 66, 83-5, 113, 182, 185, 205, 213, 225, 229, 234, 239-40, 242, 245-7, 249, 255, 271, 344, 365, 369, 371, 380-1, 386, 396, 415, 427-9, 431, 435-7, 439-41, 443-7, 448-9, 452, 455, 458-9, 463, 467, 475, 478, 488-9, 491, 498, 503, 513, 524-5, 528, 531, 534-5, 541, 567, 573, 575-8, 589, 597, 600, 602, 605
 Cambridge, Duke of, 332, 463, 466, 580
 Cameron, (13)
 Campbell, Constable, 430
 Campbell, George, Captain, (31, 33, 36 40-1, 51), 45-6
 Canning, Lord, (88, 91), 182-3, 589-90
 Canora, (62)
 Carmichael, G. Smith, (35, 40, 44, 46)
 Carshore, Dr, 54
 Casey, Patrick, Duleep Singh, (104), 378, 383-5, 421-2
 Caspian, 599
 Casten, H.P., 182, 186
 Castle Menzies, 70
 Catherine Hilda Dulip Singh, 262
 Cawnpore, (See Kanpur)
 Cetewayo, King, 96, 101
 Ceylon, 55, 469
 Chababar, 561, 568
 Chachrah Kikranwali, 133
 Chajju, 511
 Chak Ali Shah, 142
 Chak Majaat, 142
 Chakia, 260
 Chakowal, 138, 146
 Chaksanatha, 133
 Chakwal Khas, 146
 Chamberlains, 622
 Chandu Lal, 457
 Chand Kaur, Maharanee, (22, 24), 123, 528
 Chandernagar, 336, 339-41, 349, 352, 353, 366, 389, 427-33, 535-58
 Chandhar, 367-8
 Channer, General, 393, 395
 Chaontala, 145
 Charaht Singh, 117-8, 127, 129-39, 142-8, 150-2, 156,
 Charan Dass, 583
 Charan Singh, 515
 Charles (s/o Henry Hardinge), 43
 Charles Masson, (9)
 Charles Napier, (21, 26, 35, 37, 41, 57, 61-2, 66), 2, 32, 36-7
 Charles Wood, (92), 66, 82-3, 85, 88, 126, 162-3, 165, 175, 191, 193, 197, 214-5, 222, 590, 592

- Chatiwind, 353-4
 Chattourgurh, 149
 Cheeba, 466
 Cheelianwala or Chillianwala, (63, 66), 132, 135, 218
 Chehloundy, 646
 Chenab, (65), 26, 153
 Cheremetieff, Am, 426
 Chhimman, 135
 China, (19), 283, 419
 Chingleput, 457, 468
 Chirag-ud-Din, 246
 Chitral, 584
 Choia Saidun Shah, 142
 Cholian, 646
 Choohur Kanuh, 132
 Choombi, 142
 Choor-Jootana, 140
 Chote Khoord, 135
 Choti Sarkar Sodhi, 487
 Chowgaon, 152
 Christie, L.T., 596
 Chuk Bhikhun, 138
 Chuk (Chak) Hameed, 142
 Chuk Janee, 136
 Chuk Oogao, 131
 Chuk (Chak) Shadi, 142
 Chunar, (54-5, 79, 83), 24, 34, 37, 39, 439, 441, 443, 445, 447-9, 459, 520, 527, 610
 Chunda Kaur (Jind Kaur), 93, 177, 201, 319
 Chungar, 138
 Churchil, Randolph, (98), 183, 185, 188-90, 194, 198, 200, 202, 270-1, 407
 Churran Singh, 504, 507
 Churran Singh (Charat Singh), 117-8, 127, 129-39, 142-8, 150-2, 156, 161, 216, 645
 Chuttur Singh, Attariwala or Chatar Singh, (59, 63, 70-2, 74, 82), 33-4, 37, 99, 117-9, 665, 668, 670
 Chutwal, 575
 Cirllestone, 605
 Clarendon, Lord, (88), 73-4
 Clark, W.C., 515, 517
 Clarke, 660
 Clerk, George Russel, (13-5, 18, 23, 32), 662
 Cleveland, 355
 Colchester, Lord, (17, 19-20, 22, 23)
 Coldsteam, 205-6
 Colombo, 400, 429, 431, 436, 491
 Colvin, B., 495
 Consort, Prince, (84), 112
 Constantinople, 376, 416, 426, 429-30, 432, 434, 436, 457-3, 485, 491, 524, 527, 535-6, 538, 540, 542
 Cook, General, 395
 Cooke, C.T., 373-4, 377
 Coorg, (82, 89), 53-4, 58, 60, 69, 77, 79
 Cortlandt, (59, 71, 74)
 Cotton, H.J.S., 427, 438
 Count Tolstoi, (104), 521
 Couper, Sir George, (79, 81, 84), 44, 46-8, 57, 63-6, 69
 Coutts and Co., 256, 258
 Cranbrok, Viscount, 197
 Cranford, Arthur, 250, 259, 267, 281, 283, 285, 298
 Crjelfski, General, 373
 Crimea, 379
 Croesus 320
 Cross, Lord, (107), 500, 513, 543, 561, 578, 583, 586, 592-3, 597, 592, 607, 614
 Cunningham, J.D., (5-6, 10-3, 32, 34, 37, 42, 53), 567, 584, 600, 613
 Cunningham, W.J., 332, 342
 Cureton, General, (44, 66), 33
 Currie, Frederick, (48-50, 55-7, 59-64, 70, 82, 96-7), 8, 9, 23-4, 30, 59-60, 97, 158, 664, 668, 671, 673-4
 Currie, P.D., (43), 552
 Cust, Robert Needham, (32, 37, 40-1, 43)
- D**
- Dadri, 205, 208, 353, 358-9, 437, 442, 459, 461, 463-4, 469-72, 477-9, 490-2, 498, 505, 509-11, 516, 575
 Daeewala Mulahan, 148
 Dakhno, Rani, (80, 82-3), 47, 52
 Dalhousie, Lord, (55, 58-60, 63-4, 66-70, 72, 74, 76-7, 79-87, 102), 21-5, 27-36, 38-9, 43-4, 46-9, 52-3, 56-8, 60-2, 64-70, 74, 97, 100, 102-3, 106-7, 110, 159-60, 167, 169, 214, 218-9, 224, 233, 272, 291, 361, 409, 589, 674-5
 Dalhousie, Lady, 49
 Dalil-ud-din, 477
 Dandot, 137, 141
 Dara, Colonel, 156-7
 Datiwal, 148
 Dawney, Grey C., 355

- Dawson, 50
 Dayal Singh, 480, 492, 576-7, 582
 Deedar Singh Sindhanwalia, 136, 145
 Deena Nath, Dewan, 5, 9, 17, 120, 160
 Deenanuggur, 119, 148
 Deep Singh, 270-1
 De Giers, M., See Giers, M. De.
 Dehra, 372, 380
 Dehradun, (92)
 Dehra Maha Singh, 148
 Dehriala, 142
 Delawar Jung, 513
 Delhi, (1, 4, 7, 28-9, 87, 100, 106-7), 48, 60-1, 129, 174, 177-8, 180, 182, 184, 191-4, 196, 201, 203, 206, 208, 210, 228, 230, 232, 246-7, 266, 288, 291, 296-7, 300-1, 307-9, 314, 316, 334, 338, 374, 386, 404, 408, 410, 442, 444, 446, 449, 454, 459-61, 463-3, 466-7, 469, 471-3, 482, 497-8, 509, 511-2, 516, 533, 566, 612, 644-5
 Dellawar, Ali Khan, 645
 Dera Baba Nanak or Dera Sahib, 353, 545-6
 Dera Ghazee Khan or Derah Ghazee Khan, (9), 653
 Dera Ismail Khan, (9), 561-8, 653
 Devindra Singh, Raja of Nabha, (35)
 Dewa Singh, 316
 Dhal, 118
 Dhand Kasel, 478
 Dharamkot, 353
 Dharam Singh, 464
 Dhariwal, 358, 477
 Dharuwala, 509
 Dharwal, 601
 Dhian Singh, Raja, (18-9, 23, 26, 30), 3
 Dhond, Raichore, 477, 482
 Dhoodial, 146
 Dhoomial, 138
 Dhoon, 60
 Dhumketu, 418
 Dhunnee, 137-8
 Dhyani Singh, 142, 457
 Dial Singh, Majitha, 528-9
 Didar Singh, 26
 Diler Singh, 514
 Dilkusha, (86)
 Dillon (General), 369, 393-6
 Dina Nath, Diwan, (50), 665, 668, 670, 672-5
 Dinapur, 545
 Dinguh, 136
 Djemal-ed-din, 417, 436, 488, 513
 Doaba Bist, (47), 118
 Dode, 150
 Dolgoruki, Prince, 418, 426-7
 Doomeli, 145
 Dost Muhammad, 1, 66
 Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir, (10-2)
 Doulutanugur, 136
 Dowr Tank, 653
 Dtenteln, General, 552
 Dudley, Henry, 618
 Duff, Dr, (80)
 Dufferin, Lord, 274-295, 303, 324, 337, 343, 360, 339, 414, 424, 458, 500, 513, 543, 561
 Duke of Cambridge, 332, 463, 466, 580
 Duleepgarh, Duleep Gudh, 17, 121, 152
 Duleep Singh, Maharaja Correspondence, 1; accepted as *Badshah* by Khalsa army, 3; to be taken to Shalimar, 18; at his country palace, 20; treaty ratified, 36; Pension, 36; not to reside in Punjab, 39; desire to become Christian, 45-9, 56-8; proposal to marry Coorg Princess, 53; 69, 77; baptized, 54-8; to go to England, 62; at Cawnpore, 63; at Barracpore, 63; Bible presented by Dalhousie, 64; preserved Sikh form 67; Queen Victoria's sympathy, 65, 68, 72; wants the *Treasury of Histories*, 70; intended departure for India, 71-2; restrictions about residence removed, 73; wished to be relieved of Login's guardianship, 74; desire to visit India, 82; at Calcutta to see his mother, 84-5; to England, 85; Sir John Login, 85-6; mother's permission to marry an English lady, 89; decided to send mother to India, 91; bought place in Gloucestershire, 93; allowed to visit India, 93; marriage at Cairo, 94; pleads his claims, 96, 106, 238-9, 409; visit to Punjab, 108-9, 114-5, 183, 185; property, 117-24, 127, 129, 153; resolve to go to India, 124-9; intends joining British Army, 171, 404; refused, 172, 182; desire visiting India, 175, 177, 180, 182, 184-9; circulates Evans Bell's book, 176, 182, 386; meeting Thakur Singh, 178; rejoins Sikhism, 178; visit India propos-

ed, 187-9, 192-5, 199, 204, 212; wishes visiting Delhi, 196; claims pension, 213-25; about to start for India, 230; agrees to stay at Ootacamund, 231, 238, 250; interview with Burne, 233; received present, 240; pension, 241; desire of receiving *Pohul*, 245; appeal, 257; intended visit, 246-8, 255; departure, 259-60; wishes to meet Thakur Singh, 262; left England, 262-3, 275; detained at Aden, 263, 265, 269, 277-81, 286, 295-9; discussed in Commons, 345; memorial, 271-4, 280-1; free to return to Egypt, England, 276, 287, 333, 341; letter to countrymen, 283-4, 292; Sikhs permitted to visit him, 288; Thakur Singh wishes to see him, 289; Signs no agreement, 292; baptized, 305-6, 321-2, 325, 332; Govt. offer rejected, 311; deportation & claims discussed, 319-21; demands public trial, 324; visited by Thakur Singh, 327; wish to have Sikh *Granthi* and a copy of the *Guru Granth Sahib*, 334; intend return to Europe 363-54; resigns stipend, 335-7; left for Marseilles, 337, 342, 344; proclamation, 351, 359; wants Peerage and seat in Council, in want of money, 352-3, 586; letter to princes and people of Hindustan, 361, 433, 594-6; proposing to visit St. Petersburg, 370; meets M. Kotzeline in Paris, 370; meeting with Kotkoff at Moscow, 371; letter to Russian emperor, 374-7; letter to his son Victor, 378; in Moscow, 379; French subsidy, 382; at Paris, 399; rejects offer, 410; address to the Sikhs, 411; denies disloyalty, 412; demand for public trial, 412; return to Europe and gives up stipend, 413; efforts to win Russia and Afghanistan, 421; memorandum, 424-6; in Moscow, 426; letters, 427; sent Arur Singh to India, 433; accept allowance from Russia, 440; expresses distrust in Indian Chiefs, 453; cautions Thakur Singh, 454; plan, 456-9; pedigree, 465; plans thwarted, 468; Maharani died, 468; three proclamations, etc., 478, 480, 483-93, 501, 521; how entered Russia, 486; memorandum, 497-9; letter to press, 512-3; interview with Emperor (Russia), and refused, 517-8;

left Hotel Billow, living in Hotel Paris, 519; prophesies, 530-3; at Kieff, 533, 554; in pecuniary difficulties, 534; was prevented from going to Punjab, 536, 539; letters to Jammu, 537, 542; letter to Zobair Pasha, 540; intends going to Tiflis, 541-2; search by Mashed Sikhs, 543, 571; at Moscow, 557; left Kieff for Odessa, 562-3; no pecuniary help from India, 562; at Paris, 563; in communication with Thakur Singh and Diwan Lachman Dass, 575-8, 581-3; Kashmir's correspondence, 578; Fatehgarh allowance, 587-92; order of chivalry to be restored, 593; yearning for recovery of throne, 597; extravagant, 598; proclamation, intention to go to central India, 599-600; suffering from paralysis, 606; ask pardon from Queen & Lady Login, 606-7; request for restoration of titles, 613; death, 614.

Dultoo, 271

Dulur, 142

Duman, 300

Dunlop Smith, J.R., 177

Dunn, William, 626

Durand, H.M., (19, 102, 108), 108, 174, 176-8, 191-2, 195, 199, 201, 203-4, 206-7, 211-2, 232, 235, 262-3, 276, 279, 282, 284, 292, 298, 309, 314, 316, 324-6, 334-7, 339, 371-2, 380, 385, 427-8, 435-6, 438-9, 442-5, 447-52, 455, 460, 462, 468, 473-6, 496, 500, 545, 559, 560, 573, 576-7, 579, 581, 586-8

Durani, Ahmed, See Ahmed Shah Durani

Duska, 147

Dussownda Singh, 645

E

Eastern Dhoon, 60

East India Company, (2-4, 13-4, 17, 19, 23, 26-7, 72, 86-7, 97), 67, 72, 74, 76, 103

Eastwick, J.J., Captain, 588, 591

Edgar, J. Ware, 427, 438, 455, 468

Edinburgh, (20), 384

Edmund, Jefferies, 628, 632

Edward, (74), 587

Edwardes, 26

Edwardes, Herbert, (15-6, 23, 50, 57-61, 65, 70-1, 74), 91

Edward Lake, (57, 74)

Edward, Prince, (108)

- Edward, William, (43, 45)
 Edway, 77, 95
 Eesurkee, 132
 Egypt, (13, 21, 26, 93, 105), 198, 245,
 285-7, 289, 291, 293-4, 312, 328-9, 342,
 417, 464, 470, 486, 521, 524-7, 534-5,
 542-3, 603, 605
 Ekri, (30, 34)
 Elahi Bux, 512
 Elgin, Lord, 73
 Elizabeth, Queen, 137
 Ellenborough, Lord, (9, 16-17, 19, 31, 33-4,
 37), 1, 2, 8
 Elliot, Henry Meirs, (54, 56, 68, 82), 18, 19,
 35, 37, 39, 41, 47, 160, 674-5
 Elliot, Sergeant, (88)
 Elsmie, 193
 Elveden, (93, 95, 108), 104-5, 107-8, 164-6,
 193-4, 622
 Elvedon Hall, 468, 621, 623-24
 Elveden, Parish, 635
 England, throughout
 Eriswell, 622, 627
 Eriswell, Parish, 631
 Evans Bell, Major, (73, 75, 95), 96, 112,
 176, 182, 201, 206-8, 305, 405
- F**
- Fane, Henry, (11-12)
 Fanshawe, H.C., 611
 Faredun, Mirza, 308, 316
 Faridkot, (5), 356, 442, 469, 490, 498, 512,
 515, 517, 529-30, 537, 540
 Farrukabad or Farrukhabad, (80-1), 42-3
 Fatehgarh or Futehghur or Fatehgudh,
 (77, 80-2, 88, 94, 102), 40, 42-3, 48-50,
 54, 57, 61, 100, 119-20, 123, 129, 149,
 151, 156, 162, 176, 193, 201, 205, 220,
 223, 291, 318, 320, 587-9, 591-2, 653
 Fateh Singh, (74), 3
 Fateh Singh Matu, 142
 Fateh Singh (s/o Rattan Singh), 344
 Fauzdar Singh, 502
 Feerozwaluh, 131
 Fenians, 371, 521, 525
 Fitzclarence, F. Lord, 67
 Fischer, Colonel, 399
 Feroz, 132
 Ferozepur, (10-1, 13, 17, 19, 22, 27-9, 32,
 34-5, 37-8, 41-3), 3, 24, 32-4, 43, 299, 316,
 338, 462, 479, 487, 534, 568, 596-7, 658,
 661-2
 Ferozshah, Prince (s/o Gholam Mohd.), 67
 Ferozshahr, (34, 43-4), 2, 6, 24, 217
 Fateh Khan Barakzal, (77)
 Fitzgerald, Lord, (20)
 Fitzroy, Lord, (19)
 Fitzwilliam, Evans, 631
 Folkstone, (108)
 Forbes, G.C., 365
 Forbes, G.S. (Colonel), 186, 261, 284, 325,
 334-5, 343, 572-3, 576
 Forster, George, (2)
 Fort William, 55, 262, 278, 365, 609, 650
 France, (3, 107), 365, 471-2, 518, 536, 538
 576-7, 609-10, 615
 Fraser, 62
 Fred, 380
 Frederick, Currie, See Currie Frederick
 Frederick Roberts, 332-3, 337, 369, 385,
 463, 580
 Frederick Victor (Duleep Singh), 265, 378
 Fukeer Nooroodeen, 665, 668, 670-5
 Futehghur-see Fatehghur
 Futeh Singh Aloowalia, 641-2
 Fyzabad, 503
- G**
- Ganda Singh, 353-4 358, 472, 477-8, 506,
 509, 515
 Ganda Singh, Dr. (93), 2, 26
 Gandamak, (16)
 Ganga Singh, 477, 506, 516
 Ganges, (9, 14, 79, 81), 156, 162
 Gawalior, (19, 21, 24), 10, 415, 471
 Gaya, 339
 Genda Singh, (35)
 Geneva, 596
 Germany, 293, 383, 429, 485, 494, 536
 Ghareebwal, 139, 142
 Gharrah, 666
 Ghazni, (19), 566
 Ghazipoor, 150-1
 Gholam Hyder, Wazir, 584
 Gholam Mohammed, Prince, 65, 67-8
 Ghosal, J., 431-2, 440
 Ghulam Ahmed, 316
 Ghulam Ali, (7)
 Ghulam Husen, 577
 Ghurota, 149
 Gian Singh, 487
 Gian Singh, Giani, (13)
 Gibraltar, 521, 604

- Giers, M. De, 104, 370-1, 373, 378, 383,
 416-8, 423-4, 458, 524-6, 598-9
 Gilbert, General, (67), 34-5, 42
 Gilgit, 541-2, 561, 568, 584
 Gillespie, General, (7)
 Girdlestone, 443
 Gir, Gosain, 26
 Gladstone, Sir Walter, 34-5, 42, 96, 421
 Gloucestershire, (93), 93, 104
 Goa, (103), 413, 483
 Gobindgarh, Govindghur, (71, 73), 30
 Gobind Sahai, Dewan, 322
 Gobind Singh, Guru, (1, 77, 101), 116, 190,
 257, 270, 319, 361, 365, 389-91, 402, 408,
 476, 481, 505, 530-1, 565, 594
 Godar Singh, 478-9, 490
 Godawari, (93)
 Godfray, 585
 Golab Singh, 509
 Golcanda, 75, 574
 Golden Temple, 355, 357, 386, 403, 407,
 477, 479, 487, 504, 506
 Gomm, 62
 Gopi Nath, Pandit, 581
 Gorst, Sir John, 578
 Goojruh, 147
 Goolab Singh, Raja, (see Gulab Singh Raja)
 Goolpoor, 142
 Goorjakh, 138
 Goormook Singh, 645
 Gough, Lord Hugh, (65-6, 72), 2-4, 21,
 32-3, 39, 97, 218
 Gouramma, Princess, (82, 89), 77, 87
 Govindghur, 30
 Grafton, Duke of, 226, 325
 Graham, General, 220
 Grant, Colonel, 564
 Grant Duff, 204, 208, 210
 Gravesend, 178, 260
 Great Britain, 348, 361, 365, 374
 Grey, George, (97), 93, 173
 Grindlay & Co., 231, 273, 329
 Grindley, 285
 Griffin, Sir Lepel, 594
 Guise, (81), 50, 61-2
 Guise, Walter, (88)
 Gujerat, (63, 67), 32, 35, 69, 102, 118-9,
 127, 134, 218, 504, 508
 Gujranwala, Goojranwala, (72), 17, 75,
 117, 121, 127, 129-31, 150, 179, 193, 216,
 299, 368, 425, 478, 488, 506, 517
 Gulab, 561, 568
 Gulab Singh Attari, 179
 Gulab Singh, Captain, (98)
 Gulab Singh, Commandant, (15-6, 33, 45,
 47), 2-3
 Gulab Singh (*Granthi*), 487, 529-30
 Gulab Singh, Raja, (17-9, 24, 26, 30, 34, 37,
 51, 72), 4-5, 10, 14, 30, 134, 139-40, 142,
 144, 320, 667-8
 Gulab Singh, Sirdar, 30
 Gul Begum, 120-1, 124
 Gundur Sing, 674-5
 Guneeanwaluh, 133
 Gur Singh, 144
 Gurbachan Singh Sandhanwalia (See
 Sandhanwalia, Gurbachan Singh)
 Gurdaspur or Goordaspoor, 127, 149, 178,
 180, 193, 205, 208, 255, 284, 288, 296,
 300-1, 316, 353, 387, 502, 545, 550-1
 Gurdit Singh (s/o Rattan Singh Kahar),
 344
 Gurdit Singh, Mahant, 476
 Gurdit Singh Sandhanwalia, (See Sandhan-
 walia, Gurdit Singh)
 Gurditta Rababi, 556
 Gurgaon, 205
 Gurmukh Singh, Bhai, 317-9, 366-8, 389, 583
- ### H
- Hafizabad, 132
 Haigh, Abdul Karim, 522
 Hajeeppore, 653
 Hakikat Singh, 344
 Hamdan, 525
 Hamilton, L., Major, 462, 467, 474
 Hammond, A.J., 506-7, 509-10, 512
 Hancock, 70
 Hanery Fane, (11-2)
 Harcourt, Col., 178
 Hardwar, 438, 453, 462, 478-80, 491, 498,
 528-9, 581
 Hardinge, Henry Sir, (28-9, 31, 34-9, 42-4,
 47-50, 53-5, 67), 3-4, 6-11, 13, 16, 21,
 217, 296, 670
 Hardinge, A., 552, 665, 667, 671, 673
 Hari Singh, (11), 354, 477-8, 482, 496, 504
 507-10
 Harkishan Das, 179, 193, 232, 266, 284,
 296, 306, 338, 405
 Harkishan of Lahore, 424, 487, 492
 Harnam Signh, 318, 320
 Harnam Singh, *Granthi*, 306

- Harnam Singh, Raja, 396
 Harnath, 620
 Harnstedt, W.M., 435
 Harrison, H.L., 371
 Hartington, Lord, (94) 96, 108-9, 114-5, 175, 406
 Hasan Abdal, (63)
 Hashtadan, 543-4, 547, 550-1
 Hasrat, B.J., Dr, (79)
 Hassan Ali Khan, Nawab, 568-70
 Hatherop, 164-5
 Hathras, 156
 Havclock, William, (33, 66), 33, 130
 Hayes, J., 77
 Hazara, (54, 59-61, 63, 70-2, 82), 653
 Hazara Singh, 457
 Hazarah, 666
 Hazari Singh, 431
 Heera Singh, Raja (Hira Singh, King), (18-9, 23-4, 26, 30), 1, 12, 17, 457, 514, 533, 537, 564
 Helan, 135
 Hem Singh, 356, 358-9, 506
 Hendreson, P.D., Colonel, 359, 385-6, 392, 427, 437-9, 444, 446-7, 449-52, 454-6, 458-9, 461-3, 465-7, 469, 472, 474-5, 495-7, 499, 528, 530, 553-8, 560, 562, 573-5, 579-81, 583, 600-3
 Hennessy, Colonel, 394
 Henry Elliot, See Elliot, Henry
 Henry Lawrence, (13-8, 33, 37, 41-2, 48, 50-1, 55, 58, 66-8), 8-10, 13-7, 110-1, 113, 158, 160, 217, 303
 Henry Lawrence, Mrs., (13)
 Henry, Mitchell, 112
 Henry Ponsonby, 109-10, 112, 351-2, 355, 360, 607
 Hensley, William, 620
 Herat, 371, 522, 526, 541, 545-6, 548-50
 Herbert Edwardes, (15-6, 23, 50, 57-61, 65, 70-1, 74), 91
 Heren, 653
 Herman Merivale, (15, 23)
 Herreke-Pettin, 648-9, 651-2
 Hey, 322
 Hezaz, 527
 Himadullah Khan, Raja of Jhelum, 488
 Hindostan, (2, 9), 59, 151, 361-4, 376, 414, 429, 440, 536, 538, 540, 545, 595, 648
 Hingoli, 563-4, 572, 577
 Hira, Goldsmith, 478, 512
 Hira Singh Kahar, 206, 284, 297, 306, 338, 342, 344
 Hira Singh of Kelawali, 492, 526
 Hira Singh King (See Heera Singh, Raja)
 Hira Singh of Lidar, 488
 Hira Singh (Priest), 348, 355, 382, 387, 515-6
 Hira Singh, Sirdar, 17, 510
 Hisht Nagar, 653
 Hobhouse, Sir, J.C., 6, 9, 10, 11, 16, 20-3, 25, 27-9, 31, 33, 36, 38-9, 49
 Hodson, S.R. William, Major, (45, 58, 77)
 Hogg, Sir James, 6-7, 10-1 15, 20-5, 27-29, 33, 35-6, 48-9
 Hogg, A. S.T., 293, 295, 321, 323, 327, 334
 Holker, Jeswant Rai, (4, 101), 217, 290, 484, 527, 536, 542, 641
 Holland, 193
 Hoeghly, (91), 499
 Hope, Grant, Sir, (43), 312
 Hope, T.C., 117
 Hornstedt, R.W., 517-9
 Horrex, John, 628, 631
 Hosiharpur, 247, 281, 296, 299, 300, 338, 343, 504, 514, 529
 Hossien Bakhsh, Dy. Inspector, 358-9
 Howard, E.S., 345
 Howell, A.P., 554, 556, 558, 560-1, 573, 576, 579
 Huft Kohtal, (16)
 Humfrey, Major, 601-3, 605
 Hugoo, 653
 Hurbuns Singh, 123
 Huree Singh, 122
 Hyder Ali, 68
 Hyderabad, (7), 116, 178-9, 181-2, 187, 204, 205, 354, 402, 415, 417, 429, 431, 436, 439-40, 452, 455, 457, 477-8, 481, 491, 497, 511-2, 514, 535, 538-9, 553-9, 561-4, 572-5, 579, 583

I

- Icklingham, Parish, 637
 Ignatieff, General, 521, 527
 Ignatiev, 416
 Ilbert, C.P., 117, 177, 212, 237, 278, 280
 Imam-ud-Din, Shaikh, (48, 74)
 India, Throughout
 Indore, 191, 204-5, 208, 474-5
 Indyra, 119

Indus, (1, 6-10, 22, 29, 47), 4, 35, 137, 271,
292, 651, 653-4, 657-8, 666-7
Inhodeen, 566
Iran, (3)
Irish Fenian, 525
Irwin, G.R., 580, 608
Isar Singh, Jhiwar, 315, 339, 354, 482
Ishak Khan, 570
Italy, (87), 74, 536
Ivanoff, 521
Iveagh, Edward Cecilbaron, (108), 617, 619,
621, 623-4

J

Jabalpur, 482
Jabbi, 138
Jackson and Hay, Doctors, 322
Jacob, Parkar, 628
Jacquemont, 140
Jaffar Beg, (13)
Jagatpur, 315, 339, 343-4
Jagat Singh, Nihang, 26
Jagraon, (29)
Jahangir, Emperor, 127, 155
Jai Narain, 471
Jai Singh, Kunhia, 147
Jaimal Singh, 26
Jaimal Singh, Sirdar, 123
Jaimul Singh, Kanhaiya, 119
Jaipur, 192, 471
Jalalabad, (14-6, 18, 20)
Jalalpoor, 137
Jalilpur, 147
Jalup, 138
Jamiyat Rai, 178, 208, 284, 288, 296, 297,
306, 315, 339, 356, 387, 424, 515, 526,
534, 542
Jamiat Singh, 255, 344
Jamal-ud-Din, 453, 491, 525, 532
Jammu or Jummoo, (18, 24, 30, 47-8),
118-9, 146, 503-4, 508, 526, 528, 530,
536-7, 553-4, 558, 562, 575, 581, 667
Jamrood, (11, 39)
Jandecaluh, 133
Jaswal, 138
Jaswant Singh, 604
Jawahar Mall, (74)
Jawala Singh of Kapurthala, 462
Jay, M.W., (81), 54, 56-7
Jeera, 646

Jelalpoor, Nau, 132
Jesus, 95
Jhala Pandit, (24, 30)
Jhalawar, 556
Jhanda Singh, (2, 71, 74), 510
Jhang, (5, 55)
Jhelum, 34, 54, 127, 137-8, 144-5, 299, 353,
359, 394, 575
Jhind, 459
Jhinda Ram, Lala, 439, 441, 492, 513
Jhubran, 132
Jind, (4, 66), 393-4, 457, 464, 456, 469, 471,
490, 492, 498, 505, 511-2, 528, 530
Jind Kaur, Maharani, (30, 37, 49, 51-4, 78,
79, 88, 91-3, 103), 3, 6-14, 17, 21-6, 28-9,
32-3, 37-9, 41, 82, 87, 89, 93, 102, 120,
152, 207, 309, 319-20, 346
Jit Mal (alias Jamiat Rai), 306
Jiwan Singh, (53-4), 487, 528, 553-4, 556-60,
562, 564-6, 572, 574-6, 579
Jiwan Singh Chaudhry, 343
Jodh Singh, 318, 320
Jodh Singh, Colonel, 2
John, Land, 632
Jootana, 140, 142
Joruh, 133
Joti Parshad, Pandit, 488
Jowahar Singh, (30, 34, 36, 103), 51, 122,
130, 153, 309
Jowahir Singh of Wagha, 346
Jowand Singh, (103, 106), 346, 425, 481-2,
487, 492
Jowala Singh, 358-9, 438-9, 446-8, 450-3,
459, 461-4, 470-6, 479-80, 482, 487, 491,
496-500, 508-9, 511, 517, 529
Jowala Singh Padhanian, 154
Jubba-ki, (16)
Julalabad Jattan, 119
Jullundur-Jalandar, (48), 300, 316, 318-20,
462, 488, 529, 584
Jumna, (4, 6, 39), 43, 128
Jund Bughyal, 120
Jung Bahadoor, Rana, (79-80, 87-8), 54,
58, 60, 458
Junjooa, 143
Jussur, 148
Jytpur, (19, 24)

K

Kabul or Cabool, (9-10, 12, 14-6, 19-20, 30,
77), 35, 127, 216-7, 335, 354, 416, 484,

- 504, 508, 539, 552, 585, 654-5
 Kahabad, 548, 550-1
 Kahan Singh, 3, 179
 Kahloor, (12)
 Kahn Singh, General, (56)
 Kahn Singh of Majitha, (98)
 Kaithal, (4, 19, 21-2, 24, 35)
 Kalabagh, 137, 139, 653
 Kala Shahdeean, 135
 Kali Bahadur, 503
 Kalighat, 488
 Kalkar, 300
 Kallar, 583
 Kambar, 143
 Kanaihya Misl or Kania Missal 177, 201
 Kandhar, (15, 19), 522, 654
 Kandwa, 353
 Kangra, (56), 19, 41, 148
 Kanha Kachwa, 4
 Kanhya Lal, 356
 Kanpur, 63, 156
 Kanwal Kaur, Rani, 464, 469, 470-2, 478, 511-2
 Kapurthala, (93), 462, 490
 Karachi or Kurachee, (97), 93, 171, 339, 403, 462, 490
 Karam Singh, 353-4, 553-5, 563-4, 573, 575
 Karam Singh Jhiwar, 300
 Karpur, 142
 Karowley, 646
 Kariaala, 138
 Karnal, Karnaul, (17, 26, 28), 297, 301, 336, 555-6
 Kartarpur, 320, 545, 550-1
 Kartar Singh, 320
 Kasauli, (28)
 Kashmeera Singh, (26), 120
 Kashmir, (5-6, 18, 24, 47-8, 77), 4, 120, 180, 387, 391, 415, 440, 479, 484, 488, 502-3, 568, 578, 580, 584, 595, 604-5, 609-10, 666
 Kassiabagan villa, 431
 Kasur, (5)
 Katas, 138, 142
 Kathmandu or Kathmandoo, (87-8), 38-9, 41
 Katkoff, M., (104-6), 373, 383-4, 416, 421-4, 426, 434, 436, 468, 485, 492, 518, 525, 527
 Katta Kurgan, 571
 Kaul Singh, 508
 Kishan Singh, 356, 478-9, 482, 490, 503-5, 510, 515-7
 Kishan Chand Rai, 17
 Kaulsar, 506
 Kathunangal, (79), 343-4
 Kawal Nain, 137
 Kaye, Sir W. John, (13, 15, 88), 588, 591
 Kehar Singh Sindhanwalia, 671-73
 Keora, 140-1, 143
 Ken, (10)
 Kent, 626
 Kesar Singh, 355, 358-9, 476-8, 482, 487, 489-90, 496, 504-5, 508-10, 512, 515-7
 Kesar Singh of Dhariwal, 497
 Kesra Singh, 516
 Ketches, 653
 Khaf, 544-8, 550-1
 Khandwa, 477
 Khanna, 471
 Kharan, 568
 Kharar, 318, 320
 Khebel, 653
 Khedive, 97
 Khecalee, 129, 131, 150
 Khem Singh, 515, 517, 528-30, 534, 536-7, 540-2, 576-7, 579, 583
 Khem Singh, Baba, 300, 488, 526, 556
 Kher Ullah Effendi, 525
 Kheteks, 653
 Khorasan, 545, 550
 Khoree, 136
 Khoora Koosook, 9, 138
 Khorer, 155
 Khushal Singh, 316, 465
 Khurshid Jah, 538
 Khuruk Singh, Maharaja, (12-3, 22, 78), 117, 122, 128, 151, 153, 660, 667, 670
 Khuzana, 123
 Khyber Pass, (14, 17, 19, 20, 31), 653
 Kieff, (107), 523, 552, 557, 561, 563, 598, 600,
 Kikranwali, 133
 Killah Sahib Singh, 132
 Kimerley, Lord, (94, 97-8, 100), 109, 112, 124, 171-5, 183, 187-8, 198-200, 228, 230-1, 238, 244, 249, 255, 257, 262, 273-5, 284, 292, 311, 313, 371, 404, 410, 417
 Kinsington or Kensington, (92), 124, 177, 193, 201
 Kirki, 571
 Kirman, 546-8, 550-1, 561, 568
 Kishen Chand, 139, 673
 Kishan Kaur, Rani, 422, 465
 Kishan Lal, Diwan, (73-4)

- Kishan Singh, 356, 478-9, 482, 490, 503-5, 510, 515-7
 Kishan Chand Rai, 17
 Kittey, 303, 331
 Knollys, H., 43
 Kohali, (103), 346, 431, 478, 487, 490-2, 503
 Koh-i-Noor, (77-8, 84, 92, 98), 32, 36, 4--5, 75-6, 86, 97, 101-2
 Kohat, 653
 Kookar Pindi, 143
 Kooslian, 138
 Koosook Mine, 139, 141, 143
 Kot-Anait Khan, 133
 Kotagiri, 262, 266-7
 Kothyalah Shekhan, 135
 Kot Jafur, 133
 Kotian, 143
 Kotlee Locharan, 147
 Kot Nikkuh, 152
 Kot Nyna, 150
 Kote Pusur, 284
 Kothi, 503-4, 508
 Kot-Oombar, 143
 Kotzbne, 417
 Kotzeline, M., 370
 Kuchan, 569-70
 Kuchran, 561
 Kudai Kanal (101), 208-11, 240, 250, 255, 259, 261-2, 265-7, 275
 Kuhlberg, General, 492
 Kukas, 367
 Kukma, 123
 Kukur Gil, 132
 Kulanour, 119
 Kular, 133
 Kuliwal, 138, 143
 Kumar Indra Chunder Singh, 455, 458-9
 Kurum Singh, 139
 Kushalgher, 653
 Kusoor Singh, 119
 Kussoke, 132
 Kussur Singh, 121
 Kutar, 133
 Kutesar, 470, 478, 490, 511
 Kuzan, 527
- L**
- Lachman Dass, Diwan, 576-9, 581-2
 Lachman Kaur, Sardarni of Ferozepur, (11, 22)
 Lachman Singh, 553
 Ladran, 454, 464
 Ladwa, 38
 Lahore, (1-15, 18, 22-41, 44-7, 49-56, 61, 63-78, 82, 85-6, 91, 96, 98, 101-3, 105-7), 1, 3, 6, 12, 17, 20, 22, 24-31, 35-9, 42, 44, 51, 75, 92, 97-9, 102, 109-11, 113-4, 118-9, 121, 125-8, 140, 153, 157-62, 167-8, 173, 175, 179, 182-3, 187, 193, 196, 198, 204-8, 213, 216-7, 220, 223, 238, 246-7, 252, 263, 266, 292, 296-7, 300, 304-6, 308-10, 314, 316-20, 338, 342, 343, 346, 365-68, 386-7, 389, 401, 403, 407, 409, 421, 424, 450, 452, 460, 462, 464, 479, 483, 487, 492, 496, 509, 513, 515, 517, 519, 522-3, 528, 530, 532, 554-5, 557, 558, 567, 569, 581, 582, 585, 604-5, 614-5, 642, 650-2, 654, 657, 651, 663-73
 Lake, Edward, (57, 74)
 Lake, Lord, (4)
 Lakenheath, 620-1, 623
 Lakenheath Warren, 626
 Lala Chand, (16)
 Lal Singh Adalti, (32)
 Lal Singh Morarea, (71), 665, 668, 671, 673, 675
 Lal Singh, Raja, (30, 33, 34, 36-8, 42-3, 46-9, 55), 9, 14, 37
 L....Singh, 26
 Lancaster, 87
 Landour, 50
 Lanessan, Mons. de, 398
 Lang, Col., 500
 Langha, 146
 Lansdowne, Lord, 578, 583, 586, 592, 593, 597
 Las-Beyala, 561, 568
 Laurence, Geo, 632
 Law, Mr., 533
 Lawrence, Colonel, 11-3, 588, 591
 Lawrence, H. M., 673, 675
 Lawrence, Henry, (13-8, 33, 37, 41-2, 48, 50-1, 55, 58, 66-8), 8-10, 13-7, 110-1, 113, 158, 158, 160, 217, 303
 Lawrence, Mrs. Henry, (13)
 Lawrence, P. H., 111
 Lawrence, Sir John Laird Mair, 619
 Lawrence, John, (52, 55-6, 92, 96-7, 106), 17, 8-9, 111, 150, 217, 220, 583
 Lawrence Messrs, 331
 Lawrence, Mrs. George, 35
 Leberzeff, 521
 Lehna Singh, Chaudhry, 343, 425

- Le Geyt, 278
 Leith, (92)
 Lena Singh, 7, 17, 66
 Lena Login, (See Login Lady)
 Leonard, John, 633
 Lepel Griffin, 176, 285
 Ler Sultanpur, 143
 Leri, 145
 Leri Panj Gorain, 143
 Levant, 94
 Lilleh Gujh, 143
 Lincoln's Inn, 127, 331
 Lindsay, Robert Antrobus, 618
 Linge, 136
 Lister, T. V., 435
 Litler, John Sir, (43)
 Login, Lady Lena, (81, 83, 86, 88-9, 91-3, 96, 98, 107), 32-3, 36, 39, 45, 49, 54, 64-5, 67, 70, 72, 75, 77, 80, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 102, 109, 111, 113, 184, 199, 564, 572, 597, 606, 607
 Login, Sir John, Dr., (77, 80-6, 88-9, 91-3, 96), 39-42, 46-9, 52-9, 60-5, 71, 74, 76, 79, 80, 83, 87, 100, 111, 588
 Lopoki, (103), 346
 Luckhme, Maharanee, 120-3
 Lucknow, (7, 31, 86), 60-1, 74, 203, 509
 Ludhiana, Loodianah, Loodiana, (5, 23, 27-8, 31-2, 34-5 100), 3, 14, 31, 43, 55, 179, 207, 266, 316, 387, 454, 464, 488, 646, 648, 652, 657, 661
 Ludlow, E. S. (Col.), (33, 42, 76), 553-4, 562-5, 572, 574-5
 Lulleane, 3, 5
 Lyall, J. B., 371, 380, 400, 446, 495
 Lyall, Sir James, 581, 611-2
 Lyons, 365
 Lythe Hall, 86
- M**
- Macca, 527
 MacCaskill, (14)
 MacDonnel, A. P., 265, 382
 Machhiwara, 476
 Mackeson, (15)
 Mackenzie, A., Dr., 431, 602
 Mackenzie, D. Wallace, 262, 282, 314, 323, 325, 336, 372, 417
 Mackinon, W. H., 196, 203-4, 209, 250
 MacLean, C. B. (General), 543-4, 546-51, 563, 567, 568, 571
 Macnaghten, Sir, (14), 650, 652-3
 Macpherson, 263-4
 Maddock, 50-1
 Madras, (2, 98, 101), 46-7, 67, 187, 192-4, 196, 202-4, 208, 210, 250, 255, 259, 262-3, 265-7, 279-81, 337, 342, 398-400, 429, 431, 436, 467, 477, 482, 564, 567, 576, 581
 Madura, 209, 265, 457
 Maghar Singh, 477-9, 482, 491, 496-7, 505-6, 508-510
 Mahableshwar, 265, 281, 559
 Mahammad Shah, 561, 568
 Mahan Singh, (77), 119, 122, 127, 129, 130-9, 142, 144, 147-52, 155, 216, 386, 561, 563, 567-8
 Mahraj Singh, Bhai, 26
 Mahundei, 155
 Maidnoo, Maharanee, 120, 124
 Maima Kaharan, 315, 339, 344
 Mainee, 152, 156
 Majaat, 138
 Majagaon Bunder, 603
 Majhee, 135
 Majhli Sarkar Sodhi (Anadnpur), 487
 Majitha, Majetha, Majeetha, 118, 121, 179, 492
 Makhan Singh, 506
 Makhiala, Mukhiala, 140, 143
 Makrach, 140
 Malcolm, William Rolle, 617-21, 623-4, 639
 Malerkotla, (5)
 Malla, 424
 Mallet Farrer & Co., 32, 248, 347, 454, 483
 Mallet, Louis Sir, 108
 Malot, 137
 Malta, 74
 Malwa, (5 21-2, 35), 531, 643-4
 Man Singh, 179, 299, 300, 358, 487
 Manedu, 470
 Manes, Mons., 398-9
 Mangalan, Manglan, 14, 528, 581
 Mani Ram (Udasi Sadhu), (88)
 Manjha, (5), 425, 477, 488, 517
 Mankera, 653
 Manmad, 477
 Manners, 225
 Mannes, Henry, 224
 Maree Thakuran, 131
 Margula, 119

- Marjoribanks, George John, 617-21, 623-4, 639
- Marry Lang, 184, 199
- Marshmen, J. C., (15)
- Marseilles, (103), 342, 413, 416
- Marwarid, Malik, 545-50, 561, 568
- Mashed, 500, 543, 545-6, 550-1, 561, 568-70
- Massions, Henry, (19)
- Masson, Charles, (9)
- Massu, 551-2
- Mastan Singh (Jamadar), 474, 480
- Mastuj, 546
- Mathew, Rutherford, 626, 633
- Mathura, 445, 450
- Mayes, James, 199
- Mayhew, W.A. G., 68
- Mayo Mines, 140
- McAndrew, J. W., 178
- Mcaskill, John, Sir, 6
- McCracken, D., (106, 108), 177, 179, 182, 381, 392, 438, 442, 446, 449-50, 454-5, 459, 463-4, 466-7, 469, 472, 474-5, 496, 499, 560, 573, 576
- McGregor, Dr, (10, 32)
- McGregor, Major, (37), 37
- McLeod, Inner, General, (37)
- Medca, 144
- Medina, 527
- Meerut, (28-30, 34-5, 87), 380-1, 444, 461, 470, 474-5, 528
- Megh aj Missar, 14
- Meehnee, 653
- Meel, Edmund, 58
- Meerowal Mahal Chukali, 148
- Mehal Barani, 144
- Mehal Chaki, 144
- Mehdi, 486
- Mehdi Hassan, 568
- Meahth Kaur, Maharanee, 120
- Mehtab Singh, 139
- Mehemat Ali, 1
- Melcolm, John, Lt. Col., 641
- Melvill, C., James, 73, 162, 175
- Melville, Ronald Ruthven Leslie, 618-19
- Menist, M., 482
- Menzies, 170, 178
- Menzies, (Col.), 446-7
- Mergui, (31)
- Merivale, Herman, (15, 23)
- Merk, W., 446, 449-51, 454-5, 459, 461, 463-6, 469, 471-3
- Messrs German and Lyde, 83
- Metcalfe, Charles Theophilus, 642-3, 647, 650
- Mian, 584
- Mian Baldev Singh (Poonch), 581-2
- Mian Lal Din of Jammu, 527
- Mian Mir, 557-8
- Mian Nazammudin, 503
- Mianee, 156
- Michael, J., 517-9
- Midh, 156
- Mildenhall, Parish, 621
- Mildmay Fane, General, 63
- Millard, 430
- Millar, J. O., 460
- Milton, J. C., 488, 491
- Mingoon (Burmese Prince), 399, 483
- Minto, 643
- Mirban, Akadah, 572
- Mir Mannu, (1)
- Mirpur, 504
- Mir Sahib, 478, 490
- Mirzapur, (54)
- Mithenkot, 649, 651-3, 658, 661-2, 667
- Mitter, Nita Krishna, 489
- Mohammad Shah, 561, 588
- Mohra Gujran, 146
- Monkul, 509-10
- Monteath, James, 600-2, 605
- Moodkee, 41-3, 2, 6
- Moolraj, Mulraj, (35, 54-9, 61, 63, 66-7, 71-4, 90), 24, 26-7, 30, 33, 97, 102-3, 207, 458, 482
- Mooney, 135
- Moore, 215
- Moreedkee, 155
- Morgan, (Colonel), 394
- Morier, Sir Robert, 366, 414, 665, 668, 671, 674
- Morier, Sir R. M., 435
- Morison, W., 652
- Mortlock, Samuel 633
- Moosa Choocha, Talooks, 156
- Moscow, (105-7), 371-2, 374, 377-9, 384, 416-8, 421, 423-4, 426-7, 429-32, 335-6, 438-9, 441-3, 453-4, 456-8, 461, 465, 467, 478, 483, 486, 491, 493, 498,

- 502, 510-1, 513, 517-9, 521, 524-7, 603-4
 Moti, 550-1
 Moti Singh, Raja, 356, 457, 488, 503-6
 Moulton, Colonel, 394
 Mountain, Brig., 32
 Mozaffar Ali Hossein, Inspector, 358
 Mozuffernugger, 43
 Mugul Kuswalla, 155
 Muhammad Ali of Egypt, (13)
 Muhammad Bukhsh, Raja of Chak Hamid, 498
 Muhammad Bakhsh of Seikh, 533
 Muhammad Bukhsh of Sahawal, 488
 Muhassoo, 47
 Mujetha (see Majitha)
 Mukerian, 529
 Mukerji, Nilamber, 431-2, 440
 Mukerji, Shashi Bhushan, 439-41, 488, 491
 Mul Singh, 368
 Mulgrane, 86
 Muller, Ludwig, (F/o Bamba Muller) (93), 624
 Multan, (5, 8, 54-60, 6670-1, 73, 75, 79), 26, 32, 97, 102, 119-20, 127-8, 207, 218, 307, 439, 441, 492, 513, 571, 653
 Multana Singh, 120
 Munchur, 117-9
 Munda, 146
 Munjpoor, 131
 Munsoorwalee, 133
 Murara, (72)
 Murray, Hugh, (10, 19, 45)
 Musa Khan, 86
 Musada Singh, 353
 Mushk Kandesh, 546
 Mussamat Rami, 464
 Mussoorie, 49-51, 60
 Mustafa Effendi, (59), 430, 452-3, 491
 Mustan Singh, Jamadar, 462
 Muttra, 156, 469, 471
 Muzaffarabad, 502
 Muzaffarpur, 443-4
 Muzuffernugar, 43
 Mysore, (3)
- N
- Nabha, (4), 281, 316, 393-4, 457, 464, 469, 490, 498, 512
 Nadir Shah, 75, 127
 Nagpur, (7)
 Nahar Singh, 437, 442, 490
 Nainital, 460
 Nali, 143
 Nanak, Baba, 155, 253, 257, 487, 552
 Nand Singh, 281
 Nandair, 204
 Nander, (11-3, 97, 99), 204, 477, 480, 482, 485, 487, 553-5, 557, 560-2, 566, 572, 574-5, 583
 Nanchal Singh (See Naunihal Singh)
 Nangran, 138
 Nankana Sahib, 155
 Nanu Singh, 483, 553, 555, 575, 583
 Napier, Charles, (21, 26, 35, 37, 41, 57, 61-2, 66), 2, 32, 36-7
 Napier, William Craig Emilius, 618
 Naples, 79
 Napoleon, (43)
 Narain Dass, 563
 Narain Singh, 454-5, 459, 461, 463-5, 467, 469, 482, 553
 Narang Singh, 355, 477, 515-7
 Narender Bahadur, Raja, 477-8, 481, 497,
 Narendra Parkash Bahadur, 457
 Narinder Singh, 297, 306, 464-5, 470, 472, 408, 482, 512, 566, 613
 Narkanda, 467
 Narowal, 148
 Nasik, (93)
 Naunihal Singh, 117-8, 120-3, 150, 153
 Naurang Singh, 489, 506
 Naurangabad, (26)
 Nausherawan, 320
 Nawashahr, 318, 320
 Neemia, (16)
 Nehemiah (Nilkant), Goreh, (Tutor of M. Duleep Singh), (83, 88)
 Nelawan, 140
 Nepal or Nepaul, (7, 78-80, 87-8), 38, 357, 443-4, 458, 477, 485-6, 488, 497, 503-4, 507, 517, 561,
 Nicholl, Henry Frederick, 618
 Nicholson, Peter, (34, 37-8, 42-3, 62, 71-2, 74)
 Nidhan Singh, Bhai, (51), 671, 673-5
 Nihal Chand, 353
 Nihal Singh, 357, 464, 478
 Nihal Singh of Amritsar, 514, 517
 Nihal Singh Arora, 353
 Nihal Singh, Bawa, (105), 317, 319, 321, 339, 389
 Nihal Singh Kahar, 315, 339
 Nihal Singh, Wazir, (73)

Nila, 140, 146
 Nile, 486
 Nilgiris, 204, 250, 275
 Nirbaid Akara, 553
 Nisbet, E. P., Colonel, 567, 578, 580, 582, 584
 Noamen, Sir F., 392, 395
 Nodh Singh, 151
 Nokhur, 131
 Nolan, (26)
 Noor-Jehan, 155
 Noor-ood-deen, Fazeer, 5, 44, 75, 123, 210
 Noorwal, 146
 Normanbys, 87
 Norman, J., 277
 Norendo Nath Sen, 489
 Northbrook, 463, 500
 Notovitch, 485
 Nott, William, 19
 Nowshera, 394
 Nurnomur, 119
 Nundunpoor, 138
 Nungal Doona Singh, 131
 Nungal Sadhanwala, 155
 Nur Burpur, 129
 Nur-ud-Din, Col., (71, 73-4)
 Nuroot, 119
 Nurot Dulput, 149
 Nurot Jaimul Singh Jhumbar, 149
 Nurot Jaimul Singh Karkare, 149
 Nurot Jaimul Singh Sohuti, 149
 Nurot Jaimul Singh, 149
 Nushki, 551
 Nutta Singh, 395

O

Ochterlony, David, Colonel, 5, 645-6
 Odessa, (107), 416, 429, 431-2, 436, 491, 533, 562
 Oliphant, John Stewart, Colonel, 79-80, 83, 86, 93, 618-9, 624
 Oliphant, J. Mrs., 98, 184, 199, 335-6
 Omarkote, 653
 Ootacamund, (98, 100-1), 187, 192-4, 202-3, 208, 209-10, 230-1, 238, 245, 250, 261-2, 266, 272-3, 281
 Osborne, (84), 6, 33, 69, 90-1
 Oudh, (3, 85-6), 273, 308, 427-30, 436, 445, 492, 527, 538, 609-10
 Owen, T. Burne, (99, 100), 182, 189, 191, 195, 201, 206, 225-30, 233-4, 237, 247,

251, 253-4, 256-8, 260, 269-70, 272-4, 311, 326, 336, 339
 Oxford, 466

P

Paghman, 551
 Paikpara, 458-9, 575
 Pal, Mr., 467-8, 535
 Pallard, Sir John, 588
 Palmar, T., 63
 Palmerston, 73
 Palmore, 461
 Pamdpur, 489
 Panchvati, (93)
 Panipat or Paniput, (2), 82
 Panjdeh, 539
 Panncefote, Sir S.P., 369
 Parduman Singh, 481, 487
 Paris, (42, 104, 107-8), 347, 360-1, 365-6, 370-1, 383-5, 400, 413-4, 416-7, 429-30, 454, 459, 477, 483, 486, 492-3, 513, 519, 521, 523, 525, 530, 561, 563, 565, 567, 571, 578, 582, 604-8, 614-5
 Partab Singh, 297, 306, 356, 358, 424, 428, 431, 464, 480, 504-6, 509-10, 514-6, 519-20, 553, 555, 560, 566, 573-5, 579, 610
 Partap Singh, (18, 23, 26), 356, 478
 Partap Singh, Giani, 574
 Pasrur, 148, 306, 338
 Pasupati Nath, 443-4
 Pathankote or Puthankote, 119, 149, 477
 Patiala or Putteela, (4-5, 13, 32), 2, 4, 7, 11, 16, 18-21, 23, 25, 27-9, 31, 33, 35-6, 38-9, 332, 369, 385-6, 390, 393-4, 417, 424, 457, 563, 469, 480, 490, 496, 498, 500, 512-3, 543, 553, 561-2, 578, 580, 583, 586, 592-3, 597
 Patna, (7), 356, 443-4, 480, 482, 485, 487, 495, 503-4, 509-11, 516, 522-30, 545, 551, 557, 574-5
 Peacock, F.B., 371
 Pearse, Major Hugh, (18)
 Pearson, Hesketh, (46)
 Peebles, John, 184, 199
 Peel, Robert, 2
 Peelo, 132
 Persia, (3), 127, 416, 525, 539, 546, 548, 550-1, 585
 Peshawar, Peshawur, (5, 8, 10-2, 14, 18-20, 39, 63), 1, 35, 120, 478, 568, 653-6
 Peshkar, 511-2
 Pesth, 384

- Phaleean Amri, 135
 Phalecan Boota, 135
 Phaleen Keeman, 135
 Phalecan Meman, 135
 Phalian, 135
 Phareeanwalee, 135
 Phillour, 320
 Phipps, B. Colonel, (88, 92), 84, 86-7, 88-91, 111-2
 Phulaur Hills, 209, 265
 Piara Singh, 316
 Pickening, W.P., 597
 Pilo Chirag Shah, 132
 Pind Dadan Khan, 119, 137-8, 142, 144, 156, 216, 225, 229, 238-9, 242, 272, 333, 406, 410
 Pindee Butteeen, 132
 Pinđi Sahee, 139
 Pindi Sevice, 145
 Pinjaura, 149
 Pinwal, 143
 Pir Bakhsh, Mirza, 524
 Plowden, 578-9
 Pobdenostef, 485
 Pohlo Maj, 255, 353-4, 356-8, 462, 465, 477, 478, 480, 488, 492, 504-7, 509-10, 514, 517, 520, 529, 567, 586-7
 Pollock, General, (6, 14-6, 19-20, 31, 33)
 Pondicherry, (103, 106), 353-4, 358-9, 366, 368-9, 372, 380, 386, 398-400, 413, 420, 425, 429, 431, 437-40, 442-4, 448, 450, 452-8, 461-71, 473-9, 482-3, 489-92, 494, 497-9, 504-5, 508-9, 511-2, 553-8, 562, 564-7, 572-3, 576-7, 581-3, 587, 604, 608, 610, 613
 Ponsonby, Henry, 109-10, 112, 351, 352, 355, 360, 607
 Poona, 477
 Poonoo, 503
 Pope, Brigadier, (66)
 Port Blair, 307
 Porter, 460
 Port Said, 432
 Pattinger, Henry, (8, 9)
 Prema, 11, 13, 25
 Prinsep, T. Henry, (8), 100
 Prithi Singh, Mian, (30)
 Pritpal Singh, 477, 516
 Pulnays, 204
 Punch, Poonch, 353, 356, 457, 503, 508, 515, 517, 581
 Punjab, Punjaub, Panjab, throughout
 Punjab Singh, 151
 Punjnud, 666
 Purki Saharanpur, 479
 Pushaora Singh, Kanwar, 120
 Pym, Robert Ruthven, 618
 Pyster, C.E., 246, 262, 280, 285
- Q**
- Quetta, 172, 425, 546, 548, 550-1
- R**
- Rab Nawaz Khan, Jarnadar, 568, 584
 Raghbir Singh, 454, 464
 Rahmatulla, Maulvi, 527
 Rai Kishan Chand (Vakil), (40), 671
 Rai Kot, (35)
 Raj Kouron, 19, 132-3
 Raja Akbar, 584
 Raja Ganesh, 477
 Rajasansce or Rajasansi, (94, 98), 117-8, 121, 150, 151, 178, 354, 358-9, 438, 446, 462, 464-5, 470, 472, 476-8, 482, 489, 497, 503-4, 511, 556, 567, 586-7
 Rajenpore, 653
 Rajpura, 148
 Rajputana, 285
 Rakh Rohtas, 145
 Ram Kaur, 123
 Rama, 320
 Rameshwar (Shrine), 457, 467-70, 511
 Ram Kishan, 503
 Ramleh, 194
 Ramnagar, Ramnuggur, (66, 73), 21, 130, 137, 145, 216
 Rampoor, 132
 Ramranj, (56)
 Ram Sahai, 320
 Ramsay, 82
 Ram Singh, 300-1, 389, 391, 504, 665, 668, 670
 Ram Singh, Baba, Guru, (100), 103, 206-7, 299, 307, 314, 317, 319, 387, 389, 391, 571
 Ram Singh, Bhai, (47), 4-5
 Ram Singh, Headmaster, 320
 Ram Singh, Jotshi, 346
 Ram Singh, Mian, 339
 Ram Singh, Raja, 580
 Ramzan Ali Khan, 545, 547-8, 551
 Ranghar Nangal, (72)
 Rangoon, 53, 442
 Rani Ganj, 574-5, 85

- Rani ka Pul, (29)
Ranjit Singh, Maharaja. (2-7, 9-13, 18, 23, 30-1, 36, 38-9, 52, 62, 66, 77-9, 85-6, 91, 94, 101), 1, 5, 34-6, 65, 75, 114-5, 117, 119, 125-31, 134, 138-41, 143-4, 147-54, 157, 161, 166, 179, 216-7, 343, 371, 386, 392, 402, 407, 418-9, 407, 522, 541, 546, 597, 614, 641-3, 645-7, 649-53, 656-8, 660, 662, 664, 666, 670
Rattan Singh, 316
Rattan Singh, Fakir, 316
Rattan Singh, Kahar, 343-4
Rattan Lal, 511
Ratuche, 144
Ravee, 118
Rawulpindi, Rawulpindee, 34, 118-9, 127, 156, 246, 300, 393-5, 397, 420, 533, 586, 596-7
Raya, 148
Reeva, Thomas, 629
Rewari, 205, 207, 504, 510
Rewat, 156
Richard, 626, 632
Richay, J.B., 264-5
Richmond, Col., (16, 31-2)
Ridley Edward, 620
Ripon, Lord, (94), 4, 6-9, 114, 117
Robby, 45
Robert, General, (2)
Robert, Horrex, 628, 631
Robert, Lady, 369, 385, 463, 550, 580
Roberts, Sir F., 396-7, 500
Robinson, 617
Rochampton, 70, 162
Rohan, 661-2
Rojhan (10),
Rohtak, 316
Rohtas, (30, 34), 134, 137, 145
Rolph, James, 626
Rome, 77
Roopan, 122
Roor Singh of Kohali, (103)
Ropur, Rooper, (8), 488, 647, 651, 661
Ross, A., 650, 652
Rude Singh, 575
Rue-de la Rouchefoucauld, 430, 454
Rudland, Brown, 633
Rungpooruh, 147
Runjeet Deo, 146
Runjore Singh, Ranjodh Singh Majithia, (44), 665, 668, 670-3
Rusool, 135
Russel, John, 39
Russel, Square, 524
Rutherford Mathew, 626, 633
Rutherford, Thomas, 629
S
Sabraon, (34, 45-6), 3, 102, 217
Sadand, 141
Sadhu Singh, 553, 563-4
Sadiq Hussain, 528
Sadoollahpoor, 135
Sadowal, 144
Saharanpur or Saharunpore 43, 479-80
Saheb Singh, Raja, 645
Sahib Singh, 318, 320
Sahnu, 135
Saidabad, 525
Saidhuggur, 130
Sajfudin, 561, 568
Sale, General, (31), 6, 360
Sale, Lady, 6
Salisbury, Lord, 165, 215, 226, 238, 271-2, 287, 290, 347, 362, 369-70, 372, 377, 408, 417, 423, 426, 465-6, 510, 561, 598-9, 614
Salowi, 144
Samana, 645
Samarkand, 564, 563
Sambharhyal Khas, 147
Sambharhyal Mahal Khokhar, 147
Sambharhyal Mahal Nundmakan, 147
Sambharhyal Mahal Usman, 147
Same, 546
Samman (Burj), 14
Sampur, 446
Sanghad, 546
Sant Singh, (102), 184, 245, 577, 480
Sarakhs, 415-6
Sardhana, (34)
Sardi, 140
Sardul Singh, Baba, 515, 517
Sarmukh Singh, 317-9
Saroba, 144
Sarup Singh, 176-7, 193, 201-2, 205-6, 404-5
Sarup Singh Malwai, 205
Sarup Singh, Sardar, (97, 102)
Satal, 319
Sattarah, 36
Sawal, 470
Sawal Singh, 516, 561, 563, 567
Sawan Mal, Diwan, (12, 55)

- Sawan Singh, 3
 Sayyad Abdul Qadir, (8)
 Sayyad Ahmad, (7-8)
 Scotland, 84, 86
 Scot, Master, 46, 50-1
 Scott Tommy, 45
 Sealkote, 118-9, 127, 146-7, 206, 284, 297, 338, 392-3, 397, 514
 Seekutwale, 136
 Seikh-Jemal-ed-din, 435
 Sevestre, H., 188
 Shadeewal, 118
 Shadeewal Turuf Achurke, 136
 Shadeewal Turuf Khanke, 136
 Shah Alam II, Emperor, (3)
 Shahdara, Shahdura, 118, 155
 Shahghari, 178, 306
 Shah Imam, (8)
 Shah Mahomedwali, 138
 Shahpoor, Shahpur, 127, 140, 158, 301, 342, 358, 442, 509
 Shahpoor Sansian, 129
 Shah Shoojah-ool-Mook (12, 77-8), 44, 75-6, 161, 652-3, 656-7
 Shahzadpur, 121
 Shakargarh, Shakurgarh, 178, 396
 Shalamar Garden, (51-2)
 Shalimar, 14, 16, 18-9
 Sham Singh Attariwala, (12, 46)
 Shamsher Singh, 117, 120, 123
 Shamsher Singh of Bharatpur, 488
 Shamsher Singh Sindhanwalia, 27, 479, 671-3
 Shams-ud-daullah Diler Jang, 538-9
 Shams-ud-din, Faqir, (73)
 Shankar, 470
 Shakurgarh, 178
 Sheikhpura, 15, 18-9, 21, 24, 26, 119, 121, 123, 132, 152
 Sheo Deo Singh, Shahzada, (80, 82-3), 45, 47, 51-3, 61, 64, 66, 82, 84-5
 Sheo Ram, 588
 Sherpoor, 398
 Sher Shah Suri, 145
 Sher Singh, Maharaja, (13-4, 17-8, 20, 23-4, 26, 30,) 41, 47, 64, 128, 153-4, 217, 344
 Sher Singh, Raja, (51, 55, 57, 60-1, 70-1, 73-4, 79-82), 30, 34, 37, 55, 663, 671-3
 Shib Krishan Mitter, 489
 Shikarpore, (9-10, 39), 654
 Shobha Ram (Clerk), 357
 Shookerchuk, 150
 Shuja-ud-Daulah, (3)
 Shuker Gudh, 119
 Shukurgurh, 148, 150
 Shunear, 585
 Sialkote, Seealkot, 118-9, 127, 146-7, 206, 284, 297, 338, 392-3, 397, 514
 Sikandar Khan, 541
 Simpkin, W.J., 639
 Sind, Sindh, Scinde, (8-10, 19-21, 24), 649, 654, 656, 662, 668
 Sindhia, Maharaja, (21), 290
 Sirhind, (2, 17, 21-2, 28, 35), 643-5
 Siwa, 606
 Smith, G. Carmichael, (35, 40, 44, 46)
 Smith, J. Manners, 480
 Smith, J.R. Dunlop, 147
 Smith, Sir, Harry, (43-4), 3
 Sobha Ram, 139
 Sofia Mother of Bamba Muller, (93)
 Sohan Lal, 437, 422-7, 449-50, 454-5, 461, 463-7, 469, 471-3, 478-9, 490, 497-8, 505, 510-12, 514, 520
 Sohan River, 156
 Sohara, 130
 Somali, 321
 Somer Singh, Baba, 320
 Songa, 470
 Sookheke, 132
 Sookerchukeea Misul, Sukkarchakkia Misl (3), 216
 Sophia, Alexandra, 266
 Soudan, 220
 Southampton, (83)
 Square, Russel, 524
 Sri Hargobindpur, 317, 319
 Srinagar, 524
 Stale, M. de, 370-1, 416-7
 Stanley, Lord, 214, 220, 589-90, 592
 Stephenson, E.J., 563-5, 572, 574-5
 St. George, 608
 St. Petersburg, (105), 369-74, 377-9, 384, 416-8, 422-3, 426, 435, 493, 510, 517-9, 527-7, 533, 552, 594, 598-9
 Stewart, D.M., 117
 Suchet Singh, Soochayat Singh, (26, 35), 354, 383, 457, 477
 Sudan, 521, 525, 534-5
 Sudder Moon sarim, 150
 Suez, (102), 315, 333, 336
 Suffolk, (93), 104-5, 108, 125, 174, 184, 188, 190, 194, 216, 222, 226, 231, 619, 619, 622, 624

- Sujanpur, 148
 Sujan Singh, (6)
 Sujan Singh, Bawa, 300, 353, 488, 504, 509, 515-6
 Sujan Singh, Bedi, 529
 Suker Chuk, 118, 120
 Sukhan, Mai, 122
 Sukhet Singh, 564, 566, 575
 Sukkur, (29)
 Sultan Mahmud, General, (71, 74)
 Sullivan, John, (51, 53, 76)
 Sumer Singh, 487
 Sumer Singh of Patna, 495, 529-30
 Sumunwal, 144
 Sunder Singh, Baba, 510, 534
 Sungowalel, 133
 Sunt Singh, 155
 Surat Singh, 339
 Surat Singh, Majitha, (71)
 Surma, Maharancee, 124
 Susannah, Fanny, Mrs., Place, 627
 Susie, 79
 Sutherland, Bamba (Princess), (99, 107)
 Suttle, (3-9, 12, 17, 20-1, 25-6, 29-33, 35, 37, 42, 44, 46-7, 66), 1, 3, 10-3, 128, 166, 642-3, 645, 647-8, 650-1, 654, 657-8, 661-2, 664-5
 Syed Asad of Mecca, 527
 Syed Umar Saunsi, 605-6
 Symth, G. Carmichael, (35, 40, 44, 46)
 Syrian, 417
- T**
- Taija Singh, Raja, 120, 223
 Takpuchta, 546
 Talbot, 127, 129, 197, 303, 331, 407, 528
 Talwandi, (32)
 Tanaserim, (31)
 Tarkassar, 546
 Tarn Tarn, 123, 150-1, 281, 357, 484, 505-6, 517
 Tashkand, 571
 Tassaduk Hosein, 511
 Tazeen, (16)
 Taylor, Raynell, 37
 Tehran, 416, 484
 Teja, 471
 Teja Singh, 354
 Teja Singh (Raja), (30, 33-4, 36-8, 42-44, 46-7, 50-2, 69, 71), 11, 13, 655, 668, 670-5
 Thakar Singh of Wagha, (106), 300-2, 304, 306, 47, 313-4, 316, 321, 324, 327, 331, 346, 424, 481-2
 Thakur Singh Kahar, 315, 339, 343-4
 Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, (94-5, 98, 102-3, 105-7), 117-8, 121, 150, 152, 178, 248-9, 254, 262, 274, 356-9, 367-9, 382, 386-7, 391, 397, 400, 419-20, 424, 429, 431, 440-2, 459, 464-5, 467-72, 475-8, 480-1, 485-6, 489-91, 501-17, 525-30, 534, 538-41, 553, 612, 641, 665-6, 672, 687
 Thana, 430
 Thanascrim, (31)
 Thanesar, (26, 30), 82
 Thapathali, (79)
 Thebew, King, 203, 337
 Thetford, 95, 105, 108, 183-4, 188, 190, 194, 216, 231
 Thudi, Dhoodia, 144
 Thuggee, 439, 443, 460, 556, 559, 575, 600, 602
 Thuttlah Lukhi, 147
 Tiblis, 541
 Tin Cowri Banerji, 489
 Tipoo Sahib, (3), 65, 68
 Tirath Ram, Pt., (93)
 Tolstoi, Count, 373
 Trichinopoly, 209
 Trotter, L.J., (86)
 Tulwundee Riahwalee, 131
 Tupper, C.L., 180, 186, 204, 207-8, 232, 388, 528, 576, 579, 580-1
 Turbet-i-Haideri, 547, 548, 550
 Turbet-i-Isa Khan, 546
 Turkey, 523, 538, 542
 Turner, Arthur, 629, 631
 Tuticorn, 491
 Tutral, 142
- U**
- Udaipur, (71)
 Udai Singh, Bhai (Kaithal), (21)
 Ude Singh, 532
 Udeh Singh Bedi, 356, 515
 Udham Singh of Kohali, 488
 U. Gupta, 494
 Ukraine, (107)
 Umballa, (see Ambala)
 Umrao Singh, Rao, 464, 470, 477, 490, 511
 Umritsar, (see Amritsar)
 Una, 300, 504-5, 509, 515, 529
 Underwood, T.O., 45
 Undoora, 148

Upal Sansee, 147
 Urjun Singh, Rungurnungalea, 671, 673
 Usman Pasha, 527
 Utter Singh Kalewalla, 671-3, 675

V

Vagha, Wagha, Wagah, (See Wagah)
 Valliar, Madame, 430, 454
 Vantura, General, (12, 22-3)
 Veron Smith, 73
 Victor Albert Jay Dhuleep Singh, (99),
 266, 301, 680
 Victoria (Coorg Princes), 54
 Victoria, Queen, (13, 83-4, 86-7, 94, 96),
 1-2, 6-7, 10, 32-3, 36, 39, 49, 54, 64-5,
 67-70, 72-5, 77, 80, 88, 102, 109-13, 572
 Vienna, 518, 526
 Vigue, 145
 Vir Singh, 510
 Viscount Cross, 355, 360, 386, 424, 480,
 500, 513, 543, 561-2, 578, 583, 586,
 592-3, 597-8, 607-8
 Vivian, Sir John, 588, 591
 Viangly, M., 599
 Vuneeke, 132

W

Waddington, H., 68
 Wade, C.M. Captain, (12, 47), 648, 654,
 660
 Wadi Piochin, 523
 Wadu Singh, 561, 563, 567
 Wady Halfa, 606
 Waeen Paen, 120, 150-1
 Wagah, Wagha, (103, 106), 309, 424, 481,
 487
 Wajid Ali Shah, (King of Oudh), (85-7)
 Wales, Prince of, 44, 49, 70, 107
 Walker, Colonel, 474
 Wall, John, 620
 Waller, Colonel, 467
 Walpole, Horace, 591, 599
 Walter Guise, (88)
 Wandiswash, (3)
 Wangford, Paush, 625
 Warburton, J.P., 359, 446-8, 450-2, 472-3
 Warner, Lee, 560
 Wates, 107
 Watson, R.D., 347-52, 355, 360, 415
 Wayunwalee, 133

Wazirabad, 133, 216, 561
 Weber, 373-4, 377
 Weitbrecht, 176, 182, 201, 206
 Wellington, Duke of, (17, 19, 20, 22-5,
 29-31, 43, 66), 1, 33, 58
 Welsely, Lord, 524
 Wengi, Dingee, 132
 Wheeler, Colonel, 394, 396
 Whish, General, (66)
 White Hall, 2
 White, Isle of, 71
 Wild, Brigadier, (14)
 William Hensley, 620
 Willoughby, J.P., 588, 591
 Wilsbaden, 1
 Wilson, T.F., 117
 Wimbledon, 68
 Windsor, 88
 Wm. Sir, 67
 Wolff, (9)
 Wood, Charles, (92), 66, 82-3, 85, 88, 126,
 162-3, 165, 175, 191, 193, 197, 214-5, 222,
 590, 592
 Woolbert, Dr. 541
 Wufa Begum, 44
 Wurcha, 140, 150
 Wuruh, 132, 144
 Wuzeerabad, 111, 119

Y

Yaghistan, 585
 Yahiyakhan, (1)
 York, 80
 Yorks, Loftus R.S.D., 355, 360
 Yorkshire, (91)
 Youngson (Missionary of Sialkot), 392,
 394, 397
 Young, W. Mackworth, (102), 232, 284,
 296, 306-7, 309, 314, 316, 320, 325, 334,
 339, 343, 366, 380, 389, 443, 446, 459,
 472-6, 496
 Yusuf Ali Khan, Munshi, (4)

Z

Zakaryia Khan, (1)
 Zaman Ali of Jhelum, 488
 Zaman Shah, 128, 130, 147, 153, 216
 Zira, Zirah, (32)
 Zobair Pasha, Zober Pasha, 521, 524, 533,
 536, 540-2, 604-5
 Zuffarwal, 147

